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TO THE UNIVERSITY

BY

ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

2231 E. 203

AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόμι· ἐν αὐταῖς γαρ ἐυρήσεις ἀκόπως
ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

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MDCCLXXIX.

BIBLIOTHECA · BOULLEMANA

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIFTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Fabulous and Heroic Times; containing the Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Theſſaly, Corinth, of Sparta to Lycurgus, and ſome others of leſs Note, to their ſeverally becoming commonwealths.

SECT. I. An Account of the Fabulous and Heroic Times in general, p. 1

II. The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Sicyon, 11

III. The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Argos, 14

A Liſt of the Kings of Argos before its Tranſlation to Mycena, 17

IV. The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Attica, 34

The Ancient Kings of Athens, 38

The Names of the Thirteen Archons, ibid.

V. The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdoms of Bœotia and Thebes, 52

A Liſt of the Kings of Thebes, 55

VI. The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Arcadia, 64

VII. The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Theſſaly, with a ſhort Account of that of Phocis, 74

VIII. The

CONTENTS.

SECT. VIII. The History of the Ancient Kingdom of Corinth, 91

IX. The History of the Ancient Kingdom of Lacedæmon, or Sparta, 99
A List of the Royal Lacedæmonian Line, 107
The Herculean Line, ibid.

X. The History of the Ancient Kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, and Achaia, 117

CHAP. XIX.

The History of the Athenians.

SECT. I. Of the State of Athens, from the Establishment of Annual Archons, to the Achæan League, 137
A Table of such of the Annual Archons of Athens as are mentioned in History, 139

II. The History of Athens, from the Achæan League to the present Time, 362

CHAP. XX.

The History of Sparta, from Lycurgus to its being united by Philopœmen with the Achæans, 381
A Table of the Lacedæmonian Kings, 382

DIRECTIONS for placing the COPPER-PLATE.

A Map of Ancient Greece, with the Islands belonging to it, to face page 1

ERRATA in VOL. IV.

In the Chronology in the Margin,

Page 135.	*for* 414.	*read* 514.	P. 144.	*for* 404.	*read* 494.
179.	1888.	1898.	185.	1991.	1941.
	460.	450.	206.	304.	384.

AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Accounts to the Preſent Time.

CHAP. XVII.

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SECT. I.

An Account of the Fabulous and Heroic Times in general.

IT being the deſign of this chapter to open the way to the hiſtory of Greece, by tracing the ſeveral nations of it, as far as can be done with any probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obſcure originals; and, by pointing out the various ſteps by which they raiſed themſelves from the loweſt beginnings to that flouriſhing ſtate, in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and ſciences, in politeneſs, in the excellency of their laws, diſcipline, and government, and in the ſtrength and valour of their armies, we cannot expect that our readers will reſt ſatisfied with our endeavouring to give them an account of this long and perplexed epocha, *Original of the Greeks.*

epocha, clear of the monſtrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the Grecian writers, have filled it. We ſhall therefore endeavour to take the beſt and ſhorteſt way through this long period of nine hundred years, whoſe ancient monuments, though diſguiſed under the tales of the moſt unnatural actions of the gods, ſuch as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, with the incredible exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet when diveſted

(A) It will not be amiſs to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha, with offering ſome account for that heap of monſtrous fables under which the hiſtory of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from ſome, if not from all the following reaſons:

1. From the genius of the languages in which theſe ancient monuments were written, which was altogether figurative, and whoſe elegance conſiſted in the boldeſt and moſt ſublime alluſions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themſelves, who being all poets, and recording theſe tranſactions in ſhort ſonnets, to be learned by rote, and ſung upon proper occaſions, did ſtill inhance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the moſt ſtrained, and ſurpriſing allegories, that they might make the deeper and more laſting impreſſion, both on thoſe who ſung, and thoſe who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or ſuperior to other contemporary nations, or, perhaps, rather, from a ſhame of their mean extraction, and of their rude, not to ſay brutiſh anceſtors, who, like wild beaſts, lived by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the ſtrongeſt arm. The conſciouſneſs of which made ſome of them derive their origin from certain great heroes, begot by ſome god, upon ſome kind goddeſs, or ſtraggling nymph; whilſt others contented themſelves with pretending that they ſprung like muſhrooms out of their own native ſoil.

4. This might be alſo another reaſon, why they transformed into fictitious monſters, thoſe real ones amongſt them, whoſe cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high eſteem they had for ſuch renowned heroes, who cleared the country of thoſe peſts of mankind. They could not, it ſeems, look upon the arduous, and yet ſucceſsful labours of a Minos, a Hercules, or a Theſeus, in ſo beneficial a province, without ſuppoſing them to have been more than mortal men, or, at leaſt, without an ambition to make them paſs in future ages for the offspring of ſome of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo, the ancient Hebrew heroes, both in their extraction, and

in

veſted from the fable, afford ſo much light to thoſe dark times, that a hiſtory of this country would be juſtly thought imperfect without ſome ſhort account of them.

Geography of Greece.

The limits of Greece, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by emigration of colonies, or conqueſts, which ſtill carried their name with them, and will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our preſent epocha, extended north and ſouth, from the long ridge of mountains which divided it from Macedonia, and from the river Strymon, by which it was parted from Thrace, to the promontory of Tenarus, the utmoſt ſouthern extent of Peloponneſus, about 6 degrees 20 minutes, or 380 miles. And from eaſt to weſt, that is from the Ægean to the Ionian Sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310. It contained the following kingdoms: in Peloponneſus, Sicyon, Argos and Meſſenia, Corinth, Achaia Propria, Arcadia, and Laconia. In Grecia Propria, thoſe of Attica, Megara, Bœotia, Locris, Epichnemidia, Doris, Phocis, Locris, Ozolæa, and Ætholia. In Epirus, the Moloſſi, Amphilochi, Caſſiopæi, Dræopes, Chaones, Threſpotii, Almeni, and Acarnania. In Theſſaly it comprehended the countries of Theſſaliotis, Eſtiotis, Pelaſgiotis, Magneſia, and Phthia [a]. All theſe have at times been governed by kings of their own, whoſe names we only find occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of the more conſiderable kingdoms of Argos, Attica, Thebes, and Sparta, of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war [b]. The fuller deſcription and hiſtory of thoſe principal kingdoms will be ſeen in the following ſections.

Their various names.

The general names by which the inhabitants were known, and mentioned by old hiſtorians and geographers, were thoſe of Graioi and Graicoi [c] (B), from Græcus the father

[a] De his vide Ptol. Herodot. Diodorus Siculus. Mela, Cluver.
[b] Pauſan. Apoll. & al.
[c] Callimach. Hymn. in Jov. Sophoc. & al.

in their wonderful exploits: thus we find a great part of the character of Hercules to be a mere compound of thoſe of a Samſon, Gideon, Jephtha, and other Jewiſh worthies. The ſame may be ſaid of ſeveral others (1).

(B) From Græcus, the father, or, according to others, the ſon of Theſſalus, who gave name to Theſſaly (2). But by a mo-

(1) Vide Grotius de Verit. Huet. Demonſt. Evang. & al. mult.
(2) Euſeb. Chronic. Iſidor. Orig. lib. xiv. cap. 4. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. iv. cap. 7. Suid. & Steph. Bizant in voc. Γραικοι & Θεσσαλια.

father of Theſſalus. Theſe they quickly changed for thoſe of Achæi and Hellenes [d], by which they are generally called in ancient authors (C). Another name by which they were diſtinguiſhed in ſeveral parts of Greece was that of Pelaſgi, which the Arcadians, who are generally reckoned the ancienteſt people of it, challenge from their pretended founder Pelaſgus, who got ſuch footing in Peloponneſus, that the whole peninſula was from him called Pelaſgia [e]. We find theſe Pelaſgians, for whom ſome critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), ſpread in many other parts of Greece, as in Attica, Theſſaly,

[d] Thucydid. lib. i. Ariſtot. in Meteor. lib. i. cap. 14. Steph. Byzant. &c. [e] Id. ſub voc. Πελοποννησ.

dern critic (3) derived from Ragau, the ſame with Reu the ſon of Peleg (4), by a tranſpoſition of a letter, to ſoften the ſound.

(C) The firſt, ſuppoſed from Achæus the ſon of Xuthus, the ſon of Hellen, and father of Ion (5); the other from Hellen above mentioned, the ſon of Deucalion, and father of Dorus, from whom came the Dores, afterwards a famous nation in Greece.

Thucydides obſerves however, that the name of Hellenes did not univerſally obtain over Greece; ſince Homer, who wrote ſo long after the ſiege of Troy, only calls them ſo, who followed Achilles from Phthiotis (6).

(D) Theſe (7) ſuppoſe that the deſcendents of Peleg, the fourth in deſcent from Shem, the ſon of Noah, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the father of the Scythians, were the firſt who peopled Greece; and that they only ſoftened the name of Peleg, or, according to the Septuagint and Vulgate, Phaleg, their progenitor, and called them Pelaſgians. The laſt of thoſe authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the Hebrew and ancient Greek, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the Doric comes neareſt to the eaſtern tongues; and from the remainder of thoſe tongues, eſpecially in thoſe places where the Pelaſgians have been, which Bochart thought of Phœnician, but our author will rather have of Hebrew extraction.

All this is farther confirmed by a paſſage in Epiphanius, who ſays (8), "that from the age of Therah downward, Phaleg and Ragau removed towards the clime of Europe, to part of Scythia, and were joined to thoſe nations from which the Thracians came."

(3) Salmaſ. de Re Helleniſt. p. 2. cap. 1. ap. Hind. Introd. in Hiſt. Græc. (4) 1 Chron. i. 25. Gen. xi. 18, 19. (5) Vide Byzant. ſub voce Ιωνια. (6) Thucydid. lib. i. (7) Grot. Salmaſ. & Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. 4. (8) Epiſt. ad Acac. & Paul.

This

Theſſaly, and Epirus; in which laſt they have been ſuppoſed by ſome [f] to have laid the foundation of the Dodonean oracle. But the moſt ancient name of all, is univerſally allowed to be that of Iones, which the Greeks themſelves derive from Ion, the ſon of Xuthus, or, as the fable hath it, of Apollo, by Creuſa the daughter of Erichtheus, and grandſon to Deucalion [g]. However, as Joſephus affirms [h], that their original is of much older date; and that Javan, the ſon of Japhet, and grandſon of Noah, and his deſcendents, were the firſt who peopled theſe countries, as the learned Bochart ſeems to have proved by very ſtrong arguments [i] (E). *Iones deſcended from Javan.*

It is true, indeed, that among the Greeks themſelves, the original Athenians only, and ſuch colonies as ſprang from them, were called Iones; but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants

[f] Vide Strab. Geogr. lib. v. Vide & Pauſan. in Attic. & Byzant. ſub voce Θεσπιαὶ. [g] Vide Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 44. Apollod. lib. i. cap. 7. Pauſan. Achaic. [h] Ant. lib. i. cap. 7. [i] Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 3.

This laſt paſſage, wherever Epiphanius got it, has been ſufficiently confuted by Bochart (9). Who ſhews that both Phaleg and Ragau, and their deſcendents, continued ſtill in the confines of Media and Armenia. The Scythians were the deſcendents of Magog, and not of Phaleg or Ragau. They were the ſons of Japhet, and not of Shem, who divided the iſles of the Gentiles (1). We ſhall therefore leave the Pelaſgians to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the ancient Greeks in the following note.

(E) Firſt from the authority of Joſephus above quoted. 2. From the name itſelf of the patriarch, יפת without the points, ſounding more properly Jon than Javan. 3. From the authority of Moſes, who ſays (2), that by theſe (the ſons of Japhet) were the iſles of the Gentiles divided; which, according to the genius of the Hebrew, means, not iſlands properly ſo called, but all maritime countries, at any diſtance from Paleſtine, eſpecially thoſe which are along the Mediterranean. 4. From that of the prophets (3), who call Græcia by the name יון, Jon, or, as pointed, Javan. According to which the Jews have always called the Greek tongue יונית Javanith.

All this is farther confirmed by our author from the clear remains of Eliſha, Javan's eldeſt ſon (4), which were ſtill to be found in that of Elis, one of the ancient kingdoms of Peloponneſus.

(9) Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 14. (1) See Gen. x. ver. 2. ad 5. (2) Gen. x. 5. (3) Vide inter al. Iſai. cap. ult. ver. 19. Dan. viii. 21. x. 20. (4) Gen. x. 4.

of Greece by that name; witneſs the teſtimony of Heſychius [k], and the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes [l]. We omit the names of ſeveral other people among the ancient Greeks, which were ſuppoſed to have been the oldeſt of all, but which do not appear to have been the firſt peoplers of that country; ſuch were the Aones, Hyanthes, Leleges, Dryopi, Caucones, Jemmices, and others, mentioned by Strabo [m]. Theſe may be better ſuppoſed to have been reliques of the old Carians, who, Thucydides tells us, made frequent incurſions into Greece [n].

The ancient inhabitants of Greece were, like the anceſtors of the reſt of mankind, abſolutely ſavage and brutal; living on ſuch roots and herbs as the earth ſpontaneouſly produced, and lying in hollow trees, clefts, and caverns. Pelaſgius is ſaid to have improved them, by teaching them to feed on acorns, build huts, and cover their bodies with the ſkins of beaſts. Greece, however, for a long time had no ſettled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakeſt being always ſure to be expelled by the ſtrongeſt. Their gigantic ſize and ſtrength, if we may believe Plutarch [o], added ſo much to their inſolence and cruelty, that they ſeemed to glory in committing the greateſt acts of violence and barbarity on thoſe that unhappily fell into their hands.

Pirates and robbers. When they came to form themſelves into regular ſocieties, to cultivate the lands, and build themſelves towns and cities for ſafety, theſe being generally ſituate on the ſea-coaſts, were in continual danger of being plundered either by ſea or land; for the ſea as well as the land, was infeſted with robbers.

Arts and ſciences. They had no letters till Cadmus carried them thither out of Phœnicia, whoſe alphabet, conſiſting only of ſixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after his time. It was from him likewiſe that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce: as for other ſciences, they continued much longer ſtrangers to them; and it was not till ſome of their great men began to travel into Egypt, and other kingdoms, that they began to have ſome knowlege and reliſh for the liberal arts. We are indeed told, that Orpheus, Muſæus, and ſome others, who travelled in early times, brought a great deal of the Egyptian divinity and religious rites from that

[k] Sub voce Ιανα. [l] Ap. Hind. Introduct. in Hiſt. Græc.
[m] Geogr. lib. vii. [n] Lib. i. [o] In Theſeo.

country;

country [p]; but as for aſtronomy, geometry, philoſophy, and magic, they were introduced long after; the firſt from Babylon, the next from Egypt, and the laſt from Perſia [q]: ſo ignorant were the ancient Greeks of the firſt of theſe ſciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day, than by darkneſs and light, or time of ſleeping and waking; nor the years, but by the time of ſowing and reaping.

Their government.

Their government was ſtill more rude and barbarous; every city, and almoſt every village, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheleſs they gave the name of king. Laws, at leaſt a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the Athenian archons; till then, all depended on the will and definitive ſentence of their kings; only in dubious and important caſes, it was uſual for them to conſult ſome oracle, of which they had variety; the two moſt famous were thoſe of Jupiter at Dodona, and of Apollo at Delphi, ſituated on the hill Parnaſſus (F).

Their

[p] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 49—58. Diod. Siculus. Bib. Hiſt. lib. i.
[q] Vide Tatian. Orat. con. Græc.

(F) It will be expected that we ſhould ſay at leaſt ſo much of theſe oracles, as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, ſince they were eſteemed of ſuch concern, that ſcarce any public affairs were tranſacted (or hardly any private ones, if the perſons were in circumſtances to pay for it) without conſulting ſome of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort deſcription of that at Delphi, as it was the moſt celebrated and frequented of any, either in Greece or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of Jupiter at Dodona, but becauſe Apollo was ſuppoſed more peculiarly to preſide over, and to inſpire men with the knowlege of futurity. Upon this account alſo it was eſteemed to excel all others in the clearneſs and certainty of its anſwers; and by the great concourſe of people who reſorted to and inriched it with preſents, it likewiſe outſhone all the reſt in ſplendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin, and magnificence, ſhall be ſeen in its proper place: here we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort account of the manner in which it was uſually conſulted and delivered, by way of ſpecimen to the reſt; as for thoſe of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee them in our learned archbiſhop Potter's Grecian Archæologia.

1ſt. Thoſe who conſulted the oracle, were to offer ſome con-

Their religion was a little elſe than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, of the Egyptian theology, brought hither at firſt by Cecrops, an Egyptian exile, and founder

ſiderable preſent to the god. 2dly. They offered alſo ſome ſacrifices to him, and according as theſe carried a good or bad omen, ſo the Pythoneſs conſented or refuſed to conſult the deity. 3dly. The queſtion to be aſked, was to be couched in as few words as poſſible. We omit ſome other circumſtances of leſs moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the perſons conſulting, and the nature of the queſtion to be aſked.

2. The time for conſulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the ſpring; the ſeventh day of that month was called Apollo's birth-day, becauſe originally the Pythoneſs gave no anſwers but on that day, till they came ſo often to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time; ſo that in latter ages it appears to be once a month (5).

3. The perſon who delivered the anſwer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in caſe the ſame misfortune ſhould happen to them, their ſhame might be out of danger of being diſcovered by pregnancy. Yet even theſe were obliged to go apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dreſs, that they might give no temptation to their cuſtomers (6).

Pythia, the name that was given the woman who delivered the oracle, is variouſly derived; by ſome, in memory of the ſerpent Pytho, killed by Apollo; by others, otherwiſe; but moſt probably from Pytho, which was but another name for Delphi, the place where this oracle was given, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the inquirer's part, this Pythia, having waſhed herſelf in the fountain Caſtalis, at the foot of Parnaſſus, and ſhaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, ſhe crowned herſelf with a garland of thoſe leaves, and ſometimes alſo eat ſome of the berries; and then aſcended the celebrated tripod, or tripus, and ſitting down upon it, waited for the impulſe of the god.

What kind of machine this wonderful tripod was, is variouſly canvaſſed, and to as little purpoſe. Some take it to have been a braſs pot filled with duſt, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the Pythoneſs, and thence came out at her mouth; others ſay it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of which ſhe knew the reſponſe of the deity: others ſay, that it was large enough for her to plunge herſelf into; but the

(5) Plutarch. Græc. Quæſt. 9. (6) Lyſiſtr. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtop. ap. Potter Archæolog. lib. ii. cap. 9.

moſt

founder of the Attic monarchy, who, according to Pauſanias, firſt introduced the worſhip of Jupiter in his new kingdom.

moſt probable opinion is, that it was a table or ſeat on which ſhe either leaned or ſat (7).

It was called tripod, becauſe it had three feet, alluding, according to ſome, to the three great celeſtial circles, viz. the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but, more probably, if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, paſt, preſent, and future. They had more than one of theſe tripods. The moſt ancient of them was that which the people of the country cauſed to be ſet over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is ſaid to have been wrought by Vulcan, and preſented to Apollo by Pelops king of the Eleans; but the moſt famous one was that which the fiſhermen drew up with their nets, and being adjudged by the oracle to the worthieſt of the ſeven wiſe men who flouriſhed then in Greece, and through modeſty refuſed by him, was dedicated to this Delphic Apollo. The two firſt appear to have been of braſs, but the laſt was of gold; ſome think there were likewiſe more than one Pythia at the ſame time, without any good foundation (8); however, when ſhe who officiated as ſuch, had received the divine afflatus in her belly, ſhe began ſometimes to ſwell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and fleſh, like one in the ſtrongeſt phrenſy, at other times her ſpirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxyſm has been ſo terrible, that it hath ſcared away the prieſts, as well as the conſulters, and one of theſe Pythioneſſes is ſaid to have died by the violence of it (9). Some add, that a dragon or ſerpent has been ſeen to return the anſwer from under the tripod, and that the Pythia was once killed by him.

The anſwer was returned viva voce, and in hexameter, or heroic verſe. Pauſanias attributes this form of anſwering to the famed Phemonoe the firſt Delphic Pythia. But the hymn of Beou, a Delphic lady, attributes it to Olen, who, with his Hyperboreans, inſtituted this oracle, and changed their ruſtic proſe into the ſmooth and heroic verſe.

But though this oracle was the moſt famed for the clearneſs and truth of its anſwers, inſomuch that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet it was not without its ambiguities, ſo as to be eaſily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. Herodotus gives us ſome inſtances of this kind of amphibolous anſwers given to Croeſus, of which that unfortunate king, a munificent votary to the Delphic god, juſtly complains, as having more than once

(7) Cæl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 15. ap. eund.
(8) Vener. de Divinat. (9) Vide Plutarch. de Defect. Orac.

or

kingdom. Orpheus, Dedalus, and Melampus, travelling into Egypt, on their return introduced new ſpecies of idolatry and ſuperſtition; and Greece was ſoon after furniſhed with a number of deities, ſuited to the taſte of their brutal votaries, and with a ſanction and precedent for every unſocial and unnatural vice. To this univerſal degeneracy of the Grecian nation it is, that we aſcribe in ſome meaſure the fabulous accounts which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of thoſe famous heroes, who beſtowed ſo much pains and time to reform and aboliſh it. Of this number were Minos, Hercules, Theſeus, and many more; ſome of whom cleared the ſeas, others the land, of that peſtilent race; and others by wholeſome laws, and the introduction of commerce, arts, and ſciences, laid the happy foundations for the politeneſs and grandeur, for which they were ſo juſtly famed in after-ages.

The chronology of this epoch. This fabulous epocha, as it includes all that the poets have ſung, and hiſtorians recorded, concerning the foundation of the ancient Grecian monarchies, the exploits

or twice miſled him to his ruin (1).

The reader may ſee a number of other inſtances of the ſame nature in Pauſanias (2), beſides thoſe which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the conſulters, yet ſeemed to be directed by ſome foreſeeing being, becauſe they ſtill anſwered the prediction, though in a different ſenſe. Of this nature was that which forewarned Epaminondas to beware of what the Greeks called the Pelagos; by which he, underſtanding it to mean the ſea, which they called πελαγος, forebore to go into any ſhip or galley, whereas it was the Mantinean wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the ſame nature is the Carthaginian general ſaid to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle, that he ſhould be buried in Lybia; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the Romans, he ſhould return and die in his own country; whereas the oracle meant the town of Lybiſſa in Bœotia, but, according to our author, called by the Nicomedians Lybia, in which he died.

It was for this reaſon that theſe predictions, attributed by the heathens to ſome godhead, were by the primitive fathers aſcribed to the devil, who was preſumed to know more of futurity than any mortal.

(1) Lib. i. cap. 46, 47. Phoc. & Potter, ubi ſupra.

(2) In Arcad. vid. & eund. in

of

of the Grecian heroes, their wars and other tranſactions, from the end of the Trojan, and upwards to the foundation of the Sicyonian kingdom, the moſt ancient of all, amounts to nine hundred and five years, that is, from A. M. 1915, when Ægialeus is ſaid to have laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the deſtruction of Troy, A. M. 2820[r]. This chronology, however, is far from being unqueſtionable. But as under this period is contained the hiſtory of the monarchies of Sicyon, Argos, and Mycenæ, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Theſſaly, Corinth, Sparta, and ſome others, from their foundation to their becoming incorporate with others, or to their ſeverally reſolving themſelves into commonwealths; a circumſtance which will oblige us to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha.

Other tranſactions belonging to the epoch.

The ſame period likewiſe comprehends the Ogygian and Deucalion floods; the murder committed by the daughters of Danaus on their huſbands; the labours of Hercules; the unfortunate adventures of Oedipus; the Argonautic expedition; the war of Minos; the exploits and adventures of Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Atlas; thoſe of Perſeus and Bellerophon; the rapes of Io, Europa, and Helena; the war of the Epigoni, or ſeven champions, againſt Thebes; the Trojan war; the fatal end of the greateſt part of the Grecian chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and, in a word, all the heroic deeds of their pretended offſpring, in ſuppreſſing robbers and pirates, depoſing tyrants, protecting the oppreſſed, and forming the Greek nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbariſm into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Sicyon.

The foundation of the Sicyonian kingdom.

SICYON has the firſt place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the reſt, and becauſe it boaſts a ſucceſſion of twenty-ſix kings, whoſe ſeveral reigns make up an epocha of above nine hundred and ſixty years. Its original name was Ægiala, derived from Ægialeus, the ſuppoſed founder and firſt monarch. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain, but it exchanged it

Names.

[r] Vid. Uſſer. Ann. ſub utroque an. ex Caſtor. ap Euſeb. Chronic.

after-

afterwards for that of Apia, from Apis, the fourth king from Ægialeus; and in proceſs of time it acquired that of Sicyon, who was their nineteenth monarch. He reigned about ſeven hundred and forty years after its ſuppoſed foundation; and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninſula of Peloponneſus was called Sicyonia, until its diſſolution.

Situation. This little kingdom lay on the north part of Peloponneſus, ſince called the bay of Corinth. It had the province of Achaia on the weſt, and the Iſthmus which joins the peninſula to the continent of Greece, on the eaſt. What its extent was, cannot be known. The capital of it is ſuppoſed to have been ſituate upon the river Aſopus in in about 38½ degrees of north latitude, and 23½ degrees of eaſt longitude, having the bay of Corinth on the north, the reſt of the Peloponneſus on the other three points[s]. Strabo and Livy ſay, that it was parted from the kingdom of Corinth by the river Nemea[t]; and Ptolemy adds, that it was at firſt called Micone, and afterwards Ægiali; he gave it two cities, Pletius and Sicyon, both which he places at ſome diſtance from the ſea[u].

Natural and artificial rarities. Its territory is rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, beſides ſome iron mines. Its metropolis was, in proceſs of time, very much adorned by Sicyon and his ſucceſſors, with temples, altars, monuments, and ſtatues of all their gods and ancient monarchs. It would be juſtly eſteemed the moſt ancient monarchy in the world, not excepting even thoſe of Egypt and Aſſyria, were it true, that its founder lived about an hundred and fifty years after the flood, that is, about two hundred years before Noah's death, as ſome have computed it from Euſebius, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded one thouſand three hundred and thirteen years before *Chronology.* the firſt Olympiad[x]. But that miſtake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with Terah, Abraham's father, and to have begun his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later, about A. M. 1236[y]; a calculation which brings it ſomewhat lower than the year of the flood 900. We meet with no memorable action or conqueſt performed by any of their

[s] Strab. lib. viii. p. 256. Ibid. p. 263. Mel. & al. [t] Strab. lib. viii. p. 263. Liv. lib. xxiii. cap. 15. [u] Geogr. lib. iii. cap. 15. [x] Heyl. ex Euſeb. Chronic. [y] Uſſer. Rawley, & al.

kings,

kings, during the long space of nine hundred and fifty years; though this epocha is fruitful of the most surprising exploits in other contemporary kingdoms. However, we shall here subjoin a list of those twenty-six monarchs, with the length of their reigns, as we find it transmitted to us.

Kings of Sicyon.

	Reigned Years.		Reigned Years.
1 Ægialeus	52	13 Marathon	13
2 Europs	45	14 Marathus	30
3 Telchin, or Selchin	40	15 Æchyræus	55
4 Apis	25	16 Corax	30
5 Thelxion or Thelasion	52	17 Epopeus	35
6 OEgirus	34	18 Laomedon	40
7 Eurymachus, or Thurimachus	45	19 Sicyon	45
8 Leucippus	53	20 Polybus	40
9 Mossapius	47	21 Inachus or, Ianiscus	42
10 Peratus	46	22 Phœstus	8
11 Plemneus	48	23 Adrastus	4
12 Orthopelis	63	24 Polyphides	38
		25 Pelasgus	20
		26 Zeuxippus	32
		In all Years	962

There is little else to be found in history worth notice concerning these monarchs; the most remarkable are, 1. Ægialeus the founder; 2. Apis, from whom the country was called Apia; 3. Egirus, the supposed founder of the ancient city of Ægira, situate on a high and almost inaccessible hill; once the capital of Achaia, properly so called, and now supposed to be the small village of Hylocastro; 4. Marathon, of whom the famous fields of Marathon had probably their name. 5. Epopæus, who built a stately temple to Minerva, and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. Sicyon, from whom the whole country and and peninsula took the name of Sicyonia. He is likewise supposed to have either built or at least enlarged the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name, so that it was not only one of the noblest cities in Greece, both on account of its magnificent structures and ingenious workmen, but was still a considerable place when the Venetians were masters of the Morea, under the new name of Basilica, though it hath been for near the

century

century laſt paſt reduced to a heap of ruins, containing only three Turkiſh, and about as many Chriſtian families [a] (G).

After the death of Zeuxippus, the laſt king in the liſt, that ſtate is ſaid to have been governed by the prieſts of Apollo Carneus, five of whom held the ſovereignty only during one year each; after which the Amphyctions ſwayed the ſceptre nine years ſucceſſively, and Charidenus, the laſt of them, continued in it eighteen years [a]. After this hierarchy had laſted thirty-two years, the Heraclidæ, who were by that time returned into Peloponneſus, became maſters of it, or, according to Pauſanias, the kingdom was incorporated with the Dores, and became ſubject to that of Argos [b], the next ancient kingdom to that of Sicyon.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the ancient Kingdom of Argos.

WE have already hinted, that not the kingdom only of Sicyon, but the whole Peloponneſus was called Ægiala and Apia, from the firſt and fourth kings of it. There were likewiſe two kings of the ſame name in Argos; one the younger ſon of Inachus, the founder of the kingdom, and the other the ſon of Phornutus, the elder brother of Ægialeus [c]. Hence theſe two have been confounded with thoſe of Sicyon, and their kingdoms thought to have been of as ancient, if not of older date than the Sicyonians, and the country to have received its name not from the Sicyonian, but from the Argivic monarch. In ſo dark a diſpute we can only ſay, that the Argive Ægialeus being a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, ſeeing his brother Phornutus left the kingdom to his own ſon, it is not ſo likely that the country ſhould receive its name from him, as from Sicyon. However, the kingdom ſoon changed its name for that of Argolis,

[a] Sir Geo. Wheeler Voy. lib. iii. [a] Euſeb. Chron. [b] In Corinth. [c] Apollodor. lib. ii. cap. 1. Vid. Hind. Hiſt. Græc.

(G) The town, which was ſituate on the top of a hill, about three miles from the gulf of Lepanto, hath ſtill ſeveral noble monuments of its ancient, as well as modern grandeur, particularly the walls of its famed citadel, of ſome fine churches, and moſques, and a large ancient edifice, called the Royal Palace, with aqueducts to ſupply it with water. The reader may ſee the reſt of its old remains in Sir George Wheeler above quoted.

from

from Argos the ſon of Jupiter, by Niobe, who was ſiſter to Apis, upon whom the kingdom devolved, becauſe Apis died without iſſue. It was alſo called Hippim and Hippoboton, from the neighbouring paſtures, in which Neptune is ſaid to have fed his horſes [d], or rather from an excellent breed of horſes for which that country was famed.

Situation and extent.

This kingdom is ſituate on the north-eaſt ſide of Peloponneſus, ſurrounded on the eaſt by the two bays of Saron, now Golfo di Napoli, and of Argos, and has the kingdom of Sicyon or Achaia Propria and Arcadia on the north and weſt, and that of Laconia on the ſouth. What its ancient limits were, is hard to ſay; but it was very much enlarged by ſome of its monarchs, ſo that it extended from eaſt to weſt about ſeventy miles, and north and ſouth from 37½ deg. to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles.

Natural and artificial rarities.

Its chief river, the Inachus, ſo called from the founder of this kingdom, empties itſelf into the bay of Argos, now called Golfo d'Engia, near the port of Aſini. On this river was ſituate the metropolis (called alſo Inachus, from its founder and firſt monarch), famous among other things for its excellent ſituation on a ſpacious, rich, and well-watered plain, from which it is ſuppoſed to have received its name (H), and for its celebrated citadel, called Tariſſa, ſeated on an eminence, on which ſtood alſo a temple, dedicated to Jupiter. In this city was alſo the brazen tower, into which Danae, being confined by her father, was deflowered by that laſcivious god. It was likewiſe much inriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine race of horſes, bred about its territory, from which it

[d] Pauſan. in Corinth.

(H) So ſays Strabo, who thinks it to be a Macedonian or Theſſalian word, ſignifying a plain or champain country, (πεδιον) (3), in which ſenſe it is alſo taken by Homer. It is therefore a miſtake in thoſe who have ſuppoſed this city and territory to have been dry or barren, becauſe the poet gives it the epithet of thirſty; when it was ſo well watered not only by the Inochus abovementioned, but by ſeveral other rivulets, ſprings, &c. and Homer's word ſhould rather have been tranſlated *deſireable*, or *to be thirſted after*. Beſides, it is plain he did not there mean the city of Argos, but the whole peninſula, which was then called by that name; for Agamemnon, who, the poet ſays, was forbid to return to Argos, kept his court not in the city of that name, but at the capital of Mycene.

(3) Geogr. lib. viii. p. 270, & ſeq.

acquired

acquired the name of Hippium. 2. Next to Argos was Mycena, which became in proceſs of time the ſeat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by Horace for her riches, as her rival Argos was for her horſes. 3. Træzen, once the royal ſeat of Pitteus, the grandfather of Theſeus. 4. Nemea, famous for the Nemean games, ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted there in memory of Hercules's killing a lion, which infeſted that neighbourhood; or, as others will have it, in memory of the ſon of Lycurgus, king of the country about Nemea, who had been killed by a ſerpent, whilſt his nurſe Hyſipyle went to conduct the Argivi to a ſpring of water. 5. Epidarus, in which ſtood the moſt famed temple of Æſculapius, reſorted to from moſt parts of Europe and Aſia for the cure of all diſtempers. 6. Nauplia, ſo called from its founder Nauplius, king of Ebena, and for its excellent ſituation and harbour, whence it had the name of Nauplia Navale, now Neapolis, from which the gulf on which it is ſituate, hath its modern name [e].

Government. The government of Argos, and afterwards of Mycena, continued altogether monarchical from its firſt foundation to its converſion into a democracy. Pauſanias indeed obſerves, that the Argives were extremely jealous of their liberties, and ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly extinguiſh it, till after a long ſucceſſion of princes; the Heraclydæ, who were of the family of Perſeus, recovered the kingdom from that of Pelops, about eighty years after the reduction of Troy, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that ſpace they gained ſo much ground upon their kings, that they left them little elſe than the bare name; but by what laws they were anciently governed, or by whom they were enacted, is what we will not venture to explain.

The chronology of Argos. This kingdom, Euſebius tells us, out of Caſtor [f], was founded 1080 years before the firſt Olympiad, that is, according to Uſher, in the year of the world 2148; ſo that Inachus, the founder of it, was contemporary with Abraham, and with Thurimachus, the ſeventh king of Sicyon. It continued under the name of the Argolic kingdom till the reign of Acriſius, the fourteenth king, who transferred the ſeat of it to Mycena, a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700, and about the year 554 of its foundation, from which time that part of it conti-

[e] Steph. de Urb. [f] Mela. Heyl. Cluver.

nued

nued to be called the kingdom of Mycena, till the diſſolution which happened about the year 2920, when the Heraclidæ made themſelves maſters again both of this and of the whole peninſula, after it had ſtood upwards of 770 years, under the government of twenty-one monarchs. The Argolic kingdom, properly ſo called, retained likewiſe its own kings after this diviſion, until the Heraclidæ, whoſe family had been ſet aſide by that of Euryſtheus, the implacable enemy of Hercules and all his race, above an age before. Theſe dividing the peninſula into three kingdoms, that of Argos had not continued above forty years before Meltas, their laſt king, having made an effort to recover the royal prerogative, loſt both his kingdom and life; after which event, the Argive government was changed into a democracy.

A Liſt of the Kings of Argos before its Tranſlation to Mycena.

1 Inachus	
2 Phoroneus	Kings of Mycena.
3 Apis	
4 Argus	1 Perſeus
5 Piraſus, or Criaſus	2 Euryſtheus
6 Phorbas	3 Atreus and Thyeſtes
7 Triophas	4 Agamemnon
8 Crotopus	5 Ægiſthus
9 Sthenelus	6 Oreſtes
10 Danaus	7 Tiſſamenus, or Penthilus
11 Lynceus	
12 Abas	Kings of the Heraclidæ at
13 Prætus	Argos, after they had
14 Acriſius	recovered Peloponneſus,
15 Perſeus, the founder of the kingdom of Mycena.	and divided it into three kingdoms.
16 Talaon	1 Temenus
17 Adraſtus	2 Ciſus
18 Ægialeus	3 Lacidaus
19 Diomedes	4 Meltas.

Inachus, the ſuppoſed ſon of Oceanus and Tethys, is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his ſiſter Meliſſa, by whom he had two ſons, Phoroneus and Ægialeus: he is ſuppoſed to be the father of Io, and therefore the Greeks are ſometimes called from him Inachi. *Inachus.*

Phoroneus. Phoroneus ſucceeded his father, enlarged his territories, and collected the people, who were before diſperſed about the country, into one city, which was called from him Phoronium[g]; he is ſaid to have had a ſon by the nymph Laodice, named Apis, and a daughter called Niobe, who became the firſt paramour of the luſtful god, Jupiter, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Argos. From Phoroneus, his ſuppoſed ſiſter Io is ſometimes called Phoronis by the poets[h].

Apis. Apis ſucceeded his father, but governing tyrannically, a faction was formed againſt, and ſupported by Thekim, or Thelxion, king of Sicyon, to whoſe treachery he was ſacrificed. Some affirm that he fled into Egypt, where he taught that people agriculture, upon which account he was worſhipped under the title of Serapis, and in the form of an ox. We have already obſerved, in the hiſtory of that kingdom, that Serapis was worſhipped under a human form, bearing a buſhel on its head. As for their Apis, though he was indeed worſhipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of Argolic extraction. We meet with ſeveral individuals of the name, one in Sicyon, one in Argos, and this in Egypt; all of them ſo confounded by mythologiſts, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos. Argos, the ſon of Jupiter and Niobe, ſucceeded Apis; he is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it, and the whole kingdom, by his name[i]. He is ſaid to have been a promoter of agriculture among the Grecians, who, from this prince, acquired the name of Argivi.

Criaſus. Criaſus, by others called Peiraſus and Peranthus, the ſon of Argos.

Phorbas. Phorbas, the ſon of Criaſus, ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with Atlas and Prometheus.

Triopas. Triopas, the ſon of Phorbas, whoſe brother, named alſo Phorbas, ſettled in the iſland of Rhodes.

Crotopus. Crotopus, in whoſe time the Argives felt the dire effects of Apollo's anger on the following occaſion: that god had a private amour with Pſamathe, the king's daughter; and ſhe, to conceal the fruit of it from her father, hid it among the ruſhes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. Apollo, to puniſh the Argives for this crime, ſent the monſter, or Fury, Pene, who ſnatched their children from the boſoms of their mothers, and de-

[g] Pauſan. in Corinth. [h] Horat. & al. [i] Apollod. lib. ii. cap. 1.

ſtroyed

ſtroyed them. This monſter being killed at length by Cœrebus, Apollo ſent them a grievous peſtilence. Cœrebus having conſulted the oracle, to know how his anger might be appeaſed, was forbid to return to Argos, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god wherever it chanced to drop from him, an injunction with which he complied accordingly.

Sthelenus, ſon of Crotopus, reigned ſixteen years, after which he, or as others think, his ſon Geleanor, was expelled by Danaus, an Egyptian. *Sthenelus.*

Danaus had been baniſhed Egypt by his brother Ægyptus, for refuſing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty ſons of his brother. His pretence for refuſing this alliance was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle that he ſhould be killed by a ſon-in-law. Being therefore expelled Egypt, he came to Argos, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being deſcended from Epaphus the ſon of Io, who was the daughter of Inachus. Both he and Sthenelus agreed to have their title decided by the people; and, upon the ſecond meeting of the aſſembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, which was graſing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people, who beheld this incident, took it for a fatal omen againſt the preſent poſſeſſor. Sthenelus was ſuppoſed to be meant by the bull, and Danaus by the wolf, becauſe he was a ſtranger. Upon this interpretation he was immediately proclaimed king[k]. *Danaus.*

As ſoon as Ægyptus heard of this election, he reſolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and ſtrengthening himſelf by ſo many alliances againſt him. He raiſed a powerful army, and ſent it with his fifty ſons againſt the new king of Argos; and theſe reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promiſe to ſtab their huſbands on the firſt night of their nuptials, a promiſe which they all performed, except one, named Hypermneſtra, who privately conveyed her bridegroom, Lynceus, to Lyrcæa, a town not far from the metropolis. Danaus was ſo exaſperated at her diſobedience, that he ordered her immediately to be put to death; but ſhe being honourably acquitted by the more humane Argives, was again received into favour, and Lynceus declared his heir and ſucceſſor. As for his other forty-nine daughters, they are feigned to have been

[k] Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

condemned to an endleſs puniſhment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw water in buckets, bored with innumerable holes, ſo as that they could never be filled (I).

Lynceus. Lynceus, the ſon of Ægyptus, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his ſtead. In commemoration of his wife's having ſaved his life, and of her being acquitted by the Argives, they dedicated a ſtatue to Venus, and the Argives inſtituted a feaſt in memory of the ſignal Hypermneſtra had given to her huſband of his being out of danger, and called it the feaſt of torches.

Abas. Abas was the ſon of Lynceus and Hypermneſtra, and father of Prætus and Acriſius, by Ocalea, the daughter of Mantineus. Theſe two ſons, who were twins, are ſaid to have ſtruggled together in their mother's womb, a ſure preſage of that more fatal ſtruggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two firſt who made uſe of targets in the battles they fought againſt each other[1].

Prætus. Prætus was the firſt that mounted the throne, and held it about ſeventeen years. It was in ſome part of this time, that Bellerophon, king of Corinth, having committed manſlaughter, came to Argos to be expiated by Prætus, whoſe queen, Stenobæa, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, ſolicited him often in vain, to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, privately accuſed him to her huſband of having attempted her chaſtity. Prætus, not ſuſpecting the truth of the accuſation, ſent immediately the young Corinthian prince to his father-in-law Jobates, with letters, in which he deſired him to make away with the innocent ſtranger. Jobates employed him in ſeveral dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithſtanding, Bellerophon

[1] Pauſan. in Argolic. Apollod. lib. ii. cap. 2.

(I) This fable ſome mythologiſts interpret of their being doomed to fill the ciſterns of the citadel, which Danaus built at Argos, with water, and probably alſo thoſe of the city, which, according to the deſcription Strabo gives us of it (4), ſeems to have wanted a conſiderable ſupply of that element. For though it be built upon the river Inachus, yet, on account of its vicinity to the gulf, it is probable that the water of it might be too brackiſh to be drank. However, the citadel being built on an eminence, it muſt have been ſupplied with water from ſome ſuch ciſterns.

(4) Strab. Geogr. lib. viii.

came

came off victorious [m]. In the mean time Prætus met with ſomething to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother Acriſius, who proving too ſtrong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law Jobates king of Lycia. Theſe two princes ſoon returned into Argos with an army, took the city of Tyrias, and obliged Acriſius to agree to a treaty, by which Prætus had Tyrin, and other maritime places, and Acriſius acquired Argos and the inland towns [n]. Prætus had forty-three daughters by his wife Stenobæa, or, as ſhe is called by Homer, Antæa; and they, with the reſt of the women of that country, were ſeized with a diſtemper, which they called the fury of Bacchus; but were cured by an excellent phyſician and ſoothſayer, who had one of the daughters in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom as a reward for his ſkill. Melampus (that was the phyſician's name) obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom, for his brother Bias; but Prætus had, ſoon after this partition, a ſon named Megapenthes, who ſucceeded him in the other third, called Tyrin; but it is likely theſe three were again reunited, and made a new kingdom of Argos after the death of thoſe philoſophers, as we ſhall ſee after we have ended the hiſtory of the kings of Mycena, whoſe part, from that time, makes the moſt conſiderable figure.

14. Acriſius, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife Eurydice, called Danae, and had been forewarned by the oracle, that ſhe would have a ſon, by whom he ſhould be killed. To prevent her, therefore, from having any converſation with mankind, he cauſed her to be cloſe confined in a ſtrong brazen tower, and under ſuch ſtrict watch, that ſhe might, in all likelihood, have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not Jupiter melted himſelf, as the poets feign, into a golden ſhower, which ſliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution [o] (K). *Acriſius.*

The fruit of theſe ſtolen embraces was Perſeus, who was no ſooner born, than Acriſius ordered him and his mother to be put into a cheſt, and thrown into the ſea; but

[m] Idem, ibid. Ovid. Metam. &c. [n] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. ubi ſupra. [o] Apollod. ib. cap. 4.

(K) This golden ſhower ſeems to have been only ſome conſiderable bribe to thoſe who guarded the tower. Some think that it was her uncle Prætus who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

Jupiter took care to convey them ſafe to Seriphus, where Dictys, the brother of Polydectes, king of that iſland, educated Perſeus as his own ſon. By that time he was grown up, the king had fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had he not been prevented by her ſon. The king, provoked at this oppoſition, and reſolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, ſent him into Africa to fetch the famous Gorgon, Meduſa's head, not doubting but the attempt would coſt him his life. But, to his ſurprize, he ſaw the young prince return with the Gorgon (L), and crowned with a two-fold ſucceſs, having in that expedition ſaved Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, king of Joppe, a maritime town in Phœnicia, from being devoured by a whale (M); in recompence of which ſervice, ſhe was given to him in marriage.

At his return to Seriphus, he thought of nothing but how to be revenged on the luſtful and inhoſpitable king. Here he found that his mother and Dictys had been forced to take refuge in a ſanctuary, to ſcreen themſelves from his brutiſh violence. Perſeus having turned him and all his accomplices into ſtone at the ſight of the Gorgon, he ſet Dictys upon the throne. From thence he went with his mother Danae, and his wife Andromeda, into Argos; but Acriſius, frightened at the news of his being alive, and having performed ſuch noble exploits, had retired into Lariſſa, a city of Pelaſgia, ſituate on the river Peneus. Tantalus, the king of that country, having ſoon after cauſed ſome funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceaſed father, Perſeus went thither, among a great concourſe of Grecian princes, and, by an unfortunate caſt of the diſk, which fell upon Acriſius's foot, who was there preſent, killed him, and undeſignedly fulfilled the oracle[P].

P Pauſan. ubi ſupra, Apollod. ubi ſupra.

(L) According to Pauſanias, Meduſa had ſucceeded her father Phorcas in his kingdom, which was ſituate along the lake Tritonis, and that ſhe was a virago, who, for want of other employment, was much uſed to hunt, and to fight with her African ſubjects; and that Perſeus coming upon her in the dead of the night, with the choiceſt forces of Peloponneſus, ſurpriſed and beheaded her, and carried her head away into Greece, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty.

(M) The whale is ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe than a ſhip ſo called, into which Phœnix had ſecured her, in order to convey her away (5).

(5) Conon. Narrat. 40. Roſſ. Myſtag. Poetic. Hind. Grec.

15. Per-

Perſeus, though next heir to the kingdom of Argos, in right of Danae his mother, yet choſe to exchange it with his couſin Megapenthes for the ſmall territory of Tyrin, which had been left to him by his father Prætus, rather than return to Argos after the unhappy death of his grandfather. Some affirm that Perſeus reſtored his grandfather to his throne, after he had been depoſed by his brother; but that is inconſiſtent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However, after this exchange with Megapenthes, Perſeus built the city of Mycenæ, and made it the metropolis of the kingdom. This little ſtate was ſituate on the river Inachus, which parted it from Arcadia on the weſt. It had Argos on the north and eaſt, and the gulf of Lepanto on the ſouth. That of Argos was therefore ſaid to have been tranſlated thither, becauſe this new metropolis became in a ſhort time more populous and opulent than the other, and is more celebrated among the poets, though it fell into ſuch decay preſently after the diſſolution of the Mycenian, or, as it is commonly called, the kingdom of Agamemnon, that Strabo tells us there were ſcarce any footſteps left of it in his time, though ſome Roman hiſtorians ſeem to hint as if ſome part of that once famed city were ſtill ſtanding when the Romans conquered Macedonia[q]. After Acriſius's death, the kingdom being thus divided into ſeveral portions, and among different families, Perſeus having reigned about eighteen years in that of Tyrin, left it to his ſon Alcæus, and he to Amphitryon, on whoſe wife Alcmena, Jupiter is ſaid to have begot Hercules, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three, to add the more ſtrength to the child[r]. In the mean time Amphitryon having unawares killed Electryon, who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to Thebes. Here the child Hercules began to give ſuch early proofs of his courage, extraordinary ſtrength and fierceneſs, that he was ſent to be brought up among ſome ſhepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age[s] (N). *Perſeus.*

Eury-

[q] Polyb. in Excerpt. ex Valeſ. Liv. lib. xxxii. cap. 39. [r] Pauſan. ubi ſup. Diodor. Biblioth. Hiſt. lib. iv. [s] Apollod. ibid.

(N) There were many fabulous heroes of this name. Diodorus and Euſebius mention three: Diodorus aſcribes all theſe fabulous actions to the youngeſt, who was the ſon of Alcmena. Servius ſpeaks of four, and Varro of forty-four; but the moſt remarkable of theſe are the ſix mentioned

Euryſtheus.

Euryſtheus, the ſon of Sthenelus, who was come to the crown of Mycena, or, as others have it, ſucceeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye, on account of his title to the crown, as being the reputed ſon of Amphitryon, his couſin-german. His fear and hatred of him ſoon grew to ſuch a height, that he left no way untried to be rid of this rival. Hercules, who was not inſenſible of his hatred, becauſe he was ever engaging him upon ſome deſperate expedition, went to conſult the oracle, and being anſwered that it was the pleaſure of the gods that he ſhould ſerve Euryſtheus twelve years, ſunk into a deep melancholy, that turned at length into a furious madneſs, during which, among other deſperate deeds, he put away his wife Megara, and murdered all the children he had by her, which are ſuppoſed to have been twelve, becauſe the king impoſed the ſame number of labours upon him as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his ſenſes [t]. Theſe labours being for the moſt part fabulous, we ſhall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our hiſtory of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (O).

Ar-

[t] Diod. Apollodor. ubi ſupra.

by Tully; as follows (6): The firſt, begot by the ancient Jupiter and Lyſito, who contended with Apollo for the tripod.

The ſecond, the ſon of Nile and an Egyptian, was the inventor of the Phrygian characters.

The third was a native of Crete (and the ſon of the Celtic Jupiter): he was one of the Idæi Dactyli, or Curetes of Mount Ida.

The fourth, was the ſon of the ſecond Jupiter and Aſteria, ſiſter to Latona, and father of Carthago; he was worſhipped by the Tyrians.

The fifth, was the Indian Belus. And

The ſixth, was this Hercules, the ſuppoſed ſon of Amphitryon, but begot by the third Jupiter upon Alcmena.

(O) The firſt labour impoſed upon him was the killing of a lion in Nemea, a wood of Achaia; whoſe hide was proof againſt any weapon, ſo that he was forced to ſeize him by the throat, and ſtrangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his ſkin about his ſhoulders.

In the ſecond he killed the hydra, a monſter with two heads, one of which was no ſooner cut off, than two ſprung up in its room.

In the third he brought the Erymanthian boar alive upon

(6) Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.

his

Atreus, the ſon of Pelops, and grandſon of Tantalus, king of Sipylus, aſcended the throne of Mycenæ, after *Atreus.*

his ſhoulders, at the ſight of which the king is ſaid to have been ſo frighted, that he ran and hid himſelf in a brazen hogſhead. It was likewiſe in this expedition that he overcame the famous centaurs (7).

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns, and of prodigious ſwiftneſs.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanſe Augeus's ſtable in one day, which he did by turning the river Alpheus into it.

In the ſixth he chaſed away the miſchievous birds of the lake Stymphalis, who are feigned to have lived upon human fleſh, and to have been at length deſtroyed by Hercules' arrows, or according to others, to have been only ſcared away from thence (8).

His ſeventh was to fetch a famous bull from the iſle of Crete, with which Paſiphae, the wife of Minos, is ſaid to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped Jupiter to overcome the Titannic giants, he reconciled Prometheus to him, and looſed him from Mount Caucaſus.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of Diomedes out of Thrace, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the fleſh of the ſtrangers that paſſed that way. Hercules firſt threw their inhuman maſter to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to Euryſtheus, who dedicated them to Juno. Their breed is ſaid to have continued till Alexander's time. Betwixt this and his new taſk, he is ſuppoſed to have gone upon the Argonautic expedition, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

In the ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the Amazons: and

In the tenth the oxen of Geryon out of Iberia, or Spain, in the fartheſt parts of which he erected his two pillars, as the utmoſt limits of the then known world. Theſe ten labours he atchieved, as the fable ſays, in a little above eight years. In this expedition, he is likewiſe affirmed to have killed Antæus, a famous giant of a monſtrous ſize, who, when weary with wreſtling or labour, was immediately refreſhed by touching the earth. Pliny makes him the founder of Tangier. Hercules overcame him in wreſtling, and ſlew him; and after him the tyrant Buſiris, in his way through Egypt. This bloody man uſed to ſacrifice all his gueſts and ſtrangers upon his altars, and deſigning to have done the ſame by Hercules, was ſlain by him, together with all his attendants.

His two laſt taſks were fetching Cerberus out of hell, and the Heſperian golden apples, kept by a dragon, which laſt is interpreted to have been a fine herd of cattle kept by ſome ſtout man, and brought out of Africa to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(7) Vide Pauſan. in Arcad. cap. 22. Diod. Sicul. lib. iv.

(8) Apollod. lib. ii.

the

the death of Euryſtheus, who left no iſſue. As for the line of Perſeus, it only ſubſiſted in Hercules. Atreus is always joined with his brother Thyeſtes as partner of the kingdom. Theſe two are juſtly branded, one for his inceſt, and the other for his horrid murders. Thyeſtes for defiling his brother's wife; and Atreus for murdering his ſons, and feaſting him with their fleſh (P).

It was in his reign that the Heraclidæ, for ſo were called the ſons and deſcendents of Hercules, came under the conduct of their champion Hyllus, the ſon of Hercules, and claimed the kingdom of Mycena, from which they had been driven by Euryſtheus. The controverſy was to be decided by ſingle combat, and under theſe conditions, that if Hyllus killed Euchemus, who had undertaken to be champion for Atreus, then this laſt ſhould relinquiſh his kingdom to the Heraclidæ; and if Hyllus was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into Peloponneſus till fifty years were expired. It happened that Hyllus was killed by his antagoniſt, ſo that Atreus obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the Heraclidæ went to Tricorinthus, and others to Dorus, to whoſe father Hercules had left the region of Æſtiæotis in truſt for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the Dores. Their grandmother Alcmena diſappearing about this time, as ſhe was returning to Thebes, had divine honours inſtituted and paid to her[u]. Atreus was ſoon after their departure killed by Ægiſthus, and ſucceeded by his own ſon,

Agamemnon. Agamemnon, who was reckoned at that time the wealthieſt and moſt powerful potentate in all Greece. His dominion extended not only through a conſiderable part of Peloponneſus, but alſo to ſeveral neighbouring iſlands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of ſea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his contemporary kings. This was the reaſon of his being choſen general of the Trojan expedition, for the recovery of Helena, his brother Menelaus's wife.

[u] Pauſan. Apollod. ubi ſupra & al.

(P) The poets feign that the ſun went back at the ſight of this horrid feaſt. As for Thyeſtes, he went to conſult Apollo how he might be revenged on his brother, and was anſwered, that if he would lie with his own daughter Pelopea, he would beget a ſon, that ſhould murder both Atreus and his ſon Agamemnon. He did ſo; and Ægiſthus, the fruit of this ſecond inceſt, fulfilled the prophecy.

After

After the destruction of Troy, besides several other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the booty, the disposition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel arose between Agamemnon and his brother. The latter was for sailing homewards immediately, and the other for staying to sacrifice to Minerva. The consequence was, that they parted in great anger. Agamemnon having weathered several storms, which the goddess Pallas, as the poets feign, had sent against him and his confederates, arrived at last at Mycenæ, where he was murdered by his cousin-german Ægisthus, and his wife Clytemnestra, who during his absence had engaged in an unlawful amour with that prince.

Ægisthus.

Ægisthus was the son of Thyestes, begot on his daughter Pelopeia, by the advice of the oracle. His mother, to conceal the foulness of her pregnancy, exposed him in the woods, where a shepherd nursed him with goats milk, from which he was called Ægisthus. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with Clytemnestra, during Agamemnon's absence, made them both fear lest they should fall a sacrifice to the resentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore soon determined to the fact, and having murdered Agamemnon, seized upon the kingdom, and held it about ten years; but both he and his paramour were at length murdered by Orestes, Agamemnon's son.

Orestes.

Orestes, who was but a child at the death of his father, had been privately conveyed to Strophius, in Phocis, by Electra, his father's sister; but as soon as he was come to riper years, he returned to Mycenæ, and having killed the usurper, and his own mother, took possession of the kingdom, and that of Argos, whose throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of Diomedes into Italy, after his return from the siege of Troy. The occasion of this flight we shall see in the sequel of the remaining kings of Argos, after its being parted from that of Mycenæ. Orestes ran raving mad soon after, from the conscious guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by the Furies. Being again restored to his senses, and vexed to find that Hermione, his uncle Menelaus's daughter, whom her grandfather Tyndareus had promised to him in marriage, had been espoused to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, he killed him in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and married Hermione, by whom he obtained also the kingdom of Sparta *.

* Apollod. Pausan. & ubi supra.

With

With Oreſtes we may mention here his faithful and conſtant friend Pylades, the ſon of Strophius, with whom he had been brought up. Theſe two are famed for having been ſo like each other in face, ſhape, temper, and affection, that they ſeemed to have but one ſoul, and were not to be diſtinguiſhed from one another; inſomuch, that when Thoas, king of Taurica, would have put Oreſtes to death, each affirming he was the ſon of Agamemnon, the king could not poſſibly find out the right perſon, but admired their extraordinary friendſhip, which was indeed ſuch, that it paſſed into a proverb.

Penthilus. Penthilus, or according to others Tiſamenes, ſucceeded his father Oreſtes in both kingdoms; but, in leſs than three years, was killed in a battle againſt the Achæi, whom he had expelled from Argos and Mycenæ, and had reduced to the neceſſity of driving the Ionians out of Ægialia into Attica. After his death the Heraclidæ, who had already acquired the greateſt part of Peloponneſus, made themſelves maſters of theſe two kingdoms alſo, which they held until the conqueſt of that peninſula by the Macedonians.

After the parting of the kingdoms of Mycenæ and Argos, and of the latter into three parts, we find Adraſtus, the ſon of Talaon and Eurinome, reigning in Argos, as deſcended from Perſeus. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to Polynices, prince of Thebes, and the other to Tydeus, upon the following accident. Theſe two princes were come to Argos, the former to beg the king's aſſiſtance againſt his brother Etocles, who had deprived him of his yearly ſhare in the government, and the latter was fled thither from Calydonia for manſlaughter. They happened to have a quarrel in ſome of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed Adraſtus, and forced him to enquire the occaſion of the diſturbance. He had been formerly adviſed by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, the other to a boar, and had been doubtleſs very much puzzled to find out the meaning of this injunction; but at his coming out, he found, to his joy and ſurprize, an agreeable ſolution of it. Polynices bore a lion, and Tydeus a boar upon his ſhield; upon which he immediately gave his daughter Argia to the former, and Deipyle to the latter, whoſe ſon ſucceeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

Soon after this incident, being reſolved to aſſiſt Polynices, he raiſed a good army, and procured the beſt commanders he could, to accompany him in the expedition.

Among

Among theſe was one Amphiaraus, a good officer and great ſoothſayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till Polynices contrived the following ſtratagem. They offered to make his wife Eryphile umpire whether he ſhould go or not; and having bribed her before-hand with a coſtly bracelet, ſhe decided in the affirmative; upon which Amphiaraus, who foreſaw that none of the chief officers would eſcape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithleſs wife, left ſtrict charge with his two ſons, before he departed, that as ſoon as they were come of age, they ſhould kill her, and make war againſt the king of Thebes [y].

Adraſtus marching with his army through the Nemean foreſt, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of Thoas, king of Lemnos, whom ſhe had ſaved, when the reſt of the Lemnian women had killed, by one conſent, all the males of that iſland, with intent to turn Amazons. For this her filial piety, they had ſold her to pirates, who brought her to Lycurgus, king of the country about Nemea, whoſe ſon Archemorus, or, as others call him, Opheltes, ſhe was nurſing, and had then in her arms. The Argives deſired her to direct them to ſome water, and ſhe laying down the boy, went to ſhew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a ſerpent, ſhe hid herſelf for fear of her maſter's anger, and Amphiaraus ſent her ſons notice ſoon after where their mother was. The Argives killed the ſerpent; and, in memory of the dead child, they are ſaid to have inſtituted the games called Nemean, in which Adraſtus won the race by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe Arion. Tydeus obtained the prize at whirlbats, Polynices at wreſtling, Amphiaraus at running and quoits, Parthenopeus at ſhooting, and Laodicus at darting [z].

From the Nemean woods they marched and encamped at the foot of Cithæron, a celebrated hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the prieſteſſes of Bacchus, to whom the hill was conſecrated, uſed to keep in this place. Here they ſent Tydeus to Thebes, to demand of Etocles the performance of the contract between Polynices and him. Upon his refuſal, Tydeus, deſirous partly to ſhew his own courage, and partly to try that of the Thebans, gave ſeveral challenges to their moſt noted champions, in which he ſtill came

[y] Diodor. Bibl. lib. iv. Apollod. lib. iii. cap. 5. [z] Id. ibid.

off

off conqueror. The Thebans, envious of his ſucceſs, ſent fifty of their choice men to way-lay him in his return to Cithæron, who were all killed except one, whom he ſent back to Thebes, to acquaint Etocles with his courage and ſucceſs. The Argives, on the other hand, hearing of what had paſſed, reſolved upon the ſiege of the city; the miſcarriage of which we ſhall ſee in its proper place. All that needs be ſaid here is, that Adraſtus owed his eſcape to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and Amphiaraus is ſaid to have been ſwallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horſes, near the river Iſmene, or perhaps drowned all together in that river. The other five generals likewiſe loſt their lives, ſo that it proved even as Amphiaraus had foreſeen, that Adraſtus alone ſhould ſurvive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the Athenians, and to beg their aſſiſtance, that the Argives might at leaſt be enabled to recover the dead bodies of his ſoldiers and ſubjects, which the Thebans refuſed to deliver. The Athenians readily granted his requeſt, and forced the Thebans into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

Ægialeus. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ægialeus, who, about ten years after the defeat before Thebes, entered into a confederacy with Diomedes, the ſon of his brother-in-law Tydeus, and with the five ſons of the other generals who had loſt their lives in that expedition, to revenge their death upon the Thebans, and if poſſible to level that city with the ground. Thence theſe ſeven captains were called Epigoni. The oracle being conſulted, promiſed them ſucceſs, provided they choſe Alcmæon, the ſon of Amphiaraus, for their general. They did ſo, and were victorious accordingly.

Diomedes. After this tranſaction Diomedes, the ſon of Tydeus, the ſon-in-law of Adraſtus, who was alſo king of Ætolia, came to the crown of Argos in right of his wife, and was the laſt king of it. After his ſucceſsful enterprize againſt Thebes, he engaged in that againſt Troy, and was one of that ſmall number of princes who returned ſafe to his own country. Upon his arrival at Argos, he found that his wife Ægiale, whom Venus had plagued with a furor uteri, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the ſiege of Troy, had entertained a criminal familiarity with Cometes, the ſon of Sthenelus, one of the heroes that went to that ſiege. When ſhe found that her huſband had diſcovered her intrigue, ſhe attempted to kill him, but he firſt retired to the temple of Juno, and thence into

into Apulia, then a ſmall kingdom of Italy. There he found Daunus, the king of it, cloſely beſieged, who promiſed him part of his kingdom, if he could defeat his enemies. Diomedes accompliſhed the condition, and built a city there, which he called Argos Hippium, whence, in proceſs of time, it changed its name into Argyrippa. He was afterwards killed by Daunus, and, according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into ſwans.

In the mean time the Heraclidæ, ſince their firſt expulſion out of Peloponneſus, by Euryſtheus king of Argos, had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to regain it. The firſt was in Atreus's time, under Hyllus; another under his ſon Cleodæus; a third under his grandſon Ariſtomachus. This laſt prince left three ſons, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, who, when they came of age, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of a new invaſion, and received this ambiguous anſwer, that it would ſucceed if they went by the way of Stenygrus; but they thinking the narrow paſſage of the iſthmus was meant by Stenygrus, invaded it by that way, and Ariſtomachus loſt the battle and his life in the attempt [a] (Q).

The Heraclidæ were promiſed better ſucceſs, provided they put themſelves under the command of a general that had three eyes, but where to find ſuch a one was the dif-

[a] Apollod. lib. iii. cap. 5. & ſeq. Pauſan. in Bœotic.

(Q) The Pythoneſs being upbraided with it by his ſons, made anſwer, that their anceſtors had brought their misfortunes upon themſelves by miſtaking her words. Thus, when Hyllus was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he miſtook it, the third crop; and that now by Stenygrus was not meant the neck of land, but the deep ſea on the right hand of the peninſula. Upon this anſwer they went to build a navy at Ætolia, ſince called upon that account Naupactus. During their ſtay here, Ariſtodemus, the youngeſt of the three, was killed by lightning, and left two ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles. Soon after this a more ſevere misfortune befel them; for their fleet was deſtroyed, and their army ſuffered by a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afreſh, and anſwered, that Apollo had ſent thoſe plagues upon them, becauſe they had murdered his prophet Carnus. There had, indeed, been ſuch a man among them, whom Hippotes killed, becauſe he took him to be ſome magician, who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be baniſhed ten years.

ficulty:

ficulty: at length they met an Ætolian named Oxylus, who was returning from Peloponneſus into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horſe, or mule he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle; upon which they choſe him for their general, and promiſed him the country of Elis, as a recompence [b]. They then gave out that they were going to enter the peninſula at the iſthmus, which drew all the Peloponneſian forces thither, and ſailing up the Stenygrus, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at Molycrium, without any oppoſition.

Three of the kingdoms of Peloponneſus they challenged as their undoubted right, namely Argos, Mycenæ, and Lacedæmon (R). The firſt of theſe they won with ſome difficulty, and Tiſamenes the king of it, was either killed [c], or eſcaped by flight. Mycenæ they conquered with the ſword, and expelled all the Neſtorian family, who went and ſettled at Athens, where Alcmæon and Pæon became the heads of two conſiderable families in that city [d]. As for Lacedæmon, Sparta being betrayed to them by one Philonomus, they entered it with the ſound of the flute, which inſtrument became much in vogue, as it was thought, both to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks. They alſo kept their promiſe with their three-eyed general, who being deſcended from Ætolus, had a right to the country of Elis, from which the latter had been baniſhed by Salmoneus, king of the Ephei, who were now in poſſeſſion of it. Theſe agreed with the Heraclidæ, that the pretenſions of Oxylus ſhould be decided by ſingle combat, according to the Grecian cuſtom, and the Ephean champion being killed, Elis was reſtored to its right owner. After theſe ſucceſſes the three brothers having raiſed three altars to Jupiter Patrius, reſolved to divide their conqueſt by lot. Chreſphontes is ſuppoſed by ſome juggle to have obtained the kingdom

[b] Apollod. ubi ſupra, cap. 8. lib. x. [c] Pauſan. Eliac. Strab. Geogr. [d] Pauſan. Argol.

(R) The firſt of theſe was their right, as being the deſcendents of Perſeus; whereas the then king Tiſamenes, who was of the race of Pelops, had no right to the crown. Mycenæ and Lacedæmon they claimed in right of Hercules, who, having conquered them, had left the firſt to Neſtor, and the laſt to Tyndareus, in truſt for his own children.

of

of Mycenæ, the richeſt and moſt fruitful of the three. Temenus had Argos; and Lacedæmon was divided between Euriſthenes and Procles, the ſons of Ariſtodemus [e].

Temenus, now fixed in Argos, diſcovered ſuch an extraordinary fondneſs for his ſon-in-law Deiphontes, who was deſcended from Cteſiphus, the ſon of Hercules, by Dejanira, that his other ſons, who had reaſon to fear he would appoint him his ſucceſſor, hired the Titans to murder their father. Temenus being dead, and the army abhorring the parricides, placed the crown upon the head of Deiphontes and his wife [f]; but Pauſanias tells us that it fell to his eldeſt ſon Ciſus. *Temenus at Argos.*

However that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to loſe ground very faſt. To Ciſus ſucceeded Lacidamus, who had little elſe than the title of a king. His ſon Meltas, impatient of ſuch reſtraint, endeavoured, when it was too late, to reſtore it to its ancient dignity; but the people were by that time grown ſo powerful and headſtrong, that, as ſoon as they found out his deſign, they put an effectual ſtop to it, and a final end to kingly power, reducing the government into a democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death [g].

The kingdom of Mycenæ, or, as it was afterwards called, Meſſenia, did not exiſt much longer. Creſphontes, who had artfully introduced himſelf into Mycenæ, ſoon loſt his kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles, with two of his ſons, for his extraordinary largeſſes to the people. His third ſon, Ægyptus, or rather Æpytus, fled to Cypſelus, king of Arcadia, his grandfather by the mother's ſide. When of age, he obtained his aſſiſtance to regain his kingdom, killed the uſurper, and by wiſely dividing his favours and largeſſes between the nobles and the people, gained the affections of both to ſuch a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called Heraclidæ, were from thenceforth ſtyled Æpytidæ, in honour of him [h]. But this popular liberality, though now ſo ſucceſsful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the ſubjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till the conteſt ended in the exciſion of monarchy, and a total change of government.

[e] Polyen. Stratagem. Vid. Hind. Hiſt. Græc. lib. ii. ubi ſupra. Apoll. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Meſſenic. [f] Polyen. ubi ſupra. [g] Apollod. ubi ſupra. [h] Vid. Pauſan. in Meſſenic.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Attica.

Geography. ATTICA was ſituate along the north coaſt of the Gulf of Saron, bounded on the weſt by Megara, Mount Cithæron, and part of Bœotia; on the north by the Euripic Gulf, now Stretto di Negro Ponte, and the reſt of Bœotia; and on the eaſt by the Europius above mentioned. It reached in length, from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about ſixty miles, that is, from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. eaſt longitude. Its breadth from north to ſouth, where it is broadeſt, was about fifty-ſix miles, decreaſing as it approached the ſea [1] (S).

Soil, climate, and inhabitants. The ſoil is naturally barren and craggy; hence it often enjoyed a profound peace, when other more fruitful countries were expoſed to frequent incurſions. Having, above all others, preſerved its ancient inhabitants, it encouraged an extravagant notion, that they, like other inſects, were the ſpontaneous product of the ſoil; and, as a badge of it, Thucydides tells us, they wore golden graſshoppers in the curls of their hair. The climate is very moderate, the air ſerene, eſpecially about Athens; ſo that it is far more healthy and free from diſtempers than the reſt of Greece. However, they were much more advantageouſly ſituated for commerce, having ſeveral good ports, the chief of which was that of Pyreus, whoſe haven, diſtant from Athens, the metropolis of Attica, about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each ſide with two ſtrong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the ſecurity of the merchandize thus

[1] Mela, Cluver, Byzant. & al.

(S) This country was anciently called Acte (1). Pauſanias adds, that the country called in his time Attica, was formerly named Actæa (2). And Mela gives it the name of Atthis; neither are its boundaries agreed to among ancient geographers. Pliny, in the place above quoted, extends them quite to the Iſthmus; ſo that, according to him, it muſt have included Megaris, or the country of Megara; but the far greater part make them two diſtinct countries, and ancient hiſtorians repreſent Mogara as the rival of Athens, capital of Attica, and as being frequently at war with it (3).

(1) Plin. lib. iv. cap. 7. (2) In Attic. cap. xi. (3) Vide int. al. Spon's Greece, vol. ii. lib. v.

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conveyed. It had moreover a wide harbour, capable of containing above one hundred ſhips[k]. There were ſome other ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which, next to Athens, was Eleuſis, on the ſame gulf, near the coaſts of Megara, upon which account it had been once ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable. 2. Rhamnus, famed for the temple of Amphiaraus, and the ſtatue of Nemeſis. But the largeſt and moſt opulent was the metropolis, called at firſt Cecropia, from Cecrops, the founder of it; but afterwards Athens, from the goddeſs Minerva, whom the Greeks called Athene, to whom that city was dedicated, and in whoſe honour were inſtituted the yearly games called Panathenæa. It was chiefly famed, beſides its ſtrength, beauty, and opulence, 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence Fides Attica became a common proverb: 2. For being the nurſery of the beſt ſcholars and orators, choiceſt wits, and greateſt philoſophers: and, 3. For having produced the greateſt number of brave generals of any city in the world, Rome not excepted, upon all which accounts it was juſtly eſteemed one of the eyes of Greece. *Athens.*

The chief river in this kingdom is the Aſopus, which divided it from Bœotia, and flowing from the lake Copais through Bœotia and Attica, in two ſtreams, empties itſelf into the Ægean Sea. As to the Ibiſſus, Erdianus, and Cephiſſus, they were rather brooks than rivers, and make more noiſe in hiſtory than they do in their courſe; but Attica having ſuch a number of havens, could the more eaſily diſpenſe with few rivers. *Rivers.*

The government, from its firſt foundation to the archontes, continued altogether monarchical, under a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. What is moſt remarkable is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, from a diſlike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it out of a deep reſpect to the laſt monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generouſly ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his ſubjects, the grateful Athenians reſolved that no man thenceforth ſhould bear the title of king, and gave that of archon to his ſon and ſucceſſor[l], which continued during ten ſucceſſions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the archontic government was, that the former deſcended by inheritance, and the latter *Government.*

[k] Thucydid. lib. ii. Achaic.

[l] Juſtin. lib. ii. cap. 6. Pauſan.

was conferred by election, and that these were accountable to the people for their administration.

Riches. The riches of this kingdom, occasioned by its great commerce and frugality, are said to have amounted to twelve hundred (Attic) talents a year[m]; this vast income gave them a considerable superiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to maintain a great army and navy; but also as they could make use of it to *Coin.* gain any other estates on their side: and as their coin was commonly stamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phrase so frequent among the Greeks, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen[n]. Hence also came the common proverb, "Bovem habet in lingua," when a man was thought bribed to speak contrary to his own sentiments. But nothing more visibly displays the wealth, strength, and populousness of the Attic nation, than the number of tribes into which it was divided, and the great number of cities and towns belonging to each tribe, some of which were large, populous, and fenced with stately walls, towers, &c. We have not room, in a work like this, to speak particularly of these tribes, much less of their cities, but shall refer our curious readers to Meursius, or rather to Mr. Spon, who hath greatly amended him[o]. These tribes were thirteen in number, all which had a right to the greatest places of the government, and to send each their fifty prytanes, which composed one of their greatest tribunals, which sat in their prytaneum, and were denominated from some of the most famed Attic heroes. We shall just subjoin their names, and the number of towns which belonged to each of them, as far as the last quoted author hath been able to collect them from medals and other ancient monuments.

1. Alcmantid tribe contained thirteen towns or districts. 2. The Æantid, five. 3. The Antiochian, eighteen. 4. The Attalid, two. 5. The Egeid, twelve. 6. That of Erectheus, twelve. 7. That of Hadrian, three. 8. The Hippothoontid, sixteen. 9. That of Cecrops, ten. 10. The Leontine, sixteen. 11. The Œneid, thirteen. 12. That of Ptolemais, four. 13. That of Pandion, nine. To these our author adds forty more, belonging to uncertain tribes, so that the whole amounts to a hundred and seventy-eight. If it should be asked how so small a canton as this of Attica could have such a number of towns and districts, some of them so large and opulent?

[m] Thucydid. ubi supra. [n] Vid. Plutarch. in Vit. Thes.
[o] Voy. into Greece, tom. ii. lib. v.

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we need but caſt our eyes on Holland, which is much about the ſame extent, and yet even greatly exceeds it in all other reſpects, except its advantageous ſituation for trade, and the healthineſs of its climate.

Chronology.

This kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by Cecrops, an Egyptian, who brought hither a colony of Saits [p], a people who lived at one of the mouths of the Nile, called Saiticum, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 792, or, according to Euſebius's chronology, 780 years before the firſt Olympiad (T). It continued under its monarchs four hundred and eighty-ſeven years, according to the ſame chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the Athenians felt any grievances that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other: only we may obſerve here once

[p] Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

(T) Some authors, who make Ogyges to have been king of Attica at that time in which it was deſtroyed by the deluge which bears his name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom ſtill farther off, namely, two hundred years earlier. Who this Ogyges was, is not eaſy to gueſs; ſome make him an Egyptian, and ſome an Arcadian: ſome think he reigned in Attica, and others at Thebes. Under this uncertainty we chuſe to date the foundation of the kingdom from Cecrops, who, if Ogyges had really reigned there, may at leaſt be reckoned the reſtorer of it, and the perſon from whom the ſucceſſion of Attic princes is derived.

We muſt own, however, that, according to this ſuppoſition of his being the firſt founder of the kingdom, thoſe of Thebes and Sparta will ſtand foremoſt in point of antiquity, though in no other reſpect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at firſt in our plan of this work.

This Cecrops is feigned by the poets to have been partly man, and partly ſerpent or dragon (5), that is, according to Juſtin (6), becauſe he was the firſt that joined male and female in matrimony, or, according to Demoſthenes, and the reſt of the vain Grecians, becauſe he had the wiſdom of a man, and the ſtrength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of Egypt, and poliſhed himſelf into a man in Greece; but more probably, either as he was the firſt inſtitutor of marriage, or becauſe he underſtood the Egyptian and Greek tongues (7). Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the Red Sea with Pharoah's hoſt, in whoſe time he lived.

(4) De hoc vid. Hellanic. Caſtor. Thal. Polyhiſt. Euſeb. & al. (5) Apollod. lib. ii. (6) Lib. ii. cap. 1. (7) Euſeb. Chron. vid. Polyhiſt. Rawleigh. Heyl. & al.

for all, that thoſe ancient monarchs, both here and in other parts of Greece, were ſeldom conſulted by the people, except in caſes of danger, each city having its own magiſtrates and courts to govern them; ſo that they acted at firſt rather as generals or commanders than as kings, till in proceſs of time they found means to engroſs all the civil power likewiſe. The archontic government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their laſt king three hundred and twelve years longer, that is, till the year of the world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of changing the government into a commonwealth, A. M. 3412, there elapſed a hundred and ſixty years. The whole duration then of this government from Cecrops to Solon amounts to nine hundred and ſixty years.

The Ancient Kings of Athens.

	Years they reigned.		Years they reigned.
1 Cecrops	56	10 Theſeus	30
2 Cranaus	9	11 Mneſtheus	23
3 Amphictyon	10	12 Demophon	33
4 Ericthonius	50	13 Oxyntes	12
5 Pandion I.	40	14 Aphydas	1
6 Erectheus	50	15 Thymætes, or Thymedes	8
7 Cecrops II.	40		
8 Pandion II.	25	16 Melanthus	37
9 Ægeus	48	17 Codrus	21

The Names of the thirteen Archons who ſucceeded theſe Kings were,

			Years they reigned.
1. Medon,	the ſon of	Codrus,	20
2. Accaſtus,		Medon,	36
3. Archyppus,		Accaſtus,	19
4. Therſippus,		Archyppus,	41
5. Phorbas,		Therſippus,	30
6. Megacles,		Phorbas,	28
7. Diagnetus,		Magacles,	25
8. Phereclus,		Diagnetus,	19
9. Ariphron,		Phereclus,	20
10. Theſpiæus,		Ariphron,	27
11. Agameſtor,		Theſpiæus,	17
12. Æſchylus,		Agameſtor,	23
13. Alcmæon,		Æſchylus,	2
		Total of years	307

Cecrops

Cecrops built the city of Athens, married the daughter of Actæus, ſuppoſed to have been king of Attica before him, and, in right of her, laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who deified Jupiter, and ordained ſacrifices to be offered to him[q] as the ſupreme Deity. He is likewiſe affirmed to have been the firſt who ſet up altars and idols, offered ſacrifices, and inſtituted marriage among the Grecians, who, before his time, it ſeems, lived promiſcuouſly, and aſſociated as their fancy led them. Pauſanias tells us that he forbid ſacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any ſort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the Athenians Pelanous, and in Greek Βους, which ſignifies likewiſe *an ox*. He is likewiſe affirmed to have taught his ſubjects the art of navigation; and, for the better adminiſtration of juſtice and intercourſe among them, to have divided them into the firſt four tribes called Cecropis, Autochton, Actea, and Paralia. Some likewiſe make him the founder of the areopagus, of which more in the ſequel; others place it in his ſucceſſor's reign. From Cecrops the Athenians affected to call themſelves Cecropidæ, during the five following reigns, after which they changed the appellation for that of Erectheydæ, in honour of Erectheus their ſixth monarch. Cecrops reigned fifty years, according to Euſebius and St. Jerom, and left only three daughters, viz. Herſe, Aglauros, and Pandroſos. As for his ſon Eryſicthon, he died before his father. So that after Cecrops' death, Cranaus, one of the wealthieſt citizens of Athens, and in the greateſt credit, found means to aſcend the Attic throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters. *Cecrops.*

Cranaus enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having unfortunately married one of his daughters, named Attis, to Amphictyon the ſon of Deucalion, was by him dethroned, and forced to retire into the city of Lamprea, where he led a private life to the laſt, and where the Lampreans ſhewed his tomb. From his daughter Attis the country, then called Actæa, took the name of Attica. *Cranaus.*

Amphictyon, after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the laſt quoted authors, twelve years, was himſelf depoſed and expelled by *Amphictyon.*

Erichthonius, who was the reputed ſon of Vulcan and Tethys. He is ſaid to have been the firſt inventor of *Erichthonius.*

[q] Pauſan. in Attic.

coaches, being lame of his feet; or, as others have it, was the firſt inſtitutor of horſe and chariot races, at the feſtival called Panathenæa, in honour of Minerva. He is alſo affirmed to have been the firſt who brought, or at leaſt ſtamped ſilver into a coin. He reigned fifty years.

Pandion I. Pandion, the ſon of Ericthonius, and father of Progne and Philomela; whoſe hard fate, ſo famous among the poets, is ſuppoſed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years (U).

Erectheus. Erectheus, Pandion's ſon, was reckoned the moſt powerful prince of his time; wherefore Boreas, king of Thrace, who ſought his alliance, demanded his daughter Orithia in marriage; and being denied, carried her away by force. Erectheus, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle againſt the Eleuſians. He left ſeveral ſons, who all contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the deciſion to their brother-in-law Xuthus, who adjudged the kingdom to Cecrops, the eldeſt. For this the two other brothers bore Xuthus ſuch ill-will, that they forced him to leave their country, whither he had come for refuge, when driven from Theſſaly by his brethren.

Cecrops II. Cecrops II. the eldeſt ſon of Erectheus, is generally allowed to have been the firſt who gathered into twelve towns the people, who had till then lived in houſes and cottages, without order or regular diſtance; but he was, after forty years reign, expelled by his two diſcontented brethren Metion and Pandorus, and forced to fly into Ægialea, where he died.

Pandion II. Pandion II. the ſon of Cerops II. was likewiſe driven out of Athens by the ſons of his uncle Metion, who took the adminiſtration for ſome time. Pandion fled into Megara, where Pylas, then reigning, gave him his daughter Pelia, and afterwards made him his ſucceſſor. During his abode there he had four ſons, with whom he came into

(U) Pandion was the firſt who held the crown in right of ſucceſſion, and from whom it afterward became hereditary. In his reign Triptolemus is affirmed to have taught the Athenians agriculture, which he had learned from Ceres; in whoſe honour the Eleuſinia were inſtituted, and ſo called from the town of Eleuſis in Attica. This famed feſtival was celebrated with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and emphatically ſtyled the Myſteries; and it was death to divulge the leaſt ceremony belonging to it (1).

(1) Pauſan. Apoll. ubi ſupra.

Athens,

Athens, whence he expelled the ſons of Metion, and, after he had reigned twenty-five years, either left the kingdom among his four ſons, or they agreed to divide it among themſelves after his death; notwithſtanding which diviſion, the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldeſt [r] Ægeus.

Ægeus, when he came to the crown, finding himſelf deſpiſed by his ſubjects, becauſe he had no children by his wives, and ſometimes inſulted by his brother Pallas, who by that time had no leſs than fifty ſons, ſurnamed from him Pallantidæ, beſides daughters, went to conſult the Delphic oracle, and was anſwered that he muſt forbear the uſe of women till his return into Athens [s]. This puzzling anſwer forced him to apply himſelf to Pittheus king of Troezen, who was then famed for his extraordinary wiſdom and ſkill in expounding oracles; and this prince eaſily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter Æthra, whom he got with child. As none but theſe three were privy to the ſecret, Ægeus, before his return to Athens, hid a ſword and a pair of ſhoes under a ſtone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princeſs, that if the child proved a boy, ſhe ſhould ſend him to Athens with thoſe tokens, as ſoon as he was able to lift up the ſtone. He charged her to uſe all imaginable ſecrecy, leſt the ſons of his brother Pallas, getting intimation of it, ſhould way-lay and murder him in his way to Athens. *Ægeus.*

Æthra being ſoon after delivered of a ſon, Pittheus gave out that Neptune was its father; and when he was ſixteen years old, ſhe brought him to the ſtone, which he lifted up with eaſe; ſhe immediately diſcovered to him the whole ſecret of his parentage, bidding him take up the ſword and ſhoes, and prepare himſelf to go to his father. Both ſhe and Pittheus however adviſed him to go by ſea, alleging that ſince Hercules's departure, who had been the great ſcourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again ſo infeſted with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. Theſeus (this was the young prince's name), who had by that time ſhewed uncommon marks of courage and ſtrength, no ſooner heard Hercules named upon ſuch an occaſion, than he was fired with a deſire to imitate ſo noble a pattern; ſo that all their intreaties could not diſſuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to

[r] Pauſan. Apollod. ubi ſupra. [s] Plutarch. in Vit. Theſ.

Athens,

Athens, having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be beſt ſeen in the margin (W).

Whilſt Theſeus was ſtill in Troezen, his father laboured under no ſmall perplexities from his ſubjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almoſt driven him to deſpair. Androgeus, the ſon of Minos, king of Crete, who was come to Athens to be preſent at one of their feaſts, had unhappily contracted ſuch an intimacy with the fifty ſons of Pallas, that the jealous old king, fearing ſome fatal conſequence from it, had cauſed that prince to be privately murdered. Others ſay that the young prince having undertaken to encounter the Marathonian bull, was killed in the attempt. However that be, Minos having received the news of his ſon's death, prayed to the gods to revenge it on the Athenians; upon which they were puniſhed with peſtilence, famine, and ſeveral other plagues; and were told by the oracle, that they muſt expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the Cretan king. Minos, reſolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, impoſed a yearly tribute upon them of ſeven young men, and ſeven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the Minotaur (X), during the

(W) His firſt encounter, after he left Troezen, was with Periphetes the ſon of Vulcan, ſurnamed alſo Corynetus, or *club-bearer*, from the club he uſed to fight with, whom he ſlew in ſingle combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was Sinnis, the ſon of Polyphemon, ſurnamed Pityocamptes, from his bending the heads of two tall pines, and tying paſſengers between the oppoſite branches, which by their ſudden return, tore them in pieces: him Theſeus put to the ſame death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce Cromyonian ſow, called Phæa; which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for her thefts, murders, and lewdneſs.

Sciron, a famous robber, who uſed to throw paſſengers down a ſteep rock, after he had made them waſh his feet, fell the next victim to his valour. Having next ſignalized himſelf in the Eleuſian games, by killing Cercyon, a famous Arcadian wreſtler, he went to Termione, where he killed Damaſtes, otherwiſe called Procruſtes, by ſtretching his limbs to the length of his bed, as Procruſtes uſed to do to thoſe who unhappily fell into his hands. Laſtly, he went and fetched the famed bull of Marathon, and brought him alive to Athens, where he ſacrificed him to Apollo (2).

(X) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half

(2) Philochor. ap. Hind. Hiſt. Græc. lib. i.

bull,

the ſpace of ſeven [t], or according to others nine years [u], theſe unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot; and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that Ægeus, the cauſe of theſe misfortunes, being childleſs, was the only perſon who was exempt from the puniſhment.

It was now the third time that Minos had ſent his bloody meſſengers to exact the tribute, when Theſeus having performed all his glorious exploits, arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received ſome years before into his court the famous enchantreſs Medea, in her flight from Corinth, and had been deluded with hopes that ſhe would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children, had by that time been alſo prevailed upon to marry her. Theſeus, whoſe birth was a ſecret to every other individual, was yet diſcovered by Medea, who conceived ſuch jealouſy of him, on account of his noble exploits, that ſhe eaſily filled her weak huſband with fears, and perſuaded him to invite the young ſtranger, and to poiſon him in a cup of wine. As ſoon as they were ſet at table, Theſeus, willing to give his father an agreeable ſurprize, luckily drew his ſword, as if he deſigned to help himſelf with it, which the old king no ſooner ſaw, than he threw down the poiſoned draught, and embracing his ſon, owned him for ſuch before all the court. This declaration ſo damped the ſanguine hopes of Pallas and his ſons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were ſoon after diſcomfited by Theſeus.

[t] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

[u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

bull, and begot by a bull upon Paſiphae, Minos's queen; and who, as ſoon as born, was by the king's order thrown into a labyrinth, and fed with human fleſh; but more reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been a man of great ſtrength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been ſurnamed Taurus or Bull. He ſeems alſo to have been in great power at the Cretan court, either for his conſtant victories at the games which Minos had inſtituted in memory of his ſon, or for ſome other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that all the Athenian captives in particular were given to him by that exaſperated prince, to be uſed with uncommon ſeverity. For we are told (3), that he was grown to ſuch a height of inſolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king alſo, upon his being ſuſpected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(3) Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

This

This young prince, who reſolved at any rate to deliver the country from the Cretan tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the Minotaur, willingly offered himſelf to be one of the unhappy victims, and embarking with them, he gave the pilot two flags, the one black, with which he ſet out, the other white, to be hoiſted up at their return, in caſe he came off victorious. On their arrival at Crete he offered himſelf to Minos, and demanded the liberty to fight the Minotaur, or rather his champion Taurus, in ſingle combat; a requeſt which the king the more readily granted, becauſe he had ſome juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that his queen had ſome criminal commerce with him. Theſeus had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh: he killed his enemy; releaſed all the Athenian captives; prevailed upon Minos to remit the tribute; and obtained his daughter Ariadne in marriage (Y). Unfortunately for Theſeus and his company, as well as for his father Ægeus, their extraordinary joy for their late ſucceſs, made them forget to diſplay the white flag in token of victory. The old king obſerving the ſhip afar off, ſtill hanging out its ſable colours, doubted not but that his ſon had, like the reſt, fallen a victim to the Minotaur; and in a fit of ſudden deſpair threw himſelf into the ſea, which from him was ſince called the Ægean ſea; ſo that when Theſeus landed at Athens, he found the city divided be-

(Y) This laſt was not indeed with her father's conſent; but ſhe having been an eye-witneſs of his valour and addreſs in the late fight, conceived ſuch a paſſion for him, that ſhe reſolved to run away with him. He left her however in the iſle of Naxos: and ſome add, that after the conqueſt of the Minotaur, Minos fell in love with Peribea, one of the ſeven virgins whom Theſeus had brought with him, and would have detained her. Theſeus ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it; an oppoſition which ſo exaſperated the Cretan king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him that he was not the ſon of Nepture, unleſs he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the ſea. Theſeus immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which Amphitrite had put upon his head. Minos, however, would not be pacified without Piribea; and Theſeus ſtill perſiſting in his denial, was by his order caſt into the labyrinth, in which the Minotaur uſed to be kept; but he ſtaid not long there, before Ariadne furniſhed him with a clue, by the help of which he extricated himſelf out of it, and ſetting out with his fleet for Athens, left Ariadne behind at the iſland above mentioned, where Bacchus fell in love with her, and carried her off, whilſt Theſeus ſailed homewards towards Athens.

tween

tween grief for his old father's death, and joy for the ſafe return of his valiant ſon and ſucceſſor. Ægeus reigned forty years.

Theſeus was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great Hercules, to ſpend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom; ſo that he began, upon his firſt acceſſion to it, to think how to diveſt himſelf of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with collecting all the people of Attica into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this tranſaction, he diveſted himſelf of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianſhip of their laws. The reſt he committed to proper magiſtrates, choſen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, huſbandmen, and artificers. The firſt he inveſted with the power of interpreting and executing the laws, and regulating all things that related to religion. The other two choſe their inferior magiſtrates from among themſelves, to take care of whatever related to their ſeparate orders: ſo that the kingdom was in ſome meaſure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greateſt poſt; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the huſbandmen had the greateſt profit; and the artiſts exceeded them in number (Z). He likewiſe aboliſhed all their diſtinct courts of judicature, and built one common-council hall, called Prytaneum, a ſumptuous building which ſtood for many ages [x]. We obſerved before, that the Athenian money was ſtamped with an ox; this coin was ſuppoſed to have had that figure, either in memory of Theſeus's killing the bull of Marathon, or the Minotaur, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was moſt ſubſervient.

[x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vid. & Thucydid. lib. ii.

(Z) In memory of this new regulation it is, that he is affirmed to have inſtituted, or more probably perhaps revived, the feſtival called Panathenæa, mentioned a little higher, as likewiſe that called Metoecia, beſides the famous Iſthmian games, in honour of Neptune, which we have mentioned formerly, and were ſo called from the Iſthmus, in which they were celebrated. All theſe were chiefly deſigned to draw a concourſe of ſtrangers thither; and as a farther encouragement for them to come and ſettle there, he endowed them with the privileges of natives.

After

After he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of Megara to his own, in right of his grandfather Pandion II. who had ſucceeded Pylas his father-in-law, as we have ſeen above. It was then that Theſeus erected that famous pillar in the Iſthmus, which ſhewed the limits of the two countries, and had this inſcription on the one ſide, "This is not Peloponneſus, but Ionia;" and on the other, "This is Peloponneſus, not Ionia." What we read concerning his two expeditions againſt the Amazons is ſo blended with fable, and ſo differently related [y], as to be altogether uncertain; and it does not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of Athens.

Some time after theſe expeditions, Theſeus contracted an intimacy with Pirithous, the ſon of Ixion, and being invited to his nuptials, aſſiſted in deſtroying a great number of Centaurs, or rather Theſſalian horſemen, who in their cups had offered violence to their female gueſts; and drove the reſt out of the country. Theſe two went from thence to Sparta, and ſtole away the famed Helena out of the temple of Diana Ortia, where ſhe happened to be dancing [z]. This princeſs was the reputed daughter of Jupiter, by Leda, the wife of Tyndarus, king of Œbalia in Peloponneſus; and though then but nine years old, was already famed for the greateſt beauty in the world; inſomuch that Theſeus, though then above fifty, could not be proof againſt her charms. However, as the time, place, and circumſtances of this rape are variouſly reported, we have followed Plutarch's account of it as the moſt authentic. According to him the two raviſhers were purſued as far as Tegea; but they made their eſcape out of Peloponneſus, and thinking themſelves ſecure of their prey, agreed to caſt lots for her, upon condition that he to whoſe lot ſhe fell, ſhould help the other in getting ſome other celebrated beauty in lieu of her. Fortune having declared for Theſeus, he aſſiſted his companion in the like attempt upon Proſerpina, daughter of Aidonius, king of the Moloſſi in Epirus, who, being the next beauty to Helena, was guarded by the dog Cerberus. However, when the king underſtood that they deſigned to ſteal her away, he threw Pirithous to be torn in pieces by Cerberus, and Theſeus into priſon, from which he was afterwards releaſed at the interceſſion of Hercules.

[y] Conf. Herodot. Plutarch. & Meurſ. in Theſ. Juſtin. lib. ii. cap. iv. [z] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Apollod. Pauſan. in Attic.

During

During his abſence Mneſtheus, the ſon of Peteus, grandchild of Erectheus, had taken care to ingratiate himſelf ſo far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned, he met with a very cold reception; and ſoon after his return, Caſtor and Pollux waged war againſt him for the recovery of their ſiſter Helena. As ſoon as the two brothers arrived at the gates of the city, Mnéſtheus harrangued the citizens, and told them, that ſince their quarrel was only againſt Theſeus, their ſafeſt way was to open their gates to them; and Theſeus finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the torrent, conveyed himſelf and family away privately, after he had pronounced a ſolemn curſe againſt his faithleſs ſubjects (A). His deſign was to have ſailed to Crete, and to have obtained either a ſuccour or ſanctuary there, from Deucalion, the ſon of Minos, his brother-in-law (B); but he was unfortunately caſt by a tempeſt upon the iſland of Scyros. Here he was at firſt kindly received by king Lycomedes, but was ſoon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the fortieth year of his reign. Some ſay that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as is moſt likely, at the inſtigation of his Athenian rival, threw him headlong down

(A) The ungrateful Athenians, who expreſſed more joy for their new king than grief for their old one, were in proceſs of time made ſo ſenſible of the effects of his curſe, that, to appeaſe his ghoſt, they appointed ſolemn ſacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation againſt them, was from thenceforth called Aratherian, or the place of curſing (5).

(B) Theſeus had a ſon by the Amazonian queen, named Hippolitus; and having ſoon after married Phœdra, the ſiſter of Deucalion, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Minos, by whom he had two ſons; he ſent Hippolytus to be brought up by his own mother Æthra, queen of Troezen; but he coming afterwards to be preſent at ſome Athenian games, Phœdra fell in love with him, and having ſollicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of reſentment, accuſed him to Theſeus of having made an attempt upon her. The fable ſays, that Theſeus prayed to Neptune to puniſh him by ſome violent death, and that as Hippolytus was riding along the ſea-ſhore, Neptune ſent two ſea-calves, who frightened the horſes, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the luſtful queen hanged herſelf for grief; but as for Hippolytus, Diana being taken with his chaſtity, and pitying the ſad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon Æſculapius to reſtore him to life, to be a companion of her diverſions.

(5) Plutarch. in Theſ.

that

that precipice, though others ſay, that the place being his uſual walk after ſupper, his foot unfortunately ſlipped in the dark. We omit, for brevity's ſake, many other famous exploits, which the reader may find in Plutarch's life of this hero. All we ſhall add here is, that the Athenians, ſome time after, dedicated a temple to him; and that Cimon, the famous ſon of Miltiades, ravaged the whole iſland of Scyros in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to Athens, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

Mneſtheus, or Meneſtheus, was the ſon of Peteus, and great-grandſon of Erectheus, the ſixth king of Athens, and conſequently had a better right to the crown than Theſeus, whoſe father was uncertain, and who was at beſt but the ſon of Ægeus, and this but the adopted ſon of Pandion, as we have ſeen above. Whilſt therefore Theſeus was either purſuing his amours, or was impriſoned for the rape of Proſerpine, it was eaſy for his rival to perſuade the Athenians to raiſe him to the throne.

Meneſtheus being thus choſen, was in no great care about the ſons of Theſeus, but dreaded his known valour, in caſe he ſhould ever get into his dominions again. To prevent his return, he prevailed ſo far upon the Athenians, with gifts and careſſes, that they would not ſuffer Theſeus to come into Attica; and as ſoon as he heard that he was retired into the iſland of Scyros, he prevailed on Lycomedes to diſpatch him by ſtratagem. Meneſtheus reigned twenty-four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the ſiege of Troy, where having loſt his life, the kingdom of Athens returned again to the Theſean line.

Demophoon, one of the ſons of Theſeus by Phœdra, ſucceeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the Athenian forces that were before Troy. He was one of thoſe that came back ſafe from that ſiege: in his return he landed in Thrace, where Phyllis, king Lycurgus's daughter, entertained him for ſome time at bed and board. Upon his departure he promiſed to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the ephetæ, conſiſting originally of fifty Athenians, and as many Argives, for trying wilful murders, and laying in wait to kill (C). Demophoon

(C) The occaſion of erecting this court, and of the Argives being admitted to ſit as judges in it, was as follows: Agamemnon, others ſay Diomedes, returning with his forces from Troy,

mophoon ſubmitted afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his ſubjects by the turn of his horſe, as he was coming from Troy. It ſubſiſted a conſiderable time in the ſame form; till Draco, one of their archons, new-modelled it, excluded the Argives, and limited the number to fifty-one Athenians, who were all to be turned of fifty [a]. Demophoon reigned thirty-three years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, or, according to others, his brother,

Oxyntes, who reigned twelve years; and left the crown to his ſon,

Aphydas, who was murdered by Thymætes in the firſt year of his reign.

Thymætes, the baſtard ſon of Oxyntes, diſplayed his baſe nature in many things beſides the murder of Aphydas, by which he got the crown. We ſhall only mention the laſt inſtance, which juſtly deprived him of it. He had reigned about eight years when Xanthus, king of Bœotia, had a conteſt with him about one of their frontier towns. Xanthus offered to decide the matter in ſingle combat, and Thymætes declined the trial. It happened that Melanthus, a noble Meſſenian, who had been driven out of his country by the Heraclidæ, was come to Athens about this time, and offered to anſwer the chartel. Upon their very firſt onſet Melanthus called to his adverſary, and aſked him why he brought a ſecond along with him,

[a] Euſeb. Chron. lib. i.

Troy, were driven one night into an Athenian port called Phalerus, and thinking themſelves in an enemy's country, began their uſual trade of ravaging and plundering; upon which the Athenians fell upon and killed a conſiderable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium, or ſtatue of Minerva, which was brought from Troy, lying upon the ground among the ſlain, by which circumſtance they knew that they were their friends the Argives. The oracle having been conſulted, ordered them to give the ſlain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple there, dedicated to Minerva, and to ſet up the palladium in it. Immediately after this tranſaction, it was ordered, that this court ſhould be erected to try all caſes of perſonal injury and property. It conſiſted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of ſenſe and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its firſt inſtitution, Agamemnon inſiſting that there ſhould be an equal number of Athenians and Argives to ſit in it, the Athenians readily agreed to the propoſal.

contrary to their articles; and whilſt Xanthus turned about to ſee who followed him, Melanthus ran him through with his lance [b]. This victory, though it was more owing to cunning than bravery, ſo pleaſed the Athenians, that they not only depoſed their puſillanimous king, who was the laſt of the line of Erectheus, and ſet their Mycenian champion upon the throne, but inſtituted a feaſt in memory of this action, and called it Apatheria, from the ſtratagem that gave occaſion to it [c].

Melanthus, as ſoon as he had mounted the throne, perſuaded the Athenians to receive the baniſhed Meſſenians and Neſtoridæ; and, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years, left the kingdom to his worthy ſon Codrus [d].

Codrus reigned about twenty-one years, during which time the Dores and Heraclidæ had regained all Peloponneſus, and were entering into Attica. Codrus was informed that the oracle had promiſed them victory provided they did not kill the king of the Athenians, and that they had taken all proper precautions againſt it; but he, who had reſolved to ſacrifice his life to the ſafety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them: he diſguiſed himſelf like a peaſant, went into their camp, began a quarrel with ſome of the ſoldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceaſed not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow, the Athenians knowing what was done, ſent to demand the body of their prince, at which the invaders were ſo terrified, that they decamped without ſtriking a blow [e].

Yr. of Fl. 1279. Ante Chr. 1069.

With Codrus ended the regal ſucceſſion and title of kings of Athens, after it had continued without any interruption four hundred and eighty-ſeven years, from Cecrops to that magnanimous preſerver of his country, whoſe ſubjects conceived ſuch veneration for him, that they eſteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of the ſtate to elective magiſtrates, to whom they gave the title of archons, and choſe Medon, the eldeſt ſon of Codrus, to that new dignity. His election, however, was oppoſed by his brother Nileus, who pretended he could not ſubmit to Medon's authority [f], becauſe he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it, all the archons that ſucceeded him were from him ſirnamed Medontidæ, be-

[b] Vid. Frontin. Stratag. lib. ii. cap. 5. [c] Polyen. Stratag. lib. i. cap. 9. [d] Pauſan. Achaic. [e] Juſt. ex Trog. lib. ii. cap. 6. [f] Caſtor. ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupra.

cauſe

cauſe they were all choſen by ſucceſſion; ſo that the Athenian government continued in the family of Codrus under twelve perpetual archons, ſomewhat above the ſpace of two hundred years.

Attica had enjoyed ſo much quiet during a long ſeaſon, that it ſwarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more harraſſed with wars, ſo that they were forced to diſcharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coaſts of Leſſer Aſia. In the firſt of theſe expeditions Nileus, and the reſt of Codrus's ſons, who could not brook to be under their brother Medon, drew a great number of Athenians to them, joined with the Ionians and Thebans, and left Athens for Leſſer Aſia, where they diſperſed themſelves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. Epheſus, Miletum, Priene, Colophon, Myus, Teos, Lebedos, Clazomenæ, Erithræ, Phocea, Chios in the iſle of that name, and Samos. Theſe were at firſt each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be ſeen in due time.

This perpetual archonſhip, however, ſuſtained itſelf ſo long, notwithſtanding the people's diſlike, that it paſſed through thirteen hands, from Medon, the ſon of Codrus, to Alcmon, the laſt who bore that dignity; but the people, at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his ſhort reign, which laſted but two years, to abridge the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years: ſo that Charops, the ſon of Eſchylus, was forced to accept of it upon thoſe terms. This change happened about the beginning of the ſeventh Olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which Hezekiah, king of Judah, was born. This new decennial dignity had ſcarce paſſed through four hands, before they began again to call for a freſh reduction of it; for Hippomenes, the laſt of Codrus's line, in whoſe archonſhip this tumult happened, had ſcarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his ſon and daughter (D), cauſed him to be depoſed. However,

Yr. of Fl. 1296. Ante Chr. 1052.

(D) He cauſed his ſon to be torn in pieces by horſes for adultery, and his daughter he ſhut up with a horſe without food, to be devoured alive, for having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous puniſhment, Suidas (1) tells us, there was a place in the city called Ἵππου καὶ κύρης, *Hippokai Kyres*, in memory of the horſe and the young lady.

(1) Suid. ſub voc. Ἱππομένης.

they did not then gain their point; it continued till Eryxias either dying, or being depoſed in the laſt year of his archonſhip, the Athenians appointed new archontes to be choſen from among the moſt conſiderable citizens for birth, wealth, and intereſt, and voted that dignity annual. From that time their government was changed into a democracy, which Solon afterwards new-modelled and confirmed.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdoms of Bœotia and Thebes.

Ancient names.

WE find two ancient kingdoms called by the name of Bœotia, one founded, or rather reſtored by Cadmus, and named by him Bœotia, from the ox which is ſaid to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of Thebes; the other was in Theſſaly, and is ſaid to have been founded by Bœotus, the ſon of Neptune, and brother of Æolus, by Arne, the daughter of Æolus, king of Æolis. This laſt having ſent his daughter to Metapontium, a city of Italy, ſhe was there delivered of thoſe two ſons, the eldeſt of whom ſhe called after her father's name, Æolus; he poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſlands in the Tyrrhenian, now Tuſcan ſea, and built the city of Lipara. Bœotus, the younger ſon, went to his grandfather, and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city Arne from his mother. All that we know of theſe people is, that they held this ſettlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the Theſſalians expelled them from it, and forced them to ſeek for a new eſtabliſhment; upon which they came and poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which had been till then called Cadmeis, and gave it the name of Bœotia. Diodorus and Homer tell us, that theſe Bœotians ſignalized themſelves at the Trojan war; and the latter adds, that five of Bœotius's grandſons, Peneleus, Leitus, Prothoenor, Arceſilaus, and Clonius, were the five chiefs who led their Bœotian troops thither.

According, therefore, to Diodorus[s], this laſt country, though formed into a kingdom, at leaſt ever ſince the time of Cadmus, was not called Bœotia till the baniſhed ſons

[s] Bibl. lib. iv.

of

of Bœotus gave it that name, about three hundred years after the building of Thebes: but the moſt current account, eſpecially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by Cadmus himſelf, in memory of the ox by which he had been directed thither, in conſequence of the command of the oracle. However, it is owned that it had ſeveral other names, according to thoſe of its ſuppoſed founders: thoſe who aſcribed it to Ogyges called both it and its capital Ogygia, though it is more probable he was ſeated in Attica, where he gave name to the deluge which happened in his time. Others called it Cadmeis, from Cadmus; and as thoſe two kings are recorded without any convincing particulars of their reigns, we muſt reſt ſatisfied with this general remark, that Cadmean and Ogygean are applied as epithets to things of the remoteſt antiquity. This country was alſo called Aonia, from Aon the ſon of Neptune, and Hyanthis, from Hyas the ſon of Atlas. That province is now called Stramulippa, and Thebes, its ancient capital, Thive, but corruptly by the Greeks, Stibes or Stives.

Geography. It bordered on the eaſt with Attica, and was in time joined to it, and parted from it by the mountain Citheron. On the north, by the ſtreight Euripus, now called the Negropont. On the weſt it had the kingdom of Phocis, and on the ſouth the gulf of Corinth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was 1 deg. 10 min. and near the ſame length from north to ſouth; but drawing near to a point eaſtward [h]. Ephorus affirms, on the authority of Strabo [i], that this country had the ſingular advantage over the reſt, of being contiguous to three ſeas; by which he meant, that ſtyled the Upper, ſituate between Macedonia and Ionia, the Propontis and the Mediterranean; and obſerves, that there was a great number of fair and convenient havens upon them, by means of which it could carry on a commerce with Europe, Aſia, and Africa. Here is alſo the large lake Copais, about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two conſiderable rivers, that water the far greater part of the country eaſtward. Theſe are the Aſopus, and Iſmenus; the firſt divided the territories of Thebes from thoſe of the Plateans, and running through thoſe of Attica, fell into the Ægean ſea; and the Iſmenus empties itſelf into the Euripus above mentioned. The country is partly hilly, eſpecially Aonia, properly ſo called; the reſt is low and *Natural rarities.*

[h] Strab. Mel. & al. [i] Geogr. lib. ix.

flat, abounding with excellent paſturage; but the air is ſo thick and foggy, that Horace thought it influenced the genius of the inhabitants.

Places of note. Places of note in Bœotia, were, 1. The Trophonian cave (E), and the oracle ſaid to have been there given by Jupiter, whence he was ſirnamed Trophonius. 2. Theſpia, a town ſituate on the river of that name, and ſhadowed on the north by the famous Helicon, whence the Muſes, to which theſe were dedicated, were called Theſpiades. 3. Aulis, a ſea-port on the Negropont, famous for being the place where the Grecian chiefs reſolved upon the deſtruction of Troy. 4. The famed ſtreights of the mountain Oeta, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, from the hot waters in that neighbourhood; but the moſt remarkable place was the city of Thebes, ſituate near the river Iſmenus, and ſirnamed Heptapylos, from its ſeven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by Cadmus, and to have been made by him the capital of the Bœotian kingdom, from which his ſucceſſors were alſo called kings of Thebes [k].

Laws and cuſtoms. The government was altogether monarchical, but perhaps more deſpotic here than in the reſt, as having no other laws than the king's will; ſome of whom governed more like tyrants than moderate ſovereigns. We have nothing left of their ancient cuſtoms, except what Plutarch tells us in his Morals, of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought home in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to underſtand that ſhe was fixed with her huſband for life, and muſt not expect to return to her parents.

Chronology. The foundation of this ancient kingdom, we ſhall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by Cadmus, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period. Even the tranſactions of times which elapſed between Cadmus and the celebrated

[k] Pauſan. in Bœot.

(E) So called from an old ſoothſayer, who inhabited it, and uſed to be conſulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many waſhings, anointing, and the like ſuperſtitious preparations. It is added, that thoſe who had once been in it, were never ſeen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was melancholy, he has been in the Trophonian den.

war

war between the two contending ſons of Oedipus, and which is the moſt ancient piece of hiſtory we have of Greece, are ſo ſophiſticated with the vileſt and moſt abſurd fables of gods turned into ſatyrs and devils, and of men turned into monſters of cruelty and luſt, that we hope we ſhall be excuſed for paſſing over all that has not ſome affinity with the hiſtory itſelf. The time in which chronologiſts place the rape of Europa, being about the year of the world 2550 [l], and of the flood 900, the rebuilding of Thebes may be ſuppoſed to have been within a very few years after, or about the year 2555, or 2556. From thence to the time of its being totally deſtroyed by the Epigoni, it had exiſted above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the Cadmean race, but uſurpers. After this period, there reigned in Thebes two kings more of the race of Oedipus, and three of the race of Penelus, the great grandſon of Bœotus. Beſides theſe, we find Homer mentioning Etion as king of Thebes. We ſhall omit his name in our liſt, becauſe it doth not appear that he was of the Cadmean race, nor is he mentioned by Pauſanias among the Theban kings, though he may have ſignalized himſelf in the defence of that city.

Yr. of Fl. 900. Ante Chr. 1448.

The Liſt of the Kings of Thebes, according to our Author, is as follows:

1 Cadmus
2 Polydorus
3 Labdacus
4 Lajus
5 Amphion, an uſurper
6 Zethus, his brother
Lajus reſtored.
7 Œdipus
8 Eteocles, and
9 Polynices
10 Laodamas, the ſon of Eteocles
11 Therſander, ſon of Polynices
12 Tiſamenes
13 Auteſion
14 Damaſichton
15 Ptolemeus
16 Xanthus

After this laſt the Thebans, grown weary of kingly government, formed themſelves into a commonwealth.

Cadmus. Cadmus, according to the Greeks, was the ſon of Agenor, king of Sidon. His countrymen ſay, he was no more than the king's cook; and that his wife Hermione was a mere minſtrel at court, with whom he ran away into Greece [m]. The Greeks tell us, that his father ſending him

[l] Hind. Hiſt. Græc.

[m] Vid. Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 22.

and his two brothers in queſt of Europa, had forbid them to return without her. Cadmus, therefore, having ſought her far and long in vain, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, came into Bœotia, where he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of his new kingdom. He was at firſt oppoſed by the Hyantês, and Aones, who were then in poſſeſſion of that territory: the former he overcame in fight, and forced them to retire into Locris; but the latter he admitted, upon their ſubmitting to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people. From the above account of his deſcent, ſome have fancied him to have been of Ægyptian, but others, more probably, of Phœnician extract, for there he was ſettled for ſome time, and that country is ſaid to have been named from his brother Phœnix [n]. He is alſo ſuppoſed to be of the family of the Cadmonites (mentioned by Moſes and Joſhua), who were Hivites; and his time falling in with that of the conqueſt of Canaan, ſeems to confirm his leading a colony of them into Greece (F).

When Cadmus married his wife Hermione, the daughter of Mars and Venus, the gods aſſiſted at his wedding;

[n] Pauſan. ubi ſup.

(F) Who and whence thoſe people were, whom Cadmus brought hither, is variouſly conjectured: ſome think, that he and they came from Thebais in Egypt (1), and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of Phœnicians. Bochart conjectures, that they were Canaanites, driven out of their land by Joſhua, whoſe time falls in with Cadmus exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the Cadmonites mentioned by Moſes (2), who were the ſame with the Hivites, and were called Cadmonim, or Eaſterlings, becauſe they inhabited Mount Hermon, the moſt eaſtern part of Canaan, from which the ſame author ſuppoſes Cadmus's wife to have been called Hermione, or Harmonia.

The fable of theſe two being turned into ſerpents, he thinks to have ſprung from their retaining their common name of Hivites, which in the Syriac ſignifies *a ſerpent*.

Theſe conjectures are farther confirmed by the name of his capital, Thebes; for the book of Judges mentions a city of the ſame name in the land of Canaan (3), and written in the plural Θηβὴν by Joſephus (4): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of thoſe who derive it from Theba, the daughter of Erometheus (5).

(1) Vid. Uſſer. an. ſub. A. M. 2549. (2) Gen. xv. 19. (3) Chap. ix. 50. (4) Ant. lib. v. cap. 5. (5) Vid. Steph. Byſant. ſub Thebæ.

and

and he had by her one son, named Polydorus; and four daughters, Semele the mother of Bacchus by Jupiter (G), Ino, Autonoe, and Agave. In the sequel, the Enchelæ, who were at war with the Illyrians, being commanded by the oracle to chuse him their general, he left Thebes to his son Polydorus, and headed them. Here it was that he and his wife are feigned to have been turned into serpents (H), or, as some interpret it, to have degenerated from their pristine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another son, whom he either called Illyrius, from the name of the Illyrians, his new-conquered subjects, or else that people took their name from him.

Cadmus is universally allowed to have introduced the use of letters into Greece from Phœnicia. The alphabet, which was the Phœnician, at first had but sixteen letters, and was not completed till a long time after. He also was the first that set up schools there. He taught them trade and navigation; and brass had the name of Cadmean given it, in memory of his being the inventor, or rather of his introducing the use of it into those parts °. *Brings letters into Greece.*

Whether Cadmus retired to Illyrium, and died there, or whether he returned to Thebes, is uncertain. All that we know farther is, that he left the Theban government to his son Polydorus, in whose reign his great favourite nephew Pentheus, the son of Echion by Agave, having *Polydorus.*

° Vide Herodot. lib. v.

(G) The reason why the poets make Cadmus grandfather to Bacchus, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into Greece; for it is entirely contrary to the chronology of those, who make Bacchus to be the same with Nimrod, and of those who make him the son of Jupiter Ammon, since, in either opinion, he must have been vastly more ancient (6).

However, Bacchus is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine; to have gone upon a three years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into India, even to the utmost parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the barbarian inhabitants of those parts; and lastly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (7).

(H) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great serpent, he strewed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, who fought against each other till they were all killed except five; hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called Victoria Cadmea.

(6) Vide Bochart, ubi supra, cap. 18.

(7) Vide Diodor. Sic. lib. iv.

had

had the inſolence to profane the rites of Bacchus, was torn in pieces by his mother and ſiſters. Polydorus, whoſe ſon Labdacus was as yet under age, when he found himſelf dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to Nyƈteus: his daughter Antiope (I), the greateſt beauty then in Greece, being ſoon after carried off by Epopeus king of Sicyon, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother Lycus, whilſt he undertook a war againſt the raviſher of his daughter. He went ſoon after him at the head of his Theban troops, when a bloody fight enſued, in which Nyƈteus received a mortal wound, and loſt the battle; upon which he cauſed himſelf to be brought back to Thebes, where he left once more his brother guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on Epopeus, and reſcue his daughter Antiope. In the mean time Epopeus, fluſhed with his victory (K), neglected a ſlight wound which he had received, and which occaſioned his death ſome time after, and put an end to the war. Lycus recovered his niece, and, as ſhe was coming back to Thebes, ſhe was delivered of two ſons, Amphion and Zethus (L).

Labdacus,

(I) This young princeſs who was married to Zethus, is ſuppoſed to have been carried off by her own conſent, becauſe her dying father gave Zethus orders to puniſh her, when ſhe was recovered. But when he had got her, and found that ſhe was pregnant, he contented himſelf at firſt with divorcing her, though he was afterwards perſuaded by his next wife to throw her into a priſon, out of which ſhe was afterwards releaſed by her two ſons (8).

(K) He is ſaid to have built a temple to Minerva, as an acknowlegement for his late ſucceſs, and that when it was finiſhed, he prayed to the goddeſs, that if ſhe accepted of it, ſhe would ſhew ſome particular token of it; upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (9).

(L) Theſe twins, Homer ſays (1), were begot, not by Epopeus, but by Jupiter, who fell in love with Antiope. Their firſt exploit was to reſcue their mother out of her confinement, and to murder Zethus and his wife; after which they ſeized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

Antiope is alſo called Nycteis from her father Nyƈteus, and the ancient Samotic poet celebrates her in verſes to this purpoſe; "That ſhe had Aſo-

(8) Pauſan. in Corinth. cap. 5. lib. ii. (9) Id. ibid. (1) Odyſſ.

pus

Labdacus, when of age, finding that Laomedon, who had ſucceeded Epopeus in Sicyon, was attacked by two powerful enemies, Archandes and Archeteles, the ſons of Achæus, thought it a proper time to demand his aunt Antiope to be reſtored; and Laomedon, though then aſſiſted by Sicyon, whom he had invited from Athens (M), yet choſe rather to deliver up that princeſs, than to exaſperate the Theban king by a refuſal *. Labdacus dying ſoon after, left his ſon Lajus and the government to the care of Lycus. *Labdacus.*

Lajus being then very young, Amphion and his brother Zethus, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. Lycus, who was left guardian of the king and kingdom, having made it his firſt care to ſecure the perſon of the young prince, the only ſurviving branch of the Cadmean race, gave battle to the invaders, was defeated by them, and loſt his life; upon which Thebes was taken, and the young king privately conveyed away. Amphion ſeized the Theban crown, and called its metropolis, or at leaſt the lower city, Thebes, in honour of Thebe, their aunt by the mother's ſide (N), whilſt the upper city or citadel retained its ancient name of Cadmea. It is to theſe two heroes that Homer attributes the incloſing and fortifying the former with a ſtrong wall, with ſeven gates, and a number of ſtately towers, at a convenient ſpace from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long againſt the Theban forces (O). A grievous plague *Lajus.*

* Pauſan. in Corinth. cap. 6.

pus for her father; Epopeus and Jupiter for her gallants; and Amphion and Zethus for her ſons (2).

(M) Who, the Sicyonians ſay, was not the ſon of Marathon, the ſon of Epopeus, but of Metion the ſon of Erectheus (3). Heſiod makes him the ſon of Erectheus, and another of Pelops (4). The reader may ſee what we ſaid of him in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

(N) Some pretend, that ſhe was one of the three daughters of the river Aſopus, or rather of Aſopus the Philaſian, from whom that river had its name; but the Bœotians affirm, that ſhe was the daughter of Aſopus the Bœotian, probably the ſame who was alſo called Nycteus, the father of their mother Antiope, whom Aſius above quoted calls Aſopus.

(O) What the fable adds concerning the miraculous ef-

(2) Aſius ap. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. (3) Id. ibid. (4) Ibyc. ap. eund.

fects

plague raged ſoon after, which deſtroyed great multitudes, and among the reſt Amphion and his family. His brother Zethus, who ſucceeded him, fell under other misfortunes; his only ſon was killed by his own mother, the grief of which ſhortened his days, and gave the Thebans an opportunity of ſetting Lajus again upon his throne.

Lajus having married Jocaſta, or, as ſhe is called by others, Epicaſte, the daughter of Creon, was forewarned by Apollo's oracle, that if he had a ſon by her, he himſelf ſhould be killed by his own offspring. Œdipus was the unhappy fruit of this marriage, whom Lajus therefore gave to a ſhepherd to be ſlain (P); but he, moved with compaſſion, left him expoſed in a place, where he was ſoon after taken up by a herdſman, and preſented to Polybus king of Corinth, who healed his feet, which had been bored, called him Œdipus, and brought him up as his own [p]. When he came of age, and underſtood that he was not the ſon of the Corinthian king, he went to the oracle of Delphos to enquire after his parents, and at the ſame time Lajus, led by his fate, ſet out for the ſame place, to enquire what was become of his ſon. They met at Phocis; and ſome diſpute happening between them, Œdipus killed his father, went to Thebes, where he married his mother Jocaſta, and obtained the kingdom, by expounding the ſphinx's riddle (Q). Eteocles and Polynices

[p] Conf. Plutarch. in Theſ. Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. lib. iii. cap. 5. & al.

feets of Amphion's lyre in the building of thoſe walls, is ſo well known, we need only obſerve, that Amphion had firſt brought muſic into Greece, from Lydia, where he had learnt it, and it was ſo admired for its novelty and excellence, that he eaſily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilſt he diverted them with the muſic of his harp; and probably alſo by his eloquence, which he was no leſs a maſter of, perſuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live ſociably and in community.

(P) Or, according to others, to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beaſts.

(Q) What this monſtrous creature was, is of greater difficulty than importance to decide. Some ſuppoſe a notorious robber to have been meant; others (5) a baſtard daughter of Lajus, preferred for her wiſdom to examine the pretenders to the crown, and to puniſh with

(5) Pauſan. in Bœotic.

death

nices were the unhappy fruits of their inceſtuous embraces (R). Some add, that he had alſo two daughters by her, but others ſay they were by another woman.

As ſoon as Œdipus was appriſed, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and inceſt, the horror of his guilt threw him into ſuch a fit of diſtraction, that he tore his own eyes out; and having curſed his unhappy poſterity, was led by his daughter Antigone to Attica, where he took ſanctuary in Eumenides's Grove, and ſoon after ended his miſerable life. Jocaſta hanged herſelf for grief before he left the kingdom.

His two ſons, after his departure, agreed that each of them ſhould reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other; but Eteocles having refuſed to reſign, after he had reigned his year; Polynices went to Argos, where, having married Adraſtus's daughter, he engaged that prince to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his right; theſe two came ſoon after with a powerful army, and

death thoſe who could not ſupport their title to it. The poets have given it the face, parts, and qualities of ſeveral creatures; the Egyptians made her the hieroglyphic of wiſdom and ſtrength. The riddle propoſed by her, was to tell what creature it was that went in the morning upon four, at noon upon two, and in the evening upon three legs. Œdipus properly, it ſeems, interpreted it of man, who, in his infancy, crawls upon all-four, and walks afterwards upon his legs, till old age brings him to his ſtaff. Upon this ſolution, Creon adjudged the crown and Jocaſta to him, according to his promiſe, both being utterly ignorant of the relation they bore to each other.

(R) This is at leaſt the account which all the ancient poets, except Homer, have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raiſe the greater compaſſion for that unhappy couple, and their progeny; but Homer, on the contrary, who introduces Ulyſſes, ſaying, that he had ſeen in hell the fair Epicaſte, who through imprudence had married her own ſon; by which means he became the unhappy murderer of his father, and huſband of his mother, makes him add, that the gods, by haſtening this prince's death, prevented the ſad effects of that inceſtuous marriage. For, as Pauſanias juſtly obſerves (6), how could they be ſaid to ſtop the courſe of that inceſt, if Œdipus had four children by his mother?

He adds, upon the authority of a poem intitled, Œdipiad, or, the Adventures of Œdipus, that he had thoſe children by Euriganea, the daughter of Hyperbas.

(6) Id. ibid. cap. 6.

were

were joined by Tydeus the father of Diomedes, Amphiaraus, Campaneus, Hippomedon, and Parthenopæus, at the head of their auxiliary forces; and all these disposed themselves, with the troops under their command, to attack the city, and besiege Eteocles, at the seven gates of his capital. Eteocles at the same time put himself in the best posture of defence, and consulted an old blind Theban soothsayer relative to the success of the war: he was answered, that victory would infallibly be on his side, if Menecœus, the son of Creon, and the last of the Cadmean race, would voluntarily sacrifice himself to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of this response, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city, and sacrificed his life to the safety of his country [q]. This sacrifice did not however prevent hostilities being carried on with the utmost fury, and with a terrible slaughter on both sides. Among others of the besiegers, Capaneus, who scaled the walls, was beat back with vollies of stones, and killed; a circumstance which gave rise to the story of his being slain by thunder-bolts. It was at length agreed, that the contending princes should decide the contest by single combat; and they fought with such desperate fury, that both fell by each other's sword. The Argives ventured a second battle, wherein both sides lost several of their brave commanders, and such a number of men, that though the Thebans got the victory, yet they were almost ruined; an event which gave rise to the common proverb, of a Cadmean victory, Adrastus being the only person of all those captains that escaped by flight. A treaty was then demanded by the Argivic king, for burying their dead; but Creon, who had then taken the government upon him, was so exasperated against them, that he not only absolutely refused it, but ordered the princess Antigone to be buried alive, because she had caused the body of her brother Polynices to be decently interred. For this cruel act he was soon after killed by Theseus, who came with an army against him, and obliged the Thebans to permit the Argives to bury the slain.

The war of the Epigoni.

In the mean time the sons of those seven generals who fell before Thebes, resolving to revenge themselves on that city, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called Epigoni, and renewed the siege about ten years after. They were directed by the oracle to choose Alcmæon the son of Amphiaraus for their chief, under whose

[q] Id. ibid. Vide & Cicer. Stat. & al.

conduct

conduct they harraſſed the country till the Thebans gave them battle. On the other hand Laodamas, the ſon of Eteocles, who by this time was come of age, and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed Ægyaleus, one of their chiefs. But being himſelf ſoon after killed, or forced to fly into Illyrium [r], the Thebans ſued for a treaty; and, whilſt that was tranſacting, conveyed themſelves away with their families and effects by night, built the town of Hæſtiæa, and left Thebes to the mercy of the Epigoni. Some ſay that theſe being appriſed of their flight, plundered the city, and quite eraſed the walls. Others affirm, that Therſander, Polynices' ſon, diſſuaded them from this vengeance, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; ſoon after which re-eſtabliſhment he led them to the Trojan war, and in the way ſignalized himſelf at Myſia, where he was killed by Telephus. His ſon Teſamenes, being then too young to command the Theban forces, Peneleus was choſen chief, and was alſo killed there by Eurypilas, the ſon of Telephus. After his death Teſamenes took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably: but the Fates which purſued the unfortunate offspring of Œdipus did not prove ſo favourable to his ſon Auteſion, who, we are told, was ſeized with ſuch a dreadful phrenzy, or, according to the poetic phraſe, was perſecuted by the Furies to ſuch a degree, that he was forced, by the oracle's advice, to retire among the Dorians.

Thebes abandoned to them.

After his departure the Thebans raiſed Damaſichton, the ſon of Opheltas and grandſon of Peneleus, to the throne, who left it to his ſon Ptolemeus, and was ſucceeded by Xanthus. This was the laſt who enjoyed the regal dignity in Thebes, and was artfully killed by Melanthus in ſingle combat. Thus ended the Theban kingdom, after it had ſtood about three hundred years, from Cadmus to Xanthus, at whoſe death it became a commonwealth; for afterwards the Thebans, weary of a kingly government, reſolved to put it into many hands, and to eſtabliſh a commonwealth [s]. But as the remainder of the Theban hiſtory is beyond the epocha we are now treating of, we ſhall reſerve it for a more proper place.

[r] Conf. Pauſan. Bœotic. & Apollod. lib. iii. cap. 7. [s] Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Arcadia.

Names. ARCADIA, ſo called from Arcas, the ſon of Jupiter and Califta, was anciently called Pelaſgi, being inhabited by the ancient Pelaſgi, who boaſted themſelves to be deſcended from Pelaſgus, whom they ſurnamed Autochton[t], which was a name the Grecians gave to thoſe whoſe original was not known. It is true we find the Pelaſgians in ſeveral other parts of Greece; but their chief and primitive ſeat is generally ſuppoſed to have been this of Arcadia, whoſe inhabitants are univerſally allowed the moſt ancient people in Greece, and boaſted themſelves to be older than the moon. It had ſeveral other names, ſuch as Azenis, Azenia, Gigantis, Lycoania, Parrhaſia, and Pania. Dionyſius, who ſtyles the Arcadians Apidanii, divides them into Parrhaſii, Azanii, and Trepezuntii; Heſychius ſays, that they were alſo called Cortini; but that of Arcadian, which they had from Arcas, their fourth king, was the name by which they were chiefly diſtinguiſhed.

Geography. This country was ſituate in the heart of Peloponneſus, having Elis on the weſt, Argolis on the eaſt, Laconia and Meſſenia on the ſouth, and Sicyon and Corinth on the north[u]. The ſoil afforded excellent paſturage, which rendered it famous for the vaſt number of herds it bred, for the tuneful ſtrains of its ſhepherds, and the ſweetneſs of their vocal and inſtrumental muſic; and for the extraordinary worſhip that was paid here to their god Pan. There was a famous temple of that deity, in the city of Tegea; and another, dedicated to Minerva, in the city of Stymphalus, ſituate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name. Here alſo the lake Stymphalus produced a kind of fowls, called from it the Stymphalian birds, which grew to ſuch a ſize and number, that they darkened the ſun-beams at noon-day, and infeſted this territory till they were all either killed, or driven hence by Hercules.

Natural rarities.

Here was the famed lake Phenaus, from whence ſprings the river Styx, famous for the coldneſs of its waters, which chills to death thoſe that drink it; it is alſo of ſuch a corroſive nature, that it will conſume iron and braſs[w].

[t] Xenoph. Strab. Mel. & al. [u] Strab. D. Sicul. Pauſan. Mela, & al. [w] Id. Ibid.

The

The Arcadians were at firſt a ſavage people, living in the woods and fields, feeding promiſcuouſly on the product of the ground, till taught by Pelaſgus, or Arcas, the third in deſcent from him, to build huts, live ſociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or beech-maſt (S), and to clothe themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts. They began afterwards to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their ſoil. But as this country abounded with excellent paſture, ſo it was expoſed to continual incurſions from thoſe, who were either forced out of their own country, or were diſcontented with their ſituation. This inconvenience put them upon the neceſſity of exchanging the crook for the ſword, and inuring themſelves to warlike diſcipline in their own defence. Hence it was that they, eſpecially the mountaineers, became ſuch excellent ſoldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other ſtates. They commonly appeared clad with the ſkins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they uſed with a peculiar dexterity. Their women became at length ſuch expert warriors, that they have ſometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was, in all appearance, wholly inclining on the other ſide. Witneſs that famous expedition of the Lacedæmonians againſt Tegea, when fluſhed, by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they ſhould take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives; but were, in the heat of the battle, diſcomfited by a party of women, who had lain in ambuſh, and their king Charilaus, with a great number of his men, were bound with their own chains [x]. Having, therefore, ſuch brave females to defend their country, in caſe of invaſion, they uſed to be hired as mercenaries by all the neighbouring ſtates; and this traffick made them ſome amends for

[x] Herodot. lib. i. & Pauſan. in Arcad.

(S) Which kind of food Pauſanias ſays, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, inſomuch that the Lacedæmonians, conſulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage againſt them, received this anſwer from the Pythoneſs, "That though Jupiter and the gods were on their ſide, yet they could expect no ſucceſs againſt a warlike people, whoſe choice food was the fruit of the beech (1)."

(1) In Arcad. cap. 1.

want of other commerce, occaſioned by their diſtance from the ſea.

Lycaon, the ſon of their founder, improved what his father had done towards civilizing his ſubjects, by introducing the worſhip of Jupiter among them, though not with the ſame prudence that Cecrops had diſplayed among his Athenians (T). His ſons, of whom he had a conſiderable number, built each a city, which he called by his own name. In theſe they gathered the people into bodies, and accuſtomed to a ſocial life; and in the next reign they began to ſow corn, make bread, ſpin wool, and make cloth for garments. Another author adds [y], that they learned the uſe of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making cheeſe, of oil, and ſome other conveniences of life. Thus in four generations, the Arcadians, from being but one remove from wild beaſts, became civilized, induſtrious, inured to ſociety, huſbandry, and a regular police. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their paſtoral life, for which they have been ſo highly celebrated by the poets above all other Grecians.

Arts and huſbandry.

Government.

Their government was at firſt altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the ſubjects began to claim ſomething like a negative power, eſpecially in matters of great moment; ſo that their kings could not undertake any great affairs, ſuch as a war, alliances, or foreign ex-

[y] Juſtin. ex Trog. lib. xiii. cap. 7.

(T) Cecrops forbad the ſacrificing of any living creature, whereas Lycaon is reported to have ſacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god is ſaid to have changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its riſe only from the ſavage nature of that prince implied in his name, λυκος, ſignifying *a wolf*: the account which Ovid gives of him in his Metamorphoſes is as follows:

Jupiter, deſirous to know whether the wickedneſs of men anſwered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to Lycaon's palace, where, having made himſelf known, the people were going to ſacrifice to him. Lycaon, not believing his gueſt to be what they gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having miſſed his blow, he killed and dreſſed a Moloſſian youth, whom he kept as a hoſtage, and ſet him before his gueſt to eat; for which the exaſperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightning, and turned his inhuman hoſt into a wolf.

peditions,

peditions, without their conſent. This may perhaps be one reaſon why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other ſtate of Greece. We ſhall confine ourſelves here within our epoch, and to the ſeries of kings which that nation pretended to be deſcended from Pelaſgus, their firſt founder, and which Pauſanias has given us from their tradition and records. However, they were not always united under one king; for it ſometimes happened that the kingdom was divided by the father among his ſons, and continued ſo till want of iſſue, alliances, or ſome other circumſtance, united it again. Beſides, the ſeveral cities built by the ſons of Lycaon, ſeem to have been divided into cantons under their ſeveral chiefs; but whether always under one ſovereign or not, is not certain. Hence we read of theſe cantons as of ſeparate people, who made alliances, not only among themſelves, but with foreign ſtates, and ſignalized themſelves during ſeveral centuries under their reſpective names, ſuch as Tegeans, Trapæzans, Mantineans, and Peretheans.

Arcadia was divided into upper and lower, the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth; and this, the more mountainous of the two, was famed for its breed of horſes and aſſes, whence this laſt animal came to be ſtyled the Arcadian nightingale. Both upper and lower abounded with cities, of which ancient authors have left us a very confuſed account. We ſhall only mention their names as they are placed in order by a modern author[z]. 1. Megapolis, now Leontari. 2. Mantinea, now Goriza, or, according to others, Mundi. 3. Palantium, ſince enlarged by the emperor Antoninus. 4. Mœnalus, built on the mountain of its name. 5. Tegea, once a famed aſylum for all Greece. 6. Orchomenon, ſaid to have been built on an iſland in the midſt of a large marſh. 7. Clitor, or Clitorium, which ſtood on the river of that name, ſurrounded with lofty hills. 8. Nonacris, ſeated on the mountains from which the famous Styx deſcends. 9. Pſophis, now Dimazana, ſeated on the river Eurymanthus, which in a manner ſurrounds it. 10. Heræa, on the river Alpheus, once famed for the ſtately temple of Pan. 11. Stymphalus, ſeated on the lake and river of its name mentioned a little higher. 12. Phialia, or Phigalia, on the river Neda, to which the children of that town conſecrated their hair.

[z] Briet. Parallel. de Ver. Græc. part. ii. cap. 3.

Mountains. The chief mountains are, 1. Cillene, ſaid to be the higheſt in the whole country. 2. Pholoe, now Xiria, famed for being the abode of the Centaurs, and for the great quantity of the plant centaureum which it produces. 3. Stymphalus, mentioned a little higher, and now called Pogliſi. 4. Parthenius, famed for its woods, and celebrated by moſt poets and hiſtorians, particularly by Virgil in his Bucolics. 5. Lycæus, by ſome called alſo Olympus, and by the Arcadians the ſacred Mountain, whence ſprings the river Neda. Pauſanias calls it Ceraufius, and the preſent inhabitants Mitena.

It would be endleſs to enter into a detail of all the wonders which Plutarch, Pauſanias, Vitruvius, and other authors tell us concerning ſome of their rivers, fountains, and lakes, &c. and the beneficial or deſtructive qualities which they attribute to their waters, particularly to that of the river Styx, to ſay nothing of thoſe of Alpheus and Eurota. They tell us, likewiſe, ſuch wonders of ſome of the medicinal plants, and fruits of Arcadia, as exceed all belief; particularly one ſort of their vines, whoſe wine deprived men of their reaſon, and gave an extraordinary fecundity to the women; all which the curious reader may ſee in father Briet, above quoted, who hath been at the pains to collect them out of the ancient authors abovementioned, whilſt we come now to ſpeak of

Their kings. The ſucceſſion of the kings of Arcadia who reigned from their founder to Ariſtocrates II. who was murdered by his ſubjects for his treachery to the Meſſenians[a]; is as follows:

1 Pelaſgus	14 Cypſelus
2 Lycaon	15 Lajus
3 Nyctimus	16 Bucolion
4 Archas	17 Phialius
5 Clitor	18 Simus
6 Azan	19 Pompus
7 Epytus I.	20 Eginetes
8 Aleus	21 Polymeſtor
9 Lycurgus	22 Echmis
10 Echemus	23 Ariſtocrates I.
11 Agapenor	24 Hicetas
12 Hyppothous	25 Ariſtocrates II.
13 Epytus II.	

[a] Pauſan. ubi ſupra, cap. ii. & ſeq.

It

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning. If Pelaſgus, the ſuppoſed founder of this monarchy, were the ſame with Phaleg, or Peleg, the ſon of Eber, in whoſe days the earth is ſaid to have been divided [b], it muſt have begun at leaſt as early as Terah's time; but this ſuppoſition we have rejected. Thoſe who place the foundation of it about Moſes's time, ſeems ſtill to have antedated it, neither would we venture to place it before the expulſion of the Canaanites from their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in ſearch of ſome more peaceful habitations. But whether in Joſhua's time, or after it, is difficult to determine. Sir Iſaac Newton is of opinion, that Pelaſgus was contemporary with Inachus, Cecrops I. Lelax, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of Egypt; according to him, this was about 1120 years before Chriſt; but, according to our chronology, in the year of the world 2448, of the flood 792, and before Chriſt 1556; at which time we have placed the foundation of Athens by Cecrops. And it can hardly be ſuppoſed that Pelaſgus could be of a more recent date than he, if we conſider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the ſucceſſions of their kings; and Pauſanias thinks that Lycaon was contemporary with the Athenian founder. Upon this ſuppoſition, therefore, that they began about the ſame time, it will follow, that this of Arcadia laſted in the line of Pegaſus about eight hundred and eighty years, that is, till the year of the flood 1672, and firſt of the twenty-eighth Olympiad, in which Ariſtocrates II. and the laſt of that race, was ſtoned to death. This is the utmoſt we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whoſe beginning is ſo dark and remote. *Chronology uncertain.*

We have already ſaid all we know concerning Pelaſgus, and his ſon Lycaon, except that this laſt built a city on the mountain Lycæus, and called it Lycoſura, cauſed Jupiter to be worſhipped there under the name of Jupiter Lycæus, and inſtituted the Lycæan games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous iſſue, the reader may ſee them in the margin (U). Among ſo many ſons, Lycaon had but one daughter,

[b] Gen. x. 25. vid. & Stillingfl. Or. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. 8.

(U) Theſe cities were Pallantium, built by Pallas; Oreſthaſium, by Oreſtheus; Phigalia by Phigaleus, afterwards called Phialia, from Phialus, the ſon of Bucolion.

daughter, named Caliſto, with whom Jupiter having had an intrigue, Juno turned her into a ſhe-bear, and Diana, to pleaſe that jealous goddeſs, ſhot her to death (X). Lycaon was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

Nictymus; and he dying, we ſuppoſe childleſs, left the kingdom to

Arcas, the ſon of Caliſto, by Jupiter, who gave his name to the kingdom; he it was who introduced and improved huſbandry, and civilized his ſubjects, in memory of which benefits his bones were, by the advice of the Delphic oracle, brought from Mount Mænelus, where he had been buried, back again into Arcadia, according to the Pythoneſs's verſes:

Mænalia eſt tellus horrens Aquilonibus; Arcas
Hic jacet Arcadiæ poſuit qui nomina genti.
Huc lœtum te ferre pedes atque Arcadis oſſa
Sublata egregiam jubeo traducere in urbem.
Quæ trivia, et quæ quadrivia eſt & quinque viarum
Hic lucum ſtatue & ſacros fer Arcadi honores.

Trapezunte from Trapezeus; and ſo of the reſt; which were built by his other ſons Daceates, Macareus, Heliſſon, Acacus, (from whom this laſt tribe pretends Mercury has that ſurname in Homer, which ſignifies *without evil*, implying that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill), and Thochnus. Hypſus built Hypſuntes, Menelea, and Thyrea; Menalus, Tegeates, and Mantineus, the three cities of their name. The reſt of thoſe cantons bearing their founders names, are the Cromians, Chariſians, Tricolones, Peretheans, Aſeatians, Lyceatians, Sumatians, Hercans, and Alipholians. Orchomenos, the father of the Orchomenians, the richeſt canton of all in cattle, was the only prince who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of Methrydon (1). The youngeſt of Lycaon's, called OEnotrius, inſtead of following the example of the reſt, obtained a ſum of money and forces from his brother Nictymus, who ſucceeded Lycaon, ſailed into Italy, ſettled there, and was the firſt who brought a colony from Greece thither (2). Hence that of Virgil:

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ.
Œnotrii coluere viri.

(X) The fable adds, that Mercury, out of compaſſion to the young princeſs, and by Jupiter's order, ſaved the infant ſhe was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where ſhe became a conſtellation; or probably that conſtellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(1) De his vid. Byzant. ſub voc.

(2) Pauſan. in Arcad. cap. 3.

Arcas

Arcas had three ſons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called Erato, beſides a natural ſon he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. Azan, the eldeſt, called his portion by his name Azania. Aphydas had the canton of Tegea, and Elatus had Mount Cyllene, from which he afterwards retired, and ſettling in Phocis, built a city, which he called by his name.

Azan was ſucceeded by his only ſon

Clitor, who inſtituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was the moſt powerful prince of his time, but died childleſs; ſo that his ſhare of the Arcadian kingdom fell to

Epytus, eldeſt ſon of his brother Elatus, who was bit to death by a venomous ſerpent, as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his couſin

Aleus, the ſon of Aphydas. This prince made Tegea his metropolis, and built in it a temple to Minerva Alea. He had three ſons, Lycurgus, Amphidamas, and Cepheus; and a daughter, named Auge, whom he condemned to be drowned for her criminal converſe with Hercules, during his abode at Tegea (Y). He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

Lycurgus, whoſe two ſons dying before him, he left the kingdom to Echemus, the great-grandſon of Aleus.

Echemus aſſiſted Atreus, the ſon of Pelops, againſt the Heraclidæ, who firſt entered Peloponneſus with a powerful army, having Hyllus, the ſon of Hercules, at their head. We have ſpoken of this expedition in a former ſection, and of the ſucceſs of Echemus againſt that champion, whom he killed in ſingle combat: he left his kingdom to a ſon of Ancæus, the ſon of Lycurgus, named

Agapenor, who commanded the Arcadian troops at the ſiege of Troy, and in his return, being, like the reſt of the ſurviving Grecian chiefs, toſſed about by contrary winds and tempeſts, was caſt at length upon the coaſt of

(Y) This princeſs having captivated Hercules whilſt he was at Tegea, was left with child by him, which her father no ſooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a cheſt with her child, and flung into the ſea. She was taken up about the mouth of the Caicus, by Teuthras, king of Myſia, who was ſo charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her ſon Telephus as his own, and made him his ſucceſſor (1).

(1) Pauſan. in Arcad. cap. iv.

Cyprus, and ſettled at Paphos, where he built a temple to Venus, who, till then, if we believe Pauſanias, was only worſhipped at the ſmall city of Golgos [c]. From him the kingdom paſſed to the line of Stymphalus, the ſon of Elatus, who was the youngeſt ſon of Arcas.

Hyppothous, the great-grandſon of Stymphalus, was the perſon who ſucceeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the ſeat of the kingdom from Tegea, the ancient metropolis, to Trapeza: he was ſucceeded by his ſon

Epytus II. in whoſe days Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon, being warned by the oracle, retired into Arcadia, died, and was buried in or near the city of Tegea [d]. Epytus was afterwards ſtruck blind, for his preſumption, in venturing into the temple of Neptune at Mantinea, and dying ſoon after, left the crown to his ſon

Cypſelus, in whoſe days Creſphontes having, by indirect means, got the kingdom of Meſſenia, was murdered with two of his ſons. The third, named Æpytus, by others Ægyptus, fled to Cypſelus, who was his grandfather by the mother's ſide (Z), and by his aſſiſtance regained the Meſſenian kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the uſurper Polyphontes. We find nothing conſiderable during the reigns of his four next ſucceſſors, Lajus, Bucolion, Phialius, and Simus, except that in the time of this laſt, an ancient ſtatue of Ceres, ſurnamed the Black, was ſet on fire, which was looked upon as a preſage of that monarch's ſpeedy death, which happened accordingly ſoon after: he was ſucceeded by his ſon

Pompus. This prince, by the help of the Æginetæ, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the ſea-port of Cyllene, to and from which the merchandizes uſed to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved ſo beneficial to the kingdom, that in gratitude

[c] Arcad. cap. 5. [d] Vide Herodot. lib. i. cap. 67. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(Z) About the beginning of his reign the Dorian fleet having invaded Peloponneſus, not by the Iſthmus of Corinth, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle; but by landing above the cape of Rhion, Cypſelus was forced to make an alliance with Creſphontes, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head againſt them, in conſideration of which his ſon aſſiſted Epytus to regain his father's kingdom (2).

(2) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

to

to thoſe iſlanders, Pompus called his ſon and ſucceſſor by their name Æginetes. This laſt was ſucceeded by his ſon

Polymeſtor, in whoſe days happened that invaſion in which the Lacedæmonians being come againſt Tegea, were diſcomfited by the help of the Arcadian women, and both they and their king Charilaus bound with the chains they had brought for the Tegeans; however, Charilaus was ſoon after releaſed, upon his oath and promiſe that the Lacedæmonians ſhould not fight againſt them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple [e]. Polymeſtor was ſucceeded by his brother

Echmis, who aſſiſted the Meſſenians, the old and conſtant allies of the Arcadians, againſt the Lacedæmonians, and was ſucceeded by his own ſon

Ariſtocrates I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being enamoured of a young virgin, prieſteſs of Diana Hymnia, a deity highly reverenced by the Arcadians, and having in vain tried to debauch her, raviſhed her at the altar of the goddeſs. For this impiety, he was ſtoned to death by his ſubjects, who, to prevent the like ſacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained that from thenceforth, none but married women ſhould be admitted to the prieſtly function.

We know nothing concerning his ſon Hicetas, except that he was father to

Ariſtocrates II. the laſt of the royal line of Cypſelus, with whom we ſhall cloſe this ſection. He was ſtoned to death by his own ſubjects for his treachery to the Meſſenians his allies, whom he betrayed to the Spartans, with whom they were at war. The Arcadians, not content with his death, caſt his body out of their territories, left it expoſed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of Mount Lycæus, on which they cauſed an inſcription to be engraved, the purport of which may be read in the margin (A), as we find it tranſlated by Mr. Hind, in his Grecian hiſtory [f].

[e] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [f] P. 167. Vide & Pauſan. ubi ſupra, & in Meſſenic.

(A) The baſe betrayer of Meſſene's ſtate,
Has met at length a well-deſerved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors juſtice ſhun;
Hail, mighty Jove! ſave the Arcadian throne.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The History of the ancient Kingdom of Thessaly, with a short Account of that of Phocis.

Name. THESSALY is supposed to have received its name from Thessalus[g], the father[h], or, according to others[i], the son of Græcus, an ancient king of an obscure village, from whom the Greeks are said to have been descended[k]. It was also anciently called Æmonia, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of Deucalion, or perhaps rather from Emon, the son of Chlorus, the father of Thessalus, and grandson of Pelasgus[l]. From this last it was also called Pelasgia, and Pyrhæa, from Pyrrha, Deucalion's wife; but it was most commonly known by that of Thessaly, as it is now by that of Janna.

Division. It was anciently divided into four districts, or perhaps kingdoms; Thessaliotes, Istœotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis. Deucalion was king of this last when the deluge that goes by his name happened, which destroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only such as happily escaped into the high mountains of Thessaliotis, and Deucalion and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and rested at length upon Parnassus, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country, by throwing stones behind them[m]. However, the name of Thessaly and Thessalians in time prevailed, and came to signify all the four parts. Sometimes it included Magnesia and Phthiotis, and sometimes not; sometimes it was joined with Macedonia, and sometimes severed from it, and again rejoined to it[n].

Situation and extent. Thessaly, properly so called, had on the east the provinces of Magnesia and Phthia above mentioned, and these two were bounded by the Ægean sea. On the west it had Illyricum and Epirus, now Albania; on the north Macedonia and Mygdonia, and on the south Grecia Propria. It extended from east to west about one deg. 40 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25½ east longitude, and from

g Steph. Byzant. sub voce Θεσσαλ. h Euseb. Chronic. vid. & Not. Scalig. in eund. i Vide Byzant. sub voce Γραικος. k Id. ibid. & Cluver. lib. iv. cap. 8. l Byzant. sub voce Αιμον. m Ovid Metam. init. Apollod. lib. i. cap. 7. n Cluver. ubi supra. Mela, lib. ii. cap. 3, & 4.

north

north to ſouth, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

Natural rarities.

It was famous for its twenty-four hills, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe that follow:

Mountains.

1. Olympus, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height. 2. Othrys, where king Pirithous reigned over the Lapithæ. 3. Pelion. 4. Oſſa, which with Nephele were, according to the fable, inhabited by Centaurs, who were afterwards killed or driven away by Hercules, for their luſtful attempt upon the women that aſſiſted at Pirithous's nuptials. Here were alſo the plains of Pharſalia, and the delightful valley of Tempe, about ſix miles in length, and five in breadth, ſo pleaſantly ſituate between the mountains of Oſſa, Pelion, and Olympus, ſo beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river Peneus, which ran through the midſt of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the Muſes. On the ſouth borders of Theſſaly were ſeated the Dolopes and Myrmidons (B), whom Achilles led to the Trojan war.

Rivers.

The whole kingdom of Theſſaly was very pleaſant and fruitful, being watered by ſeveral great rivers which run quite acroſs the country. The chief of them are the Peneus above mentioned, the Aliacmon, Erigon, and Axius; all which empty themſelves into the Ægean ſea, by the gulph of Theſſalonica, anciently called Sinus Thermaicus. This country ſeems alſo to have been remarkably productive of poiſonous weeds and drugs. Hence Plautus makes uſe of the word Theſſalus to expreſs a poiſonous thing: but upon the whole it was ſo fruitful and delicious, that, like many others of the ſame rich nature, it was ſeldom free from foreign invaſions.

Cities of note.

Cities of note were; 1. Lariſſa, famed for giving birth to Achilles, called from thence Lariſſeus: its ſituation was excellent, being near the gulph above mentioned, and upon the river Peneus, near the foot of Olympus, and at one end of the valley of Tempe. 2. Demetrius, ſituate on the Sinus Pelaſgicus, now Golfo dell Armiro, and ſtrongly fortified by art and nature. 3. Pegaſa, on the

(B) The latter were ſo called from μυρμηξ, a piſmire, not, as the poets feign, becauſe Æacus, the ſon of Jupiter, ſeeing his country diſpeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a freſh ſupply of ſubjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but becauſe, as Strabo ſays, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the piſmires in their diligence and œconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other huſbandry, from that inſect.

ſame

ſame gulph, famous for being the place where the ſhip Argo was built, which carried the Argonauts on their famed expedition of the golden fleece. Pythion, celebrated for the Pythian games, which were inſtituted here in honour of Apollo, in memory of his killing the ſerpent Python (C). The metropolis of Theſſaly was, according to Heliodorus [o], called Hypatha, and ſituated near the Sinus Maliachus, now Golfo di Ziton, and at a ſmall diſtance from mount Oeta, upon which Hercules ended his life, after he had put on the poiſoned ſhirt (D).

Varieties. Theſſaly was famous for ſuch an extraordinary breed of oxen, that Neleus king of Pylus refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to Melampus king of Tyrius, except he procured him ſome of them, which he ſoon after did by the help of his brother Bias [p]. What fine horſes they bred, and how expert they were in the uſe and manage-

[o] Hiſt. Æthiop. ap Heylin.

[p] Pauſan. in Meſſenic. cap. 36.

(C) The four moſt conſiderable were, the Iſthmian, the Olympic, Nemean, and the Pythonian; theſe made four annual meetings for all the Grecians, who reſorted to thoſe places in great numbers, but which were ſtill more eſteemed for the concourſe of the nobleſt and greateſt youths, who came to ſignalize themſelves there; ſome for their ſtrength; others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accompliſhments.

The prize which was given to the victors at theſe Pythian games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may ſee a full account of all theſe games in Potter's Antiquities.

(D) Father Briet, in the place lately quoted, ranges them in the following order; viz.

1. In Pelaſgiotis, Lariſſa, now Larizo, Scotuſa, Gonnus or Gonuza, and Atrax; the rivers are, the Peneus, now Salampria, the Pamiſus, and Titareſus.

2. In Æſtiotis, Tricca or Trica, now Tricata, Gomphipheca, Thome or Ithome, and Clemene. Rivers, the Coratius, or Curatius, now Onocero, and the Phœnix.

3. In Theſſaliotis, Hypata, metropolis, Thaumaci, Cyphata, and the river Apidanus, now Epideno.

4. In Phthiotis, Pharſalus, Eretriæ, Thebæ Phthioticæ or Phthiæ, now Zitton, Lariſſa Penſiis, Lamia Echinus, and Heraclea Trachinia, now Comarus. Rivers, the Enipeus and Amphryſus. Mountains, Œtra and Otrys.

5. In Magneſia, Phera, now Sidero, Jeruſat or Feniſar, Milibea Parva, Joleos, Demetrias, now Demetriada, Pegaſæ, Tempe Theſſala. Mountains, Oſſa, now Coſſovo, and Pelion. Promontories, thoſe of Magneſia and Sepias.

ment

ment of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, ſince the fiction of the Centaurs is allowed to have taken its origin from them [q]. This fable, however, reflects no leſs diſgrace upon them for their brutiſh incontinency, than it commends them for their ſkill in horſemanſhip. The attempt which they made upon the women at the nuptials of their neighbour, Pirithous, king of the Lapithæ, if not forged to fix an ignominious ſtain upon them, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the hiſtory of their wars with other nations afford us a conſtant proof of the latter; ſo that, notwithſtanding their debauchery, they have ſhewed themſelves a warlike nation, and as ſuch, their alliance, as well as aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of their cavalry, was eagerly ſolicited by contending powers.

We ſhall not pretend to give here a liſt of their kings, much leſs of thoſe tyrants, who reigned, ſome over one or more, others over all the four diſtricts, into which this country was divided; but ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning what we find moſt remarkable under any of them during this fabulous and heroic epocha. At the head of all muſt be placed the celebrated Argonautic expedition, which happened in the reign of Pelias king of Theſſaly, about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of Troy. We do not however pretend to ſettle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbiſhop Uſher, without entering into the difference between Sir Iſaac Newton and him. The occaſion of this expedition was as follows:

Yr. of Fl. 1068. Ante Chr. 1280.

Argonautic expedition.

Æſon, the third in deſcent from Æolus, being either worn out with age, or weary of government, whilſt his ſon Jaſon, by Polymela, or, according to others, by Alcimede, was yet very young, appointed Pelias, his brother by the mother's ſide, guardian of the kingdom till his ſon ſhould come of age. Pelias, on the other hand, who had reſolved to ſecure the government to himſelf, ſent to conſult the oracle, and was bid to beware of the man who had but one ſhoe. It happened ſome time after, that as he was ſacrificing to Neptune, he called his nephew to him, who was on the other ſide of a rivulet; and Jaſon, being in great haſte to croſs the brook, dropped one of his ſhoes, and gave Pelias occaſion to think that Jaſon was the perſon pointed at by the oracle. He then aſked him what courſe he would take with a perſon of whom the oracle had bid him beware; and Jaſon readily

[q] Oſor. Serv. Vatabl. & al.

an-

anſwered, that he would ſend him to Colchis in ſearch of the Golden Fleece (E). His uncle took him at his word, and ſent him immediately upon that enterprize [r]. Jaſon made no difficulty to obey; and having engaged a conſiderable number of young men, the flower of all Greece, in this expedition, he procured a ſhip to be built for this purpoſe at Pegaſa, by one Argus, from whom he called it Argos; and hence he and his gallant company were called Argonautæ.

Theſe adventurers, after many ſtrange difficulties and exploits (F), arrived at length at the land of Colchis, where the

[r] Apollon. Argon. lib. ii. Apollod lib. i. &c.

(E) This fabulous fleece was then in poſſeſſion of Æetes king of Colchis, a country lying between the Euxine Sea and Iberia, and now called Mengrelia. It then had ſome conſiderable mines of gold, which gave riſe to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding alſo with poiſonous drugs and plants, which Medea, king Æetes's daughter, knew how to prepare and make uſe of; the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantreſs. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of Mars, and was guarded by a dragon who never ſlept.

(F) The firſt place they touched at was the iſland of Lemnos, in the Ægean Sea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their huſbands, in order to lead an Amazonian life, yet were ſo charmed with theſe brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They ſailed next to the country of the Deliones, where they were kindly received by their king Cyzicus, but departing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were miſtaken for Pelaſgians, with whom that people were then at war. A fierce engagement enſued, in which Cyzicus, and a great number of his men were killed on the ſpot. The return of day-light having diſcovered the unhappy miſtake, they only ſtayed to bury the dead, and ſailed to Myſia, a country in Aſia Minor, near the Helleſpont.

Here Hercules, who plyed his oar with more ſtrength than ſkill, unluckily broke it, and whilſt he was gone into the wood to cut himſelf a new one, Hylas, his beloved boy, was ſtolen by a nymph as he was drinking at a fountain; ſo that whilſt he and his brother-in-law's ſon, Polyphemus, went in ſearch of him, the Argonautæ left them behind, and ſailed into Bithynia.

Here Amicus, the ſon of Neptune, king of the country, a man of prodigious ſtrength, having obliged them, as he did all ſtrange comers, to contend with him at whirlbats, was killed by Pollux, one of the Argonautic heroes. The Berbraces, ſeeing their king fallen, would ſoon have revenged his death

the golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where Jaſon acquained Æetes, king of the country, with Pelias's command, and demanded the fleece. Æetes promiſed to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own ſingle ſtrength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had brazen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been preſented to him by Vulcan) and plow the ground with them, ſowing it with dragon's teeth, which Minerva had given him, and were the remainder of thoſe which Cadmus had ſown at Thebes[s].

Jaſon, perplexed how to perform theſe conditions, was happily relieved by Medea, the king's daughter, whoſe

[s] Id. ibid. Vid. Hind. ubi ſupra, lib. i.

death on the victor, had not his brave companions reſcued him from the danger; after which they ſailed immediately to Salmydeſſus, a city in Thrace, where they conſulted the famous blind ſoothſayer, Phinæus, concerning the ſucceſs of their expedition.

This perſon, who, according to the fable, was continually infeſted with harpies, a monſtrous kind of bird, with women's faces, and diſtorted claws, who devoured one part of his proviſions, and poiſoned the reſt, with the ſtench they left upon it, promiſed to direct them ſafely to Colchis, provided they would rid him of thoſe infectious birds, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the Simplegades, two rocks, or, according to others, two iſlands, about half a league diſtant from the ſtreights of the Boſphorus, and ſo near together, that at a diſtance they ſeem to run againſt each other, and which the poets ſay, were often puſhed ſo cloſe by the force of the winds, that they ſhut up the paſſage. He therefore adviſed them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the ſtreight, unleſs they ſaw him get ſafe to the other ſide; they followed his advice with ſome ſucceſs, the pigeon having loſt only one part of his tail, and the ſhip received ſome ſlight damage.

From this ſtreight they ſailed to the mouth of the river Parthenius, and were honourably received by Lycus, king of that country. Here Idmon, the ſon of Apollo and Aſteria, and a ſoothſayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. Typhis, their pilot, likewiſe died here, and was ſucceeded by Ancæus. At length, having croſſed the river Thermodon, and Mount Caucaſus, they arrived ſafe at Colchis, which was the end of their journey (1).

(1) Apollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Apollod lib. i. Vid. Hind. Hiſt. Græc.

heart

heart he had captivated. She promiſed him, that if he would marry her, ſhe would aſſiſt him in the enterprize. He had no ſooner agreed to this condition, than ſhe gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he became proof againſt the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, ſhe taught him how to tame thoſe fierce creatures, ſo as to be able to yoke and make uſe of them. She told him, moreover, that the teeth which he was to ſow, would preſently ſpring up into armed men, which would infallibly deſtroy him, unleſs he raiſed an immediate diſſenſion among them, by throwing ſtones at them, during which he might eaſily cut them off. Jaſon having ſucceſsfully performed the taſk, went and demanded the fleece according to Æetes's promiſe; but this prince, inſtead of delivering it, was contriving how to deſtroy him and his company, and burn their ſhip. To prevent this miſchief, Medea, by her enchantments, caſt the watchful dragon into a deep ſleep, ſtole the fleece, and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her deſire, alſo her brother Abſyrtus into his ſhip, and ſailed away immediately with his companions. Æetes, who was ſoon informed of his daughter's treachery, purſued them with ſuch diſpatch that they were on the point of being overtaken. In this emergency Medea cut her brother in pieces, and ſcattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to ſtop his farther purſuit, and the expedient ſucceeded. The diſconſolate king, ſurpriſed at her unnatural barbarity, ſtayed to gather up the fragments of his ſon's body, and buried them in a place called from thence Tomi, in the mean time ſhe and the Argonauts eſcaped into Theſſaly, not without having firſt felt the effects of Jupiter's anger for the murder of Abſyrtus (G), and after having ſpent four whole months in this expedition.

During

(G) The fable adds, that Jove, having purſued the Argonauts with dreadful ſtorms, and caſt them upon unknown coaſts, the ſhip Argos, to their great ſurprize, ſpoke to them, and aſſured them, that that god would never be appeaſed till they were cleanſed from their murder by Circe, a famed ſorcereſs, ſuppoſed to have been the daughter of Sol, by the nymph Perſe, who lived in the iſland of Æea. They had no ſooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, ſailing by the coaſts of the Syrens, they were delivered from the danger of their enchanting muſic, by the more charming voice of Orpheus. Thence they ſailed between Scylla and Charybdis, environed with the fire and ſmoke, which ſeemed

to

During his abſence Pelias, who had never expected his return from Colchis, had formed a deſign to cut off his father, in order to fix the kingdom upon himſelf and his ſon Acaſtus; and the old king, being appriſed of his plots, had poiſoned himſelf by drinking a draught of bull's blood. His queen, likewiſe, oppreſſed with grief for his death, and the ſuppoſed loſs of her ſon and kingdom, had hanged herſelf; ſo that Pelias now thought himſelf ſecure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, Jaſon returned ſucceſsful and victorious with the fleece (H). However, he

to iſſue out of thoſe and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger alſo, by Tethys and the Nereids, at Juno's command, and came at length to Corcyra, the iſland of the Phæacians, where Alcinous then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the Colchians, whom Æetes had ſent in purſuit of them. Theſe went immediately to the king, and demanded Medea to be delivered to them, which he promiſed to do, in caſe ſhe was not already married to Jaſon. But his queen being appriſed of this promiſe, went immediately and married him privately; ſo that the Colchians, being forbid to return home without her, were forced to ſettle in this iſland, whilſt the Argonauts ſailed towards Crete.

Here Medea was again forced to make uſe of her enchantments to deliver the veſſel from being ſunk by the ſtones, which Talus, a man of braſs, and the preſent of Vulcan to Minos, then king of that iſland, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was cloſed with a brazen pin; hence they pretend that Mēdea, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin, and let out all his blood; others ſay ſhe poiſoned him with ſome deadly potion. From Crete they came to Ægina, an iſland inhabited by the Myrmidons, whom they were forced to fight, to get a ſupply of freſh water. Hence ſailing by Eubea and Locris, they arrived at length at Jolcos, the place whence they firſt ſet out.

(H) By this golden fleece was underſtood ſome mines in the country of Colchis. Theſe are ſuppoſed, by certain mythologiſts, to have been contiguous to ſome of thoſe torrents which fall from the neighbourhood of Mount Caucaſus, and to have brought down with them great quantities of gold-duſt, which the inhabitants ſaved by ſetting fleeces of wool àcroſs ſome of the narrow paſſages of thoſe currents. This is, indeed, the moſt rational account that can be given of that matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards diſguiſed, after their cuſtom, and embelliſhed with the ſtories of dragons, brazen bulls, dreadful ſeas, dangerous paſſages, and

he had ſo well ſtrengthened himſelf in his uſurpation, that Jaſon, brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare to undertake any thing againſt him openly. Medea was forced to have recourſe to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as ſome ſay, reſtored Jaſon's father to life. She afterwards perſuaded Pelias's daughter to boil his old father, on pretence ſhe would reſtore him to life and youthful vigour; but upon her non-performance Acaſtus mounted the throne, and, having performed his father's funeral obſequies, baniſhed Jaſon and his wife from Theſſaly. They retired to Corinth, where we ſhall find them again in the next ſection.

Acaſtus is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife Hippolyta, or, as ſhe is called by others, Cretheis; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with Peleus, the ſon of Cacus, and had ſolicited him in vain for ſome time, till enraged at length at his conſtant refuſal, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband of having made ſome attempts upon her honour. Acaſtus believing her, and endeavouring to kill Peleus, was himſelf ſlain with his lewd wife.

The next Theſſalian prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated Achilles, the ſon of Peleus, and Tethys the goddeſs of the ſea. This hero was king of Phthya, one of the four provinces of Theſſaly, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river Styx, when he was a child, and to have been made invulnerable, by this immerſion, in every part, except the heel by which ſhe held him. She afterwards ſent him to be brought up by the centaur Chiron, where he learned muſic, arms, and horſemanſhip. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went to the Trojan war he ſhould be ſlain, ſhe diſpatched him privately, in women's apparel, to Lycomedes king of Scyrus, an iſland in the Ægean ſea, and one of the Cyclades, where, among other exploits, he debauched Dejanira, one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated Pyrrhus, afterwards king of Epirus. This tranſaction, as Pauſa-

and many ſuch perils and inſurmountable difficulties, as commonly attend the too eager ſearch after that pernicious, though ſo much deſired metal.

As for the account which Suidas gives of it, that it was a parchment book, made of ſheep's ſkin, and in which was written the whole ſecret of tranſmuting all metals into gold, it ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned.

nias

nias obſerves, ſeems to have been deſignedly omitted by Homer, as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preſerved by all the other poets.

In the mean time, the Grecian chiefs being likewiſe forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterprize againſt Troy would prove unſucceſsful, unleſs they had Achilles with them, Ulyſſes undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, and his endeavours ſucceeded accordingly. Tethys finding that her ſon was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of Troy, to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon Vulcan to make him an impenetrable armour, with which he went, at the head of his brave Myrmidons to the fatal ſiege. Here he forbore acting for ſome time in conſequence of a quarrel with Agamemnon, on account of a beautiful female captive; but his reſentment giving way to his grief for the death of his dear friend Patroclus, who had been killed by Hector, Achilles thenceforth fought nothing but revenge, which he ſoon accompliſhed. Hector was ſlain, his body tied to the chariot of Achilles, and dragged thrice round the walls of Troy. Priam having redeemed his ſon's body at an exceſſive price, Paris, another of his ſons, ſoon after ſhot Achilles in the heel, the only place in which he was vulnerable.

The two moſt memorable tranſactions for which the Theſſalians were recorded, are, their driving the Bœotians from the country of Arne, a ſmall territory in Theſſaly, ſo called from its metropolis, built by Bœotus, the ſon of Neptune, by Arne, the daughter of Æolus (1), the ſecond of that name, who was the ſon of Hyppotes, and grandſon of Mimas, king of Æolis; and their conſtant wars againſt the Phocians. The former of theſe events happened, according to Thucydides[t], ſixty years after the taking of Troy, and about one hundred after their

[t] Lib. i.

(1) This Æolus finding his daughter pregnant, is ſaid to have ſent her to Metapontum, a city in Italy, where ſhe was delivered of two ſons, Æolus and Bœotus, the former of whom poſſeſſed himſelf afterwards of the iſles in the Tyrrhenian ſea, ſince called by his own name, Æolides, in one of which he built the city Lipara. Bœotius went to Æolis, to his grandfather, and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, calling the country Arne from his mother, whilſt his people retained that of Bœotians from him (1).

(1) D. Sicul. & al.

firſt ſettlement in that territory; when, the Bœotians being driven thence, went and poſſeſſed themſelves of a country then named Cadmeis, and called it by their name, Bœotia. We have elſewhere ſpoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the Phocians (K), it is not eaſy to gueſs at the true ground of them; only we find, that there was an irreconcileable hatred ſubſiſting between thoſe two nations, which proved a conſtant ſource of freſh and bloody encounters, in which the Theſſalians, though ſuperior in ſtrength, eſpecially on account of their cavalry, were very often worſted by the policy of their enemies, witneſs thoſe ſtatues of Apollo, Minerva, Diana, and other trophies, which Pauſanias tells us the Phocians ſet up, both on their borders, and at the temple of Delphos, in memory of their ſignal victories over them [u]. The truth is, the kingdom of Phocis was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged; ſo that the Theſſalians, who ſeem ſtill to have been the aggreſſors, could receive but little benefit from their horſe. On the contrary, the ſame author gives us a remarkable inſtance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We ſhall give it our readers, pretty near in his own words [w]. The Phocians having got intelligence that the Theſſalians were invading them by the road of Hyampolis (a city ſituate near Mount Parnaſſus), they ſtrewed all that way with empty pots and potſhards, which they covered, however, ſo well with earth, that the Theſſalian horſe, who came riding full ſpeed, did not perceive it till they were ſo entangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by the enemy [x]. Deſire of revenge ſoon made them raiſe a more powerful army than the former, which ſo alarmed the Phocians, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity, than for their number, that they ſent to conſult the Delphic oracle concerning the event of this invaſion. The anſwer they received was, "That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both

[u] In Phocid. cap. 13. lib. viii. cap. 28. Juſtin. Diod. & al. Pauſan. in Phocid.

[w] Ibid. cap. 1. Vid. & Herodot.

[x] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(K) The Phocians were a people who inhabited the tract of land which lies between the ſouth border of Theſſaly, and the iſthmus of Corinth. It ſeems, therefore, that this their neighbourhood was a conſtant ſource of war, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred.

would

would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better." Upon receiving this anſwer, they ſent Gelon, with three hundred men, in the night, to obſerve the motions of the Theſſalians, with expreſs orders not to engage them, but to return by ſome bye-ways. Gelon falling unfortunately into their hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horſes, or put to the ſword. The news of this diſaſter threw the Phocians into ſuch conſternation, that they reſolved either to conquer or periſh to the laſt man. Their firſt care was to ſecure their wives and children, the ſtatues of their gods, and what elſe they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all theſe to thirty of their moſt reſolute men, with orders, that if they loſt the battle, they ſhould murder their wives and children, and ſetting fire to the pile of wood, fling into it all their other riches.

This deſperate reſolution, which gave riſe to the proverb of the *Phocian deſpair*, was no ſooner taken, than they marched directly againſt their enemies; and the remembrance that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was made dear to them, depended on the ſucceſs of this combat, made them engage with ſuch deſperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which ſoon unfolded the meaning of the oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the Theſſalian word for the onſet was Minerva Itonia, and that of the Phocians was the name of Phocus, their founder; in gratitude, therefore, to the Delphic god, they erected a ſtatue to him, together with thoſe of their moſt famous heroes and generals, in his temple at Delphos [y].

The Theſſalians were ſtill more ſtrangely over-reached, upon another expedition againſt the Phocians, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as Mount Parnaſſus, they were routed by the following ſtratagem, deviſed by Telias, a famous diviner, who was then in the Phocian army, and highly eſteemed amongſt them. They took ſix hundred choſen men, covered their armour and faces all over with plaiſter, and ſent them to the Theſſalian camp in the middle of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaiſtered over like themſelves. Theſe in their march being firſt perceived by the out-guard, afterwards by the whole camp, and miſtaken for an army of ſpectres, threw their

[y] Idem ibid.

enemies into ſuch a panic, that they killed three thouſand of them upon the ſpot, routed the reſt, and got a conſiderable ſpoil, the tenth of which they ſent to the Delphic Apollo, together with one half of the ſhields of the ſlain; the other half was hung up as a trophy in the city Aba[z]. Theſe frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their mutual hatred, inſomuch that they never ceaſed their hoſtilities againſt each other till both ceaſed to be a nation. But this, as well as their tranſactions with the other ſtates of Greece, will be beſt ſeen in the following chapter.

The ancient kingdom of Phocis.

Having ſaid ſo much of the war betwixt the Phocians, and Theſſalians, we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of that brave nation, and of their territories, inconſiderable indeed with reſpect to the ſmallneſs of them, yet deſerving our notice upon ſeveral accounts, though not worth being treated of in a ſeparate ſection, conſidering how little we know of its foundation, ſucceſſion of kings, government, laws, and tranſactions.

Situation and limits.

Phocis was ſituate in Græcia Propria, between Theſſaly and the bay of Corinth, having the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth. On the weſt it was bounded by Ætolia, Locris, and Ozolea; and on the eaſt by Bœotia and Megaris, ſo that it was hemmed in from the ſea on all but the ſouth ſide; but if we may believe Dionyſius Periegetes, it anciently extended as far as Thermopylæ, but the Phocians were very early deprived of that part of their country, and forced into narrower boundaries. Its greateſt length was from north to ſouth, that is, from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from eaſt to weſt, ſcarcely extending thirty miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the wideſt, but about 23 miles towards the Corinthian bay, and much narrower ſtill towards the north.

This country is generally allowed to have taken its name from Phocus, the ſon of Ornytion, a native of Corinth; but having been ſoon after invaded by the Eginetæ, under the conduct of another Phocus, who was the ſon of Eacus, king of Ænopia, the memory of the firſt inſenſibly gave way to that of the ſecond.

Mountains.

Phocis is famed for ſeveral celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, Parnaſſus, Helicon, and Cythæron. Parnaſſus, ſacred to Apollo, and extolled by

[z] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [a] Strab. Pauſan. Mela, Cluver, &c.

all

all the poets, was so high, that Deucalion, and his wife Pyrrha, with many others, are said to have saved themselves on the tops of it, from the deluge which happened in that prince's time. Helicon, and Cythæron were both consecrated to the Muses, and on that account highly celebrated also by the poets. They are said to contend with that of Parnassus for height and magnitude [b]. Phocis had no rivers of any note, except the Cephisus, which runs from the foot of Parnassus northward, and empties itself in the Pindus, which last was near the boundary of that kingdom.

Cities.

It boasted several considerable cities, the chief of them was that of Delphos, or Delphi (L), famous for the temple of Apollo, whose oracle was resorted to from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Its first discovery is said to have been owing to some goats, which were feeding on Mount Parnassus, where was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, with a narrow entrance. These goats having been observed by the goat-herd, whom Plutarch calls Coretas, to frisk and leap after a strange and unusual manner, and to utter strange and unheard-of sounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curiosity to view it, and found himself seized with the like fit of madness, skipping, dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this discovery, whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were possessed with such phrenetic enthusiasm, that they threw themselves headlong into the opening; insomuch, that they were forced to issue an edict, forbidding all persons to approach the cavern. They afterwards placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being seated, received and returned the answers of the deity [c]. We meet with some different accounts of this wonderful place, which Pausanias has given us upon the credit of the Phocians, and which the reader may see in that author [d]. This miraculous place was soon after covered with a kind of chapel, which the same author tells us was originally made of laurel boughs, and resembled a large hut. This, if we may credit the Phocian tradition, was succeeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this, a third was

First discovery of the oracle of Delphos.

Three different chapels at the mouth of the cave.

[b] Id. ibid. Vid. & Virg. Ovid. Pers. &c. [c] Vid. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. iv. [d] Pausan. in Phocid.

(L) So called, as is supposed, from the Greek Ἀδελφοι, brethren, because Apollo, and his brother Bacchus, were both worshipped there.

built of ſolid copper, ſaid to have been the workmanſhip of Vulcan. This laſt was deſtroyed by an earthquake, according to ſome; or by fire which melted the copper, according to others; and then a ſumptuous temple, all of ſtone, was erected by Agamedes, and Trophimus.

Delphos, among ſeveral other cities of Greece and Peloponneſus, contended for being ſituate in the middle, or, as the Greek expreſſes it, the navel of the world [e] (M), becauſe the navel is in the middle of the body. It had ſo convenient a harbour, and was ſo excellently well ſituate, being rather in the heart of Greece than of the world, that it became in time the place for aſſembling the Grecian ſtates. Here ſat the court of the Amphictyones, choſen out of the prime cities of Greece, and called ſo from Amphictyon, the firſt founder of this high court [f]. The time of their aſſembling was in ſpring and autumn; cauſes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of Greece, and their ſentence was deemed definitive. We ſhall ſee frequent inſtances of the power of this court in the courſe of the Grecian hiſtory.

The court of the Amphictyons at Delphos.

Deucalion firſt began to reign in that part of Phocis which lies about Mount Parnaſſus, about the ſame time that Cecrops flouriſhed in Attica. But the Phocians afterwards formed themſelves into a commonwealth, to be governed by their general aſſemblies, the members of which they choſe from among themſelves, and changed as often as occaſion required. The principal towns aſſigned to them by Ptolemy were, on the ſea-coaſts, Cyrra, Criſſa, and Anticyrra; and in the inland, Pythia, Delphi, Daulis, Elatia, Ergoſthenia, and Bulia. We have already ſpoken of the moſt remarkable of them; the others have nothing worth notice, except that Elatea was the largeſt and richeſt next to Delphi, and pleaſantly ſituate on the river Cephiſus, and near that of Amphiclea, likewiſe belonging to Phocis, and though not mentioned by Ptolemy, is noted by the Byzantine geographer, by Pauſanias and Herodotus;

Other cities of Phocis.

[e] Vid. Strab Geogr. lib. ix. p. 289. Pauſan. ubi ſupra, & Corinth. [f] Pauſan. in Phocid. cap. 2.

(M) The fable ſays, that Jupiter, deſirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let looſe two eagles, Pindar ſays crows, the one from the eaſt, and the other from the weſt, and that they meet in this place. The city of Philus, and ſome others pretend to the ſame; Strabo places Delphos in the middle of Greece (1).

(1) Geogr. lib. ix. p. 289. Vid. & Pauſan. in Corinth.

though

though the two latter call it Amphicæa; and the Amphictyons afterwards, in their decree againſt the Phocian cities, gave it the name of Ophitea.

We know little of the hiſtory of the ancient Phocians till the time of the holy war, begun againſt them, the occaſion and ſucceſs of which was as follows.

The holy war.

The Phocians having preſumed to plough the territories of the city of Cyrra, conſecrated to the Delphic god, were ſummoned by the other Grecian ſtates before the court of the Amphictyons, where a conſiderable fine was impoſed upon them for their ſacrilege. They refuſed to pay it, on pretence that it was too large; and at the next aſſembly their dominions were adjudged confiſcated to the uſe of the temple. This ſecond ſentence exaſperated the Phocians ſtill more, who, at the inſtigation of one Philomelus, or, as he is called by Plutarch, Philomedes, ſeized upon the temple, plundered it of its treaſure, and held the ſacred depoſitum for a conſiderable time. This ſecond crime occaſioned another aſſembly of the Amphictyons, the reſult of which was a formal declaration of war againſt the Phocians. The quarrel being become more general, the ſeveral ſtates took part in it, according to their inclinations or intereſt. Athens, Sparta, and ſome others of the Peloponneſians declared for the Phocians; and the Thebans, Theſſalians, Locrians, and other neighbouring ſtates, againſt them. A war was commenced with great fury on both ſides, and ſtyled the holy war, which laſted ten years, during which the Phocians having hired a number of foreign troops, made an obſtinate defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not Philip of Macedon given the finiſhing ſtroke to their total defeat and puniſhment. The war being ended, the grand council aſſembled again, and impoſed an annual fine of ſixty talents upon the Phocians, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had ſuſtained from them; and, till this reparation ſhould be made, they were excluded from dwelling in walled towns, and from having any vote in the grand aſſembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy ſentence; their known bravery made their aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary to the reſt, that they were glad to remit it; after which remiſſion, they continued to behave with their uſual courage and reſolution, and ſoon obliterated their former guilt.

Conſidering the great concourſe of people which this Amphictyonic court, the Delphic oracle, and the games celebrated

celebrated in honour of Apollo, brought into the city of Delphi; to ſay nothing of the vaſt offerings and preſents which were ſent from all parts of the world, even by the Scythians, unto that oracle, we need not wonder at its having been one of the richeſt and moſt opulent of all Greece; though that wealth proved the occaſion of its being ſo often plundered by other nations.

Elatea, Cephiſus, Aba, &c.

The next in dignity both for its antiquity and grandeur was the city of Elatea, ſituate on the river Cephiſus, ſaid to have been built by Elatus, the ſon of Arcas, the fourth king of Arcadia, and to have been peopled by a colony of that ancient nation, which came with him into Phocis [s]. Aba was likewiſe conſiderable for having Abas, the ſon of Lyncæus and Hypermneſtra, for its founder, and for having alſo an oracle of Apollo. This was the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the reſt were deſtroyed; but whether ſpared out of reſpect to Apollo, to whom it was conſecrated, or, as Pauſanias affirms, becauſe it had no concern in the plundering of the Delphic temple, we will not affirm. Cirrha, on the ſea-ſide of Delphi, was the port-town to it; and Criſſa, ſo called from Criſſus the ſon of Phocus, was another ſea-port: theſe were both ſituate on the bay of Corinth, which was ſometimes called Sinus Criſſeus from the latter. The laſt city of any note was Daulis, not ſo much for its extent or richneſs, as for the ſtature and proweſs of its inhabitants; but ſtill more for the inhuman repaſt which was ſerved up to Tereus king of Thrace, by the women of this city, by whom he was ſoon after murdered for the double injury he had done to his ſiſter-in-law Philomela, daughter of Pandion king of Athens (N).

SECT.

s Ibid. Vide & Byſant. ſub voce Ἐλάτεια.

(N) The fable relates, that Tereus after having married Progne likewiſe raviſhed her ſiſter Philomela, cut out her tongue, and caſt her into priſon, to prevent her diſcovering his villany; but ſhe found means to acquaint Progne with her double misfortune, by working the whole ſtory of it on a piece of embroidery, which ſhe ſent to her. Progne took the opportunity of the approaching feaſt of Bacchus, when they were all to meet together, and having got her ſiſter releaſed, made her kill her ſon Itis, whom ſhe had by Tereus, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be ſet before him. Tereus, appriſed of the nature of this repaſt, endeavoured

SECT. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdom of Corinth.

THIS little ſtate was ſituate on the Iſthmus of Corinth, having the bay of that name, now called Golfo di Lepanto, and the iſthmus or neck of land, which joins Peloponneſus to the continent on the north; Sicyon on the weſt; the Gulph of Saron on the eaſt; and the kingdom of Argos on the ſouth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was about ½ a degree, that is, from 23 degrees 50 minutes, to 24 degrees 20 minutes eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth about half that ſpace, that is, from 38 degrees 21 minutes, to 38 degrees 36 minutes north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called Acrocorinthium, at the foot of which the city of Corinth was built, and on the top ſtood the citadel. It was alſo famed for the mountain Pyrene, ſacred to the Muſes, and ſuppoſed by ſome to be ſame that was called Fons Caballinus, in Greek Hippocrene, or *the fountain of the horſe*, which was feigned by the poets to have ſprung from the horſe Pegaſus ſtriking his foot againſt the rock. Others place this laſt fountain on the hill Helicon, but the greateſt part on that of Parnaſſus. *Situation and boundaries.* *Hills.*

Corinth is ſaid to have been founded by Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus, and grandfather of Ulyſſes. This Siſyphus is the ſame who was killed by Theſeus for the many robberies he committed in Attica, and afterwards condemned by Jupiter to an endleſs puniſhment in hell (O), for having caught that intriguing god in the height of an amour with Ægina, the daughter of Æſopus king of Bœotia. The ancient name of this city was Ephyra, which it took *Foundation.*

deavoured to kill both his wife and her ſiſter; but they by the help of the Daulian women, preſerved themſelves by killing him. Ovid has ſince turned him into a lapwing, Itis into a pheaſant, his mother into a ſwallow, and Philomela into a nightingale, who is ſtill bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pauſanias adds, that no ſwallows hatch or breed in all that canton (4).

(O) This puniſhment, as it is feigned by the poets, conſiſts in the rolling of a great ſtone to the top of a hill, which he has no ſooner reached, than it tumbles down again; ſo that his labour is never to be at an end.

(4) Phocid. cap. 4.

from

from a nymph of that name, ſaid to have been the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, or, according to others, of Myrmex, the wife of Epimetheus, the ſon of Japetus, and brother of Prometheus. The time of its foundation by Siſyphus is placed about the year of the world 2490, or according to others 2500, and about ſix years before Deucalion's flood.

Yr. of Fl. 834. Ante Chr. 1514.

Name.

Its new name of Corinth is variouſly traced; ſome thinking that it was ſo called from the Greek κορεσθος, *ſatiety* or *abundance*, implying the opulence of the place; others go ſtill farther for its etymon; but the ancient inhabitants pretended it had its name from Corinthus the ſon, as ſome of them ſaid, of Jupiter, or, as others, of Marathon, and brother of Sicyon (P) But moſt authors aſcribe the name and building, or rebuilding of it, to Corinthus the ſon of Pelops. Among other appellations it anciently had, we find that of Heliopolis, or *city of the ſun*, for which this reaſon is commonly given, that the poets feign Apollo and Neptune to have contended for it; and that Jupiter having appointed Briareus the Cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the iſthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former [h] (Q). However,

[h] Vide Apollod. Diod. Pauſan. & al.

(P) Pauſanias quotes an ancient Corinthian poet, called Eumelos (ſome fragments of whoſe poems are ſtill preſerved in that author, and in the works of Athenæus) according to whom Marathon was the grandſon of Aloeus, who was the ſon of the Sun; and being for certain reaſons afraid of his mother Epope's anger, he retired into ſome of the maritime coaſts of Attica; but after his father's death, being returned into Peloponneſus, he divided the territories of Sicyon and Corinth between his two ſons, Scicyon and Corinthus, from whom they took their names. Sicyon being formerly called Aſopis, and Corinth Ephyra(5); at which time it was but an inconſiderable town, though it roſe afterwards to be the metropolis of this kingdom, and one of the nobleſt and moſt opulent cities in Greece.

(Q) If Dion, Apollodorus, and other mythologiſts, may be believed, the gods were ſo fond of Greece, that in Cecrops' time each of them contended to have, at leaſt one city, where he might be particularly worſhipped. Neptune came the firſt into Attica, where ſtriking the ground with his trident, he formed a horſe. Minerva came ſoon after, and in Cecrops' preſence planted an olive-tree, which, the laſt quoted author tells us, was ſtill to be ſeen in

(5) Pauſan. in Corinthiac. cap. 1.

ties

However, we meet with a number of other ancient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in thoſe days to dedicate cities to ſome of the gods, and give them ſurnames accordingly, without loſing their original appellation.

Corinth had, beſides the above mentioned citadel on the eminence called from it Acrocorinthus, two port-towns, namely, Lecheum, ſituate on the bay of Corinth, and Cenchrea (R) on that of Saron. Theſe were the only two havens; and indeed the only two cities of any note, next to Corinth, that belonged to this territory. They were ſo well ſituate for naval commerce, and ſo near the metropolis, that they made ample compenſation for the barrenneſs of the ſoil. Theſe two naval roads which opened a way into the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, might eaſily have gained them a ſuperiority, if not a command over all Greece, had not this advantageous ſituation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almoſt impregnable by nature, and commanding both ſeas, they could eaſily cut off all communication betwixt one half of Greece and the other; ſo that it was not without reaſon, called one of the fetters of Greece. But their genius leading them to improve theſe advantages more to navigation and commerce than to martial exploits, they became in time ſo exceeding opulent, that the little influence they had over the other ſtates, was rather owing to their wealth than to their valour. *Two port-towns.*

his time (6). Theſe two deities diſputing their claims to the country on account of the preſent each had made to it, Jupiter cauſed the controverſy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of Athens and all Attica to Minerva.

But whether Corinth was called Ἡλιόπολις, from its being adjudged by Briareus to Apollo, or from Corinthus's being reputed the great-grandſon of the Sun, or from the height and dryneſs of its ſituation and territory, is ſcarce worth inquiring. Only we cannot but prefer the conjecture of the learned Gronovius (7), that it was originally called Ἠλιόπολις, from the ruggedneſs and barrenneſs of its ſituation and territory, for ſuch Strabo tells us (8) it really was.

(R) That this laſt was a diſtinct city from Corinth, at leaſt in St. Paul's time, we may gather from Acts xviii. 18. and from his Epiſtle to the Romans, chap. xvi. 1. though it had the epithet of Corinthiaca in the poets, for being one of the havens of that little ſtate, as Corinthus had that of Bimaris, for being ſo conveniently ſituated between two ſeas.

(6) Apollod. lib. iii.
) Geogr. lib. viii. p. 231.

(7) Not. in Byſant. ſub voc. Corinth.

As

Corinth one of the moſt beautiful and wealthy cities of Greece.

As their opulence daily encreaſed, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of ſtrangers that flocked thither from Europe and Aſia, their city became in time one of the fineſt in all Greece; being adorned with ſumptuous buildings, ſuch as temples, palaces, theatres, porticos, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them enriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and baſes, from which the Corinthian order took its name, with numberleſs ſtatues executed by the moſt famous artiſts[1]. Inſomuch that with reſpect to its richneſs (S), greatneſs, and excellent ſituation, it was thought by the Romans equally worthy of empire with Carthage and Capua. Among other artifical rarities we may reckon the ſumptuous embelliſhments of the fountain of Pyrene, conſiſting of ſeveral caves in form of grottos, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large baſon. 2. The theatre. 3. The ſtadium, or courſe, both which were of white marble. 4. The temple of Neptune, whoſe avenue was lined on one ſide with the ſtatues of all thoſe who had won the prize at the Iſthmian games (T), and on the other with ſtately pines ſet in regular rows. The temple itſelf, though not very ſpacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen Tritons, or ſea gods. Here were

Artificial rarities.

[1] Pauſan. in Corinth. cap. 2. & ſeq.

(S) We need not a more pregnant inſtance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courtezan Lais, who uſually exacted ten thouſand drachms for every night's lodging, which made the famous Demoſthenes ſay, that he did not deſign to buy repentance at ſo dear a rate. But ſhe met with a worſe fate in Theſſaly, whither ſhe went in ſearch of freſh cuſtomers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their huſbands and ſons, put at once an end to her life and amours.

(T) The orgin of theſe games is variouſly reported; ſome ſay they were inſtituted, by the Corinthians, in honour of Melicertes, the ſon of Athamas and Ino: but the generality attribute them to Theſeus, in honour of Neptune.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with ſacrifices in honour of the ſons of Medea, whom they had unjuſtly put to death, and for which it ſeems they had been puniſhed by the gods with the death of their own children, who uſed to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by thoſe annual ceremonies. In farther memory of this murder they erected a ſtatue repreſenting Fear, in honour of Medea; and their children

were alſo the chariots of Neptune and of his wife Amphithrite, drawn by horſes covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a ſtanding poſture, and Neptune had young Palæmon riding on a dolphin by his ſide. The baſes of the chariots were likewiſe adorned with curious bas-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embelliſhments. It were endleſs to deſcribe all the other edifices and maſter-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this ſmall ſpot of ground was enriched, the reader may ſee them deſcribed at large by Pauſanias.

While the Corinthians ſeemed ſo wholly given up to traffic and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and ſciences, and even that noble thirſt for glory and conqueſt, for which their neighbours valued themſelves ſo much; they did not forget to cultivate a good diſcipline, both in peace and war; their wealth and opulence, which made them inſolent at home, and envied abroad, rendered both very neceſſary. And though they ſeldom, if ever, engaged in any war, with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending their territories, protecting ſome neighbouring ſtate, or maintaining the liberty of Greece; yet this little kingdom has furniſhed many brave and experienced generals to the reſt of the Grecian cities, inſomuch that it was common for theſe to prefer a Corinthian general to any leader of their own. The truth is, the Corinthians were, of all others, the greateſt aſſertors of liberty; and though they continued ſome centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always ſhewed an averſion to tyranny, and a readineſs to aſſiſt thoſe who groaned under it.

The Corinthian monarchy did not however continue in the lineal ſucceſſion of their founder Siſyphus, above ſeven or eight generations, when his line became extinct, or, as others affirm, was expelled the kingdom by Aletes, one of the Heraclidæ, about the year of the world 2920. From him we meet with a long ſucceſſion of kings of his line, concerning the greateſt part of whom little elſe remains but their names, and the years they were ſaid to have reigned. They are as follows: of the firſt race,

dren uſed to appear in black, and with their hair cut: this cuſtom laſted till all the old race of the Corinthians was extirpated with their city (9).

(9) Vide Pauſan. Cor. cap. 3.

1. Siſy-

Yr. of Fl. 1264. Ante Chr. 1084.

1. Siſyphus, 2. Glaucus, 3. Bellerophon, 4. Thoas, 5. Deiophoon, 6. Propodas, 7 and 8. Doridas and Hyanthidas. Of the ſecond race, under the Heraclidæ: 1. Aletes, 2. Ixion, 3. Agelas, 4. Prumnes, 5. Bacchis, 6. Angelas II. 7. Eudamus, 8. Ariſtomedes, 9. Agemon, 10. Alexander, 11. Teleſtes, 12. Automenes, in the firſt year of whoſe reign the Bacchidæ, to the number of above two hundred, reſumed the government into their own hands, after it had continued in the line of the Aletes between three and four hundred years. After the extinction of Siſyphus's line, the kings who deſcended from Aletes affected to call themſelves Heraclidæ, he being the great-grandſon of Antiochus, the ſon of Hercules[k]. This name however they changed for Bacchidæ, from Bacchis, the fifth in deſcent from Aletes, whom we may therefore ſuppoſe to have been more famous and eſteemed than his anceſtors. Theſe Bacchidæ held the kingdom of Corinth near as long as the Heraclidæ, by which time they grew ſo numerous, and ſo weary of kingly government, that they entirely diſſolved it in the reign of Automenes, their laſt ſovereign. This prince, or rather his predeceſſor, being become very odious to his ſubjects, his two kinſmen, Arieus and Perantas, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had reigned twelve years[l], and in the year of the world 3104. After his death two hundred of the principal Bacchidæ ſeized upon the government, and ſhared the adminiſtration of affairs among themſelves, electing a ſupreme magiſtrate out of their own body, whom they called Prytanis, to preſide over the reſt. Corinth continued under the Bacchiadal ariſtocracy till the year 3349, when Cypſelus deſcended from them by the mother's ſide, having received ſome obſcure hint from the oracle that he ſhould be king of Corinth, and that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his ſon, but not by his grandſon, found means to wreſt the power out of their hand. The time of this uſurpation, which, according to the oracle, continued only in Cypſelus and his ſon, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontate of Athens, and is therefore beyond our preſent epoch. From Siſyphus, the firſt founder, to this Cypſelus, the Corinthian government had ſtood almoſt eight hundred and ſixty years, or four hundred and thirty years in the line of Siſyphus, one hundred and thirty in that of Aletes, one hundred and thirty in that of Bacchis, and about one

Yr. of Fl. 1448. Ante Chr. 900.

[k] Pauſan. ubi ſupra, cap. 4.

[l] Id. ibid. vide & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

hundred

hundred and fifty under the Ariſtocratic government of the two hundred Bacchidæ. But to return to the line of the firſt kings.

Siſyphus is generally allowed the firſt founder of the Corinthian kingdom; he was the ſon of Æolus, and was killed by Theſeus, for the many inroads which he made into Attica. He left ſeveral ſons, and amongſt them Glaucus, who ſucceeded him; and Ornythus, or, as he is generally called, Ornytion, the father of Phocus, who carried a colony into Phocis, and called the country after his name, as we have ſhewn before.

Glaucus, called by Euripides Creon, received Jaſon and Medea into Corinth, after they had been both expelled Theſſaly, by Acaſtus, the ſon of Pelias. Here they lived about ten years in tranquility, till Creon having married his daughter Glauce to Jaſon, the ſlighted ſorcereſs Medea was ſo enraged at it, that ſhe ſet the palace on fire, murdered all the children ſhe had had by Jaſon, and fled to Athens [m]. Pauſanias adds, that Glaucus having aſſiſted at the funeral games, which Acaſtus had inſtituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horſes [n], and that Glauce flung herſelf into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preſerve her from Medea's inchantments, and that fountain was ſince called by her name [o]. Glaucus is commonly ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the Iſthmean games.

Bellerophon, ſo called from his killing a man named Beller, was the ſon of Glaucus, or Creon. He was forced to retire into Argos for that manſlaughter, and there falſely accuſed by Stenobæa of an attempt upon her, for which he was ſent by Prætus to Jobates, king of Lycia, to be put to death. The firſt dangerous expedition in which the Lycian king engaged him, was to ſubdue the Solymi, a neighbouring people, againſt whom he ſent him with a very ſmall number of forces; but that defect being ſupplied by his bravery, he overcame them, and, as the learned Bochart ſuppoſes, their three gods, which they painted on their enſigns [p], one in the ſhape of a lion, a ſecond of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own, in memory of this conqueſt, gave birth to the fable of his killing the monſter Chimæra. His next expedition was againſt the Ama-

[m] Vide Apollod. lib. i. cap. 9. Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſt. lib. iv. & Eurip. in Medea. [n] Elid. cap. 3. [o] Id. in Corinth. cap. 4. [p] Phaleg. lib. i. cap. 6.

zons, from which he not only returned victorious, but extricated himſelf alſo from an ambuſh of the Lycians, which Jobates had ſet to way-lay, and murder him in his return. Jobates at length, ſtruck with admiration at his bravery and ſucceſs, fought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his ſervices, which he did by giving him his daughter Philonoe in marriage, and declaring him his ſucceſſor [q].

All theſe atchievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not performed without an extraordinary aſſiſtance. For Minerva, who took pity of the innocent prince, lent him the famous horſe Pegaſus, after ſhe had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whoſe help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the moſt ſignal of his exploits, eſpecially that of killing the Chimæra [r], againſt which Neptune was likewiſe pleaſed to give him his aſſiſtance. After theſe ſucceſſes and great change of fortune, he is ſaid to have grown ſo inſolent and preſumptuous, that he brought a new ſeries of miſchiefs upon him, which gave occaſion to the fable of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon Pegaſus, by whom he was flung down into the valley of Cilicia, where he died blind [s].

Thoas, the ſon of Ornytion, ſucceeded Creon, or Glaucus; from him the crown deſcended to his ſon Demophoon, to his grandſon Propidas, and laſtly, to his two great-grandſons, Dorydas and Hyanthidas. It was in the reign of theſe two that the Dorians invaded the kingdom, with Aletes, one of the Heraclidæ, at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at Corinth. Aletes was the ſon of that Hippotes, who had been baniſhed Peloponneſus for ten years, by order of the Delphic oracle, for killing one Carnus, an Arcananian prophet, in the war of the Epigoni againſt Thebes.

He met with an obſtinate reſiſtance from the Corinthians, who ſhewed upon that occaſion a great reluctance to ſubmit to a foreign prince; but, unfortunately for them, Aletes and his brave Dorians proved too ſtrong, defeated and expelled them from that metropolis, and got the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom. From him it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of his deſcendents, under the names of Heraclidæ and Bacchidæ, till the time of Teleſtes. Aletes

The Heraclidæ and Bacchidæ.

[q] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [r] Apollodor. lib. ii. cap. 3. [s] Id. ibid. Pauſan. Sicul. & al.

enlarged

enlarged the city of Corinth, and called it Corinth of Jupiter, in gratitude to the oracle of this deity at Dodona, which had favoured his pretenſions; and, after a reign of thirty-eight years, was ſucceeded by the eldeſt of his family for ſeveral generations, viz. by Ixion, his eldeſt ſon, who reigned likewiſe thirty-eight years, and left the crown to Agelas, who, after a thirty-ſeven years reign, was ſucceeded by Prumes; this prince reigned thirty-five years, and left the crown to Bacchis, who being more famed, or perhaps ſucceſsful, than his predeceſſors, the royal ſurname was changed from Heraclidæ to that of Bacchidæ: he reigned thirty-five years, and was ſucceeded by ſon Agelas, who reigned three years. His ſon Eudamus reigned thirty-five, and after him Ariſtomedes, by others called Ariſtodemus, who, after a thirty-five years reign, left the kingdom to Teleſtes above mentioned. This prince being very young when his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle Agemon, who ſoon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him ſixteen years, but left it to his own ſon Alexander, who reigned alſo twenty-ſix years; but was at length killed by Teleſtes, whom it ſeems they had ſtill ſuffered to live during this long uſurpation, and who then ſeized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himſelf killed by a faction; immediately after his death followed the ariſtocracy of the two hundred Bacchidæ, under their annual Prytanes[t].

SECT. IX.

The Hiſtory of the ancient Kingdom of Lacedæmon, or Sparta.

THE original name of this country was Laconia, a name which this nation prided themſelves in, even after it was changed into Sparta and Lacedæmon. Thoſe names, though often confounded by writers ancient and modern, yet in propriety of ſpeech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, ſo called, according to the tradition of that people, from Sparte, the daughter of Eurotas; and the latter, of the kingdom or nation, from Lacedæmon, the huſband of Sparta, and heir and ſucceſſor of Eurotas. But though this was originally the caſe, yet in proceſs of *Name.*

[t] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Euſeb. Chron. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

time the diſtinction vaniſhed, and both appellatives were promiſcuouſly uſed to ſignify the city and country. The ſame tradition adds, that Eurotas was the grandſon of Lelex, ſirnamed alſo Autochtos, becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have been one of the aborigines, and from him his ſubjects bore the ancient name of Leleges. Lelex was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Myles, and this by his ſon Eurotas, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, occaſioned by the bogs and marſhes with which it was covered, cut a ſpacious channel through it, into which ſuch quantities of waters drained themſelves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. Eurotas having no male iſſue, married his daughter Sparte to Lacedæmon, the ſuppoſed ſon of Jupiter by Taygeta, and appointed him his ſucceſſor; from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built ſoon after, and made the ſeat of the kingdom, by that of his wife [u]. Thus far the Laconic tradition; others, however, derive the name of Sparta from Spartus, the ſon, according to ſome, or, according to others, the brother of Phoroneus [w], the ſon of the great Inachus, the founder of Argos.

And their etymon.

Geography. Laconia was ſituate on the ſouth-eaſt point of Peloponneſus, having Argos and Arcadia on the north, Meſſenia on the weſt, the bay of Argos on the eaſt, and the Mediterranean on the ſouth. Its extent from eaſt to weſt, where it reached furtheſt, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 20 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. eaſt longitude; but it grew ſtill narrower, as it extended itſelf northward. The extent of it from north to ſouth was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude (U).

As

[u] Pauſan. in Laconic. cap. 1. Vid. & St. Byzant. ſub voce Sparta & Laconia. [w] Euſeb. Chron.

(U) We do not pretend to ſay, that this extent of their dominions was ſuch from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were anciently contained within a much narrower compaſs, and that a great number of thoſe cities, both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the Spartan government till a long time after. Of this nature were the Heliots, Gythians, and many others, which were forced to yield to the ſuperior power of the Lacedæmonians, eſpecially after the Ephori had ſo far curtailed the royal prerogative, and enſlaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to make

As all the ſouth part of this kingdom was incompaſſed by the ſea, and the eaſt and north-eaſt part by the Argolic bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief of which were thoſe of Malea and Tanara (X), now Capo Malio, and Capo Matapan. Theſe two being ſituate on the Mediterranean, form the large Laconian gulf which lies between them, and is now called the Golfo di Colochina, into which the famed river Eurotas, mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of Baſilipotamo, vulgarly called Vaſilipotamo, or Royal River, diſcharges its waters with an eaſy and gentle courſe.

Sea-ports. The ſea-coaſts of Laconia were furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greateſt and moſt convenient were thoſe of Trinaſſus and Acria, ſituate one on each ſide the mouth of the Eurotas; and Gythium, at a ſmall diſtance from Trinaſſus. This laſt, Pauſanius tells us, had the remains of a caſtle ſtill ſtanding in his time, built at firſt to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to Sparta. Gythium was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by Apollo and Hercules; but the moſt noted was Epidaurus, now Malveſia, ſeated on the gulf of Argos, now Golfo di Napoli, a town well built, well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called Malveſy, or Malmeſy, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it ſupplied other parts of Greece. There were about twelve more ſea-port towns along the Laconian coaſts; and what made theſe ſtill more famed, was a kind of ſhell-fiſh caught in that neighbourhood, whoſe blood was of excellent uſe for dying of purple, and was inferior to none, except that which was caught in the Red Sea [x].

Purple ſhell-fiſh.

Inland towns likewiſe abounded in this kingdom, the moſt conſiderable of which was Sparta, the metropolis, called alſo improperly Lacedæmon, and ſituate upon the river Eurotas, at about thirty miles diſtance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at leaſt beautified by Lacedæmon, the firſt king of it. The next for

[x] Pauſan. in Laconic. cap. 21.

make incurſions upon the neighbouring ſtates, rather than live an idle and ſlaviſh life under thoſe upſtart and tyrannic magiſtrates.

(X) This cape, which juts out a great way into the ſea, had two ports, one named Achilleus, and the other Pſamatheus. Here was alſo the famous temple of Neptune, built in form of a grotto.

Cities of note. antiquity and grandeur was Amyclæ, built by Amyclas, the ſon of Lacedæmon, and famed afterwards for the birth of Caſtor and Pollux, the ſons of Tyndareus, eighth king of Lacedæmon, and diſtant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was alſo remarkable for ſending a conſiderable colony of its own inhabitants into Upper Calabria, who built there a city, which they called by the ſame name. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the Dorians, and turned into an inconſiderable hamlet, in which however there were ſeen ſome of the ruins of its ancient grandeur. One of the fineſt buildings that eſcaped the common ruin, was the temple and ſtatue of Alexandra, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the ſame with Caſſandra, the daughter of Priam. 3. Helos, ruined by the Spartans (Y). 4. Thulana, near to which is the famous lake of Lerna, where Hercules ſlew the Hydra. 5. Leuctrum, upon the bay of Meſſenia, and ſituate near the ſea. We find two other cities of this name, one in Arcadia, and the other in Achaia; but this was the moſt remarkable of the three [y].

Mountains. Mountains they had in a great number: the country was divided from Meſſenia by one ridge of them, and from Arcadia by another. The greateſt part of them, however, were more celebrated for ſome fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing elſe, and may therefore be paſſed over.

Rivers. Rivers of note, beſides the Eurotas above mentioned, were the Smenus, which had its head near the foot of the mountain Taygeta, and emptied itſelf into the ſea, and whoſe waters are famed for their ſweetneſs and ſalubrity.

[y] De his vide Pauſan. ibid. & Byzant. ſub voce.

(Y) Theſe people, whoſe city had been built by Helius, the ſon of Perſeus, had a worſe fate than any of the reſt; for having refuſed to pay the tribute impoſed upon them by Agis, the third king of the Heraclidæan line, the Lacedæmonians invaded them with an army, took many priſoners, reduced them to the loweſt and moſt miſerable ſlavery, and, to omplete all, made a law, which forbid their maſters either giving them their liberty, or ſelling them into other countries (6). And for a greater mark of infamy, all the other ſlaves belonging to the ſtate were called from them Helota, in the ſame manner as the word Slave is now uſed in ſeveral countries, from the Sclavi or Sclavonian, upon a ſimilar occaſion.

(6) Strabo, ubi ſupra, p. 363, & 365.

The

The Thiaſus, ſaid to have had its name from the daughter of Eurotas. The Scyras, where Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles landed, after he came from Scyros to marry Hermione. This river having till then no name, was thenceforth called Scyras. We omit ſome others of leſs note.

Soil. The ſoil was very rich, eſpecially in the low and flat grounds, and their being ſo well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for paſture; but the great number of hills and mountains hindered the country from being ſo well tilled as it might otherwiſe have been. It was much better ſituated for trade and navigation, by having the ſea round above half the kingdom, and ſo many fair havens upon it. How well they improved theſe advantages, how powerful they became, what fleets they maintained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be ſeen in the ſequel of their hiſtory.

Character of the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians were a courageous people, hardy, and inured to war, both by ſea and land, averſe to ſloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours' power; they were wanting in no military diſcipline, in order to ſecure the one, and curb the other. By theſe means they became ſo powerful, and made ſo conſiderable a figure in Greece [z], that the kings of Egypt and Phœnicia diſdained not to pay a kind of homage to them, and own their ſuperiority by ſolemn embaſſies. Nor were the Grecians leſs ſtruck with admiration and eſteem for them, not only on account of their regard to juſtice and honour, their love of liberty, and implacable hatred to oppreſſion and tyranny, but likewiſe on account of their intrepid valour and bravery, their excellent laws, diſcipline, and uncommon method of training up their youth to martial exploits, to deſpiſe the fatigues and dangers of war, and to face death with an intrepidity peculiar to themſelves; for, after the ſtrict diſcipline they underwent at home, they could hardly meet with any thing terrible in the field, and they were the only people in the world to whom war gave repoſe; ſo that, after the example of Agis, one of their greateſt monarchs, they neither enquired who, nor how numerous, but where their enemies were; and as they chiefly aimed at a glorious victory or death, they were ſeldom known to conquer by ſtratagem or ſurprize, but by fighting in the open field.

[z] Vid. Thucydid. lib. ii. Pauſan. in Laconic. Plutarch. in Lycurg. Diodor. Sicul. &c.

Government. Their government was originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed ſome magiſtrates under them, whoſe advice and counſel they made uſe of upon all emergent occaſions; but as theſe were choſen by the prince, and might be removed at pleaſure, they ſeldom had courage to contradict him in any thing; ſo that his will was ſtill the ſupreme law. In this manner the ſovereign power paſſed through a ſucceſſion of twelve princes, from Lacedæmon, the ſon-in-law of Eurotas, and founder of this monarchy; not indeed conſtantly in the male line, which being extinct in Caſtor and Pollux, the ſons of Tyndareus, their ſeventh monarch, it paſſed to Menelaus, then king of Meſſenia, in right of his wife Helena, the daughter of Tyndareus. From him it devolved to his ſons by a former wife; after which it returned again to the deſcendants of Helena, in Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon, whoſe ſon Tiſamenes being driven out by the Heraclidæ, afterwards reigned in Achaia, leaving the kingdom of Lacedæmon to the ſons of Ariſtodemus, Euryſthenes and Procles. For though ſome have placed their father at the head of the Herculean liſt, yet it is more likely that he had been dead before they had finiſhed the conqueſt of this kingdom, if not even before they entered Peloponneſus.

A new form under diarchy. However, whether under him, or his twin ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles, the government took a new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign, became ſubject to two; for theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them; neither did they agree to reign alternately, as Eteocles and Polynices had reigned at Thebes: but, whether purſuant to their father's will, or by virtue of ſome mutual contract, they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of Lacedæmon, and both being acknowleged and obeyed as ſuch. Pauſanias adds, that the Delphic oracle being conſulted about this new form of government, the Pythoneſs did not make any objection to it[c]. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that this diarchy did not end with thoſe two brothers, though from their mutual jealouſy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of Euryſthenes, and twenty-ſeven of that of Procles, and ended in both near about the ſame time.

Diarchy.

[c] Pauſan. ubi ſupra, cap. 1.

Though

Though this title and ſucceſſion continued thus long in thoſe two lines, yet was the power and authority ſoon curtailed through the diſcords which muſt inevitably have reigned between them. Euryſthenes was ſucceeded by his ſon Agis, from whom all the deſcendents of that line were ſirnamed Agidæ; as the other line took the name of Eurytionidæ from Eurytion, the grandſon of Procles. Theſe two ſoon came to divide into two diſtinct parties, under which the people, who are commonly the dupes of thoſe that govern them, liſted themſelves according as their affection or intereſt led them; and this obliged their leaders to court them by largeſſes, by new privileges, and other condeſcenſions, which, though they ſerved the preſent purpoſe, yet could not but prove prejudicial to the royal prerogative. The Lacedæmonians, conſcious how impoſſible it would be for either ſide to hold the reins of government under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances, became the haughtier and more inſolent, as they found their affection and aſſiſtance neceſſary to either competitor. Inſtead of becoming more tractable by any conceſſion, they grew the more turbulent and headſtrong, taking every advantage againſt thoſe who, either through their eaſy nature, or neceſſity, were obliged to court their affection, and alſo by traducing and oppoſing all who had courage enough to curb and uſe them with any ſeverity. By theſe diviſions the regal dignity was brought into ſuch contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confuſion, when the great Lycurgus took the management of it, during ſome part of his nephew Charilaus's minority

Called Agidæ and Eurytionidæ.

The ill effects of this government.

This great patriot and lawgiver was the ſon of Polydectes, the ſixth king of the Eurytionian line, but by a ſecond wife. His elder brother dying without children, the right of ſucceſſion remained in him, and he accordingly took the adminiſtration upon him, waiting, however, to ſee whether his ſiſter-in-law was with child. This princeſs, finding herſelf pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, with a promiſe that if he would marry her, ſhe would take ſome effectual method to deſtroy the embryo. Lycurgus, though ſhocked at the propoſal, gave her ſome diſtant hopes that he would comply with it, but uſed all proper means to prevent her miſcarrying, till the time of her delivery, when he ſent for ſome perſons of note to be preſent at her labour. She was ſoon after brought to bed of a ſon, the news of which being ſent to him whilſt he was at ſupper with ſome noble Spartans, he

Lycurgus's deſcent and generoſity.

he came immediately, and taking the child into his arms, ſaid to thoſe who were preſent, "This is your king," laid him on a chair of ſtate, and gave him the name of Charilaus. This generous action did not ſatisfy all the Spartans; the incenſed queen, by the help of her brother Leonidas, perſuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game, in order to ſeize and make himſelf the more ſure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent, therefore, ſo vile an inſinuation from gaining credit, Lycurgus withdrew into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till Charilaus was married, and had a ſon to ſucceed him on the throne. This laſt action having put an end to all thoſe unjuſt ſurmizes, which had been raiſed by his enemies, and procured him the eſteem of all thoſe that wiſhed well to their country, he met with leſs difficulty in the proſecution of his more glorious deſign of new-modelling the government. Another circumſtance which facilitated this change was, that during his abſence ſuch depravity of manners, and corruption in the government, had crept into that miſerable ſtate, that not only his friends, but even thoſe who had been his moſt zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embaſſies, entreating him to come back, and ſave his country from ruin [d].

Saves and crowns his young nephew.

Baniſhes himſelf.

Recalled to ſave his country.

New models the government.

Theſe were the inevitable conſequences of that fatal diviſion of the regal authority between two competitors, which Lycurgus took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines. He contented himſelf with reducing their authority, by conſtituting a ſenate, endowed with the ſupreme power in all civil matters; and leaving to the kings, beſides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs.

Thus was the Spartan monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of Lacedæmon 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of Sparta, according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming ſubject to the Heraclidæ, about A. M. 2900, and continued in the double line of theſe laſt during ſeven reigns, making in all about two hundred and eighty years more. In the following liſt, therefore, of thoſe kings, we ſhall begin it only from Lacedæmon, the ſon-in-law of Eurotas, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of the

[d] Vide Auct. ſupra citat.

ſtate.

ſtate. As to his ſuppoſed predeceſſors, Lelex, Myles, and Eurotas, we ſhall content ourſelves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this ſection.

With reſpect to thoſe of the Herculean family, who reigned after the change of government made by Lycurgus, beſides that they are all out of our epocha, they are rather to be conſidered as generals of the Lacedæmonian army than as royal ſovereigns, and conſequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A Liſt of the Royal Lacedæmonian Line.

1 Lacedæmon	7 Tyndareus, his brother
2 Amyclas	8 Caſtor and Pollux
3 Argalus	9 Menelaus
4 Cynorta	10 Nicoſtratus and Megapenthes
5 OEbalus	11 Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon
6 Hippocoon	12 Tiſamenes.

The Herculean Line.

1 Euryſthenes	1 Procles
2 Agis	2 Sous
3 Echeſtratus	3 Eurytion
4 Labotas	4 Prytanis
5 Doryſſus	5 Eunomus
6 Ageſilaus	6 Polydectes
7 Archelaus	7 Charilaus.

Lacedæmon.

Concerning Lacedæmon we know little, except that he built a temple or two to the Graces, whom he called Phaenna and Clete, celebrated by an ancient poet[e]; and that his deſcendents raiſed a ſtately monument to him near the town of Aleſies, where Myles is ſaid to have found the firſt mule.

Amyclas and his two ſons.

Amyclas, his ſucceſſor, is ſtill leſs known, except for building the city of his name, concerning which we are informed, that, whether by reaſon of its ſituation, or any other cauſe, it was ſubject to ſuch frequent and ſtrange noiſes, and alarms, that the Amycleans made a law, that none ſhould dare to alarm the town upon any occaſion. The Dorians taking the advantage of this edict, came upon them on a ſudden, and reduced the town; from hence the old proverb, "I will ſpeak, knowing how the Amycleans were ruined for holding their peace;" and the

[e] Alcman. ap. Pauſan. Lacon. cap. 18.

old

old ſaying of Amyclas, vivere was uſed to ſee and hear, and ſay nothing. The people of this city became afterwards famous for their ſtrict adherence to the Pythagorean doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature. This they ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that they forbore deſtroying even thoſe very ſerpents which annoyed and tormented them. We have very little left concerning Amyclas's three ſons, Argalus, Cynortas, and Hyacinthus, except that the two former ſucceeded him in their turn, and the latter was, according to the poets (Z), accidentally killed by Apollo, and by him turned into a violet. Cynortas left the kingdom to his ſon OEbalus, who gave his name to a canton of Lacedæmonia, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the reſt, and gave to his ſon Hippocoon, whilſt the reſt of the kingdom was aſſigned to his other ſon Tyndareus. OEbalus married Gorgophone, the daughter of Perſeus, by whom he had this Tyndareus, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in OEbalia, ſoon after deprived him of it.

Hercules comes to Sparta.

Whilſt Hippocoon reigned in Sparta, Hercules happened to go thither to be abſolved of the murder of Iphitus (A), whilſt that monarch and all his ſons reſolutely oppoſed his being expiated, becauſe they thought the action too criminal to deſerve ſuch a favour[f]; and Hercules waited only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refuſal.

[f] Idem ibid. cap. 15.

(Z) The fable ſays, that of all the ſons he had, he was moſt exceſſively fond of Hyacinthus, the youngeſt, becauſe he excelled all the reſt in beauty, inſomuch that Apollo and Zephyrus became enamoured of him at the ſame time. Apollo being one day at play, unfortunately ſlew him with a quoit, and from his blood cauſed the flower of his name to ſpring up.

(A) Hercules, it ſeems, after having put away Megara, went to OEchalia, where he won Iole, the daughter of Eurytus, king of that country, by ſhooting againſt him and his ſons, an exerciſe which that king always propoſed to thoſe who came to court his daughter. But the king and his ſons, remembering how he had uſed Megara, refuſed to give Iole to him; in revenge of which affront, he drove away Eurytus's horſes, and taking his ſon Iphitus, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, up to the top of a high tower, under pretence of ſhewing him where they were, threw him down headlong, and killed him.

He

He did not wait long; for a firſt couſin of his, named Œonus, who was come with him to Sparta, walking one day along the ſtreets of that city, paſſed, by chance, before the houſe of Hyppocoon, from which a maſtiff came and flew upon him. Œonus flung a ſtone at the dog, which being perceived by Hyppocoon's ſons, they ruſhed out upon him, with cudgels in their hands, and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouſe the fury of that ſanguinary hero; he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but being wounded in the ſcuffle, was forced to retire. He returned not long after with a ſtrong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed Hyppocoon and ten of his ſons, beſides a great number of the Lacedæmonians. Having taken the metropolis, he recalled Tyndareus, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conqueſt, to that baniſhed monarch, in truſt for his own poſterity (B).

Murders Hyppocoon and his ſons.

Tyn-

(B) Hercules having ſucceeded ſo well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to Juno, becauſe ſhe had not thwarted him in it, as ſhe had formerly done upon all occaſions; and, for want of a better victim, offered her a goat, from which ſhe was afterwards worſhipped by the Lacedæmonians under the name of Juno Epophage, or *goat-eater*, and that creature became the conſtant victim which they offered to her there.

His laſt exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finiſh the hiſtory of that renowned hero, was againſt Eurytus, who retained, as he thought unjuſtly, Iole from him. He went, therefore, againſt him, ſlew him and his ſons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming ſoon after to the Cænean promontory in Eubœa, to offer ſome ſacrifice there, he ſent his ſervant Lychas to Trachine, to his wife Dejanira, for the ſhirt and coat in which he uſed to perform that ceremony.

This princeſs had ſome time before been attempted by the centaur Neſſus, as he was ferrying her over the river Euenus; and Hercules beholding it from the ſhore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monſter, finding himſelf dying, adviſed her to mix ſome oil with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her huſband's ſhirt with it, pretending that it would infallibly ſecure him from loving any other woman; and ſhe, too well appriſed of his inconſtancy, had actually prepared the poiſoned ointment accordingly.

Lychas, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her that Hercules had brought away Iole; upon this information ſhe, in a fit of jealouſy, anointed his ſhirt with the fatal mixture, which had no ſooner touched his body, than he felt the poiſon

diffuſe

Tyndareus re-inſtated.

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwiſe called, Tyndarus, more glad to accept the Lacedæmonian kingdom upon any conditions, than ſolicitous about the performance of them, was no ſooner re-ſeated upon his throne, than he began to concert meaſures for ſecuring it to himſelf and his deſcendents againſt the Heraclidæ. He had two brave ſons by his wife Leda, Caſtor and Pollux, and two daughters, the famous Helena, and Clytemneſtra, whoſe ſtrange birth, as it is fabled by the poets, the reader may find at the bottom of the page (C). Helen's fatal beauty had cauſed her to be ſtolen away by Theſeus; and after ſhe was recovered by her two brothers, Tyndareus, ſtill afraid leſt ſhe ſhould be carried off again, had obliged all her ſuitors, by an oath, to leave it to her to make choice of the man ſhe liked; and that, in caſe ſhe ſhould be ſtolen by any

Helen raviſhed.

diffuſe itſelf through all his veins; the violent pain of which cauſed him to diſband his army, and to return to Trachine. His torment ſtill increaſing, he ſent to conſult the oracle for a cure; and was anſwered, that he ſhould cauſe himſelf to be conveyed to Mount Oeta, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the reſt to Jupiter.

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dreſſed himſelf in his martial habit, flung himſelf upon the pile, and deſired the bye-ſtanders to ſet fire to it; others ſay, that he left the charge of it to his ſon Philoctetes, who, having performed his father's command, had his bow and arrows as a reward for his obedience.

At the ſame time Jupiter ſent a flaſh of lightning which conſumed both the pile and the hero, inſomuch that Iolaus, coming to take up his bones, found nothing but aſhes; from which circumſtance they concluded that he was paſſed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. Hercules bequeathed Iole to his ſon Hyllus; as for Dejanira, ſhe hanged herſelf as ſoon as ſhe was appriſed of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(C) The fable relates, that Jupiter having had an amourous intrigue with her in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſoon after her matrimonial commerce with her huſband, the reſult of theſe amphibious embraces was, that ſhe was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came Pollux and Helena, and out of the other Caſtor and Clytemneſtra; whence Pollux, as Tyndareus's ſon, was mortal, but Caſtor, as the ſon of Jupiter, is ſaid to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The Greeks, however, according to Pauſanias, pretend, that Helena was the daughter of Nemeſis; and that Leda was only her nurſe, and brought her up as her own: but this is a piece of Grecian mythology not worth diſproving.

other,

other, they would all join their forces to reſtore her. She choſe, ſoon after, Menelaus, the ſon of Atreus; after which, ſhe being ſtolen away again by Paris, her huſband, encouraged by his brother Agamemnon, challenged all thoſe princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promiſe, and engaged them in the Trojan war. *Given to Menelaus.*

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for Helena was carried off by her own conſent; and Clytemneſtra, as we have ſeen elſewhere, not only lived in adultery during her huſband's abſence, but murdered him immediately after his return,) is ſaid to have built a temple to Venus (D), and erected a ſtatue of cedar to that goddeſs, with a veil over her face, and chains about her legs, either, as ſome imagine, to expoſe her as the cauſe of their unlawful love, or, as Pauſanias thinks, to intimate to poſterity, the indiſſoluble tie of wedlock [e]. He began, likewiſe, to build a ſtately temple to Minerva, whom he ſurnamed Poliuchos, or guardian of the city, but he died before he could finiſh it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two ſons, after he had reigned about forty years [f]. *A famed temple built by Tindareus.*

Caſtor and Pollux proceeded with the building, deſigning to have enriched it with the ſpoils of the city Aphidne, out of which they had reſcued their ſiſter Helen, but left it likewiſe imperfect. The Lacedæmonians afterwards built a new temple in that place, which was of maſſive braſs, from which it was called Chalciæcos. Theſe two heroes, likewiſe, ſignalized themſelves in the Argonautic expedition; and when they came home, built a temple to Minerva Aſia, in acknowlegement of their ſucceſs, and ſafe return from Colchis, from which they are alſo ſaid to have brought away a famous ſtatue of Mars. They had likewiſe a bloody combat with the ſons of Amphiareus, Ida and Lyncæus, the latter of whom is ſaid to have had ſuch piercing eyes, that he could ſee even *Caſtor and Pollux.* *Victory over Ida and Lyncæus.*

[e] Lacon. cap. 16. [f] Cap. 17.

(D) Pauſanias adds, that this temple, which himſelf ſaw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other; the upper of which was called Morpho, which is but another name of Venus (1), and ſignifies *form* or *figure*, implying that ſhe was the goddeſs of beauty.

(1) In Lacon. cap. 15.

into

into the trunk of a tree (E). The occaſion of their quarrel is variouſly reported; Theocritus ſays, that they had ſtolen the daughters of Leucipus, the brother of Apharеus; but Pauſanias and Pindar ſay it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat Pollux killed Lyncæus; and Ida was ſtruck dead with lightning. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deſerve a place in the text; we ſhall give a ſpecimen of them at the bottom of the page [s] (F).

Mene-

[s] De his vide Plutarch. in Theſeo. Diod. Apollod. & Pauſan.

(E) Hence the ſaying of Lyncæan eyes; and Pindar tells us, that he could diſcover Caſtor, hid in the trunk of a tree, from Mount Taygetus (z).

(F) Theſe two famous brothers are celebrated by the ancient poets under ſeveral names, ſuch as Anactes, from the Greek Ανακ, which ſignifies *a king* or *prince*, ſuch as were originally all the heathen gods. Ambulii, moſt probably, likewiſe, from the Greek Αμβολιη, *procraſtination*, *delay*, to imply their lengthening of life. Jupiter is alſo called by that name. They were alſo called Apherei, as ſuppoſed to preſide over the liſts; but the name they were moſt commonly known by, was that of Dioſcuri, from διος and κυρος, either becauſe they were reputed the ſons of Jupiter, or, perhaps, more probably, becauſe they both ſhared in the ſame noble exploits, for which they were afterwards deified.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the ſea of pirates, and from this laſt exploit, they were worſhipped as gods of the ſea, and are ſaid to have appeared to mariners in ſtorms; and the notion was, that if one was only ſeen, it betokened ſhipwreck; but if both together, their appearance was taken for a good omen.

They are likewiſe ſaid to have appeared at land upon ſeveral occaſions; they once facilitated the eſcape of the Lacedæmonians, under their king Anaxander, when they were cloſely purſued, and likely to be cut in pieces by Ariſtomenes and his Meſſenian troops. At another time they came to the houſe where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of Phormio, who was then in poſſeſſion of it, to entertain them that night only, pretending they were ſtrangers from Cyrene. They alſo ſolicited to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of. Phormio told them, that the whole houſe was at their ſervice, except that chamber, in which was a young woman for whom he had a particular regard. They ſeemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment; but on the morrow the young woman, and thoſe that waited upon her, were gone as well as the gueſts, and nothing found in her chamber

(z) Nemeen. Ode 10.

but

Menelaus, the ſon of Atreus, ſucceeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. At their return from Troy, being, upon ſome difference, parted from his brother Agamemnon, after having weathered many violent ſtorms, he arrived ſafely in Egypt with his wife Helen, whither, Homer tells us, he was driven by contrary winds, and where ſome affirm him to have wandered ſix or ſeven years before he returned to Sparta. Herodotus, on the other hand, ſpeaks of his arrival in Egypt in a different manner. Menelaus was ſucceeded by his two ſons, by a former wife, or rather a ſlave, namely, *Menelaus.*

Nicoſtratus and Megapenthes; but the Lacedæmonians, unwilling to ſubmit to a ſpurious offspring, Oreſtes eaſily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood-ſhed. *His two ſons expelled by Oreſtes.*

Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon, king of Meſſenia, ſucceeded to the Lacedæmonian crown, in right of his mother Clytemneſtra, the other daughter of Tyndareus. We have already mentioned, in the hiſtory of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithleſs mother and her paramour, and aſcended the Meſſenian throne. He was, however, accuſed of that parricide, not, indeed, by his grandfather Tyndareus, who muſt have been dead long before, but by his uncle Perilaus, the ſon of Icarus, couſin-german, and conſequently the neareſt relation of Clytemneſtra, who ſummoned him before the great Athenian court, called areopagus, after he had recovered his ſenſes, which he is ſuppoſed to have loſt for being deprived of the fair Hermione, the only child of Menelaus and Helen. She had been at firſt married to him, but had been ſince given to Pyrrhus; but this laſt being ſlain by his means, as is ſuppoſed, he had taken her home again. What ſentence that court paſſed upon him, our author doth not inform us [h], but tells us elſewhere, that he had ſeen an old building, which was called Oreſtes' manſion, in which he was forced to live ſeparate from the reſt of mankind, except that they took *Oreſtes.*

[h] Pauſan. Arcad. cap. 34.

but the two ſtatues of the Dioſcuri, and a table with ſome ſweet gums upon it (3).

The fable adds, that when Caſtor died, his brother Pollux, who was immortal, prayed to Jupiter that he might ſhare his immortality with him, which being granted, they lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the ſign Gemini.

(3) Pauſan. ubi ſupra, cap. 16.

care to ſupply him with food and other neceſſaries till he had expiated his crime[l]. He died, after a long reign, and was buried in Arcadia, whither the oracle adviſed him to retire.

His death.

Tiſamenes. Tiſamenes, the ſon of Oreſtes, by Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helena, ſucceeded him both in this kingdom and thoſe of Argos and Meſſenia, and was, ſoon after, driven out of all by the Heraclidæ, who having, by this time, invaded Peloponneſus, claimed the latter as being of the line of Perſeus, and he only of that of Pelops; and the former, becauſe Hercules having conquered it from Hyppocoon, had only left it in truſt with Tindareus. What became of Tiſamenes is variouſly reported; ſome ſay he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of Argos[k]; others, and with more probability, ſay he eſcaped into Achaia, and reigned there; ſome time after he was one of the firſt who fell in a combat againſt the Ionians, and was buried in the city of Helice, whence the Lacedæmonians, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in Sparta[l]. However that be, Philonomus betrayed that metropolis to the ſons of Ariſtodemus, who, with their forces, entered it with the ſound of the flute, an inſtrument then reckoned very martial, and proper to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reaſon the Lacedæmonians made uſe of it from that time, whenever they ſounded to battle[m].

Sparta betrayed by Philonomus.

Euryſthenes and Procles. Euryſthenes and Procles were the two ſons of Ariſtodemus, one of the brothers of Heraclidæ, and he dying as they were preparing for this invaſion, the kingdom of Sparta was aſſigned to thoſe two ſons. They having taken poſſeſſion of it, immediately divided it into ſix parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of Sparta, where they ſtill kept their reſidence. This meaſure, though for the preſent it had the deſired effect of ingratiating them with the Lacedæmonians, yet in the following reigns proved the cauſe of many grievous diſturbances; for Agis, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Euryſthenes, finding the people were grown headſtrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving ſeveral cantons of thoſe privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the Lacedæmonians. They did, indeed, all ſubmit to

Agis.

[l] Id. Corinth. cap 31. [k] Apollod. lib. ii. cap. 8. [l] Vide Pauſan. Achaic. cap. 1. & Strab. Geogr. lib. viii. [m] Pollyæn. Stratagem. lib. i. cap. 10.

it,

it, except the Helots, who were made a ſevere example to the reſt; but theſe ſeverities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from this prince.

On the other hand, his colleague Sous, the ſon of Procles, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their eſteem by his bravery and new conqueſts. We have an inſtance of his conduct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being beſieged by the Chlorians in a dry ſtony place, where his army ſuffered very much for want of water; he was, at length, reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himſelf to reſtore all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he, and all his men, ſhould drink of a ſpring at a ſmall diſtance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both ſides, Sous having called his ſoldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being oppreſſed with exceſſive thirſt, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As ſoon, therefore, as he had ſeen them drink of the water, he took ſome of it in the hollow of his hand, ſprinkled his face with it, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The conſequence was, his abſtinence having made the contract void, ſeeing he and all his men had not drank at the ſpring, he could ſafely refuſe to reſign his conqueſts to the enemy[n].

Sous.

A noble ſtratagem.

Agis, from whom the deſcendents of that line had the name of Agidæ, or Agiadæ, was ſucceeded by his ſon Echeſtratus; and Sous, not long after, by his ſon Eurytion, otherwiſe called Eurypon and Euryphon; from him this line, which had till then taken the name of Proclidæ, exchanged it for that of Eurytionidæ or Eurypontidæ, &c. In this reign ſome ſeeds of diſcord, between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, began to appear, which were, however ſtifled by the prudence of thoſe two monarchs. The Cynoſureans, a colony of Argives, ſettled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by Cynoſurus the ſon of Perſeus, were complained againſt by the Argives, for not only ſuffering a party of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewiſe for imitating their example, and ſometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For theſe outrages the Lacedæmonians baniſhed all the Cynoſureans that were able to bear arms out of their territories; and, by that ſeverity, not only prevented all ſuch

Agidæ and Eurytionidæ, whence ſo called.

Cynoſureans, who.

[n] Plutarch. in Lycurg. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap. Hind. ubi ſup.

ravages for ſome time, but reſtored a good underſtanding between the Argives and them.

Labotas and Prytanis.

But this peaceful diſpoſition laſted no longer than till the next reign, when Labotas, the ſon of Echeſtratus, and Prytanus, the ſon of Eurytion, declared war againſt them. The provocation was this; though the Lacedæmonians poſſeſſed the town and territories of Cynoſura, by right of their late conqueſt, yet the Argives were ſtill encroaching upon ſome part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendſhip. It doth not appear, however, that this war was of any duration. After the pacification things continued in a peaceful ſtate, at leaſt with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worſe at home through the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of the princes, both among themſelves, and between them and the people. Labotas was ſucceeded by his ſon Doryſſus, and Prytanis by his ſon Eunonus; the former of theſe, as well as his ſon and ſucceſſor Ageſilaus, are, by ſome, ſaid to have reigned but a ſhort while [o]; and yet a modern critic hath proved, from the authority of Euſebius and St. Jerom, that the former reigned twenty-nine, and the latter forty-four years [p]. As for Eunonus, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length ſtabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two ſons behind him, Polydectes by a former, and Lycurgus by a ſecond wife. He was ſucceeded by the former; and dying ſoon after, left the kingdom to Lycurgus, who only kept it till his ſiſter was delivered of a ſon, to whom he immediately reſigned it; but finding afterwards that his unexampled generoſity could not ſcreen him either from the reſentment of the ſlighted queen, or from the malicious inſinuations of her creatures, he choſe to divert the impending ſtorm by a voluntary baniſhment, and ſet out for Crete about eight months after the birth of his nephew. During his exile he meditated that new form of a commonwealth into which he afterwards modelled the government, as hath been already related.

Doryſſus and Eunonus.

Ageſilaus.

Polydectes and Lycurgus.

[o] Pauſan. ubi ſupra, cap. 2. Hind. Hiſt. Græc. lib. ii. p. 97.
[p] Meurſ. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Hiſtory of the Ancient Kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, and Achaia.

WE ſhall join theſe ancient kingdoms together in this ſection, becauſe they made but a ſmall figure in the world, compared with thoſe that have been deſcribed; and becauſe they have been either conquered by, or blended with them.

The kingdom of Elis.

The principal of them is the kingdom of Elis, at firſt peopled, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, by the deſcendents of Eliſhah, the ſon of Javan, and grandſon of Japhet [w], if not by Eliſhah himſelf, from whom this territory at leaſt, if not the whole peninſula, was called Elis (G); in the Chaldean Hellas; and by the prophet Ezekiel, Eliſhah, where he celebrates its fine purple dye [x] (H). According to this ſuppoſition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch, or ſome of his immediate deſcendents, it was not without good reaſon, that the inhabitants boaſted themſelves to be aborigines of Peloponneſus; whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, who came from more remote parts to ſettle there, and by degrees deprived them of the greateſt part of that peninſula [y].

Its founders names.

[w] Gen. x. 2, & 4. Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 4.

[x] Ch. xxvii. 7. Vide & Bochart.

[y] Pauſan. Elid. cap. 1. & ſeq.

(G) Strabo and Ptolemy call it Eleia and Elea; and Scylax, Polybius, and Ovid, Elis; but our readers muſt take notice that thoſe ancient authors ſometimes include under that name the whole kingdom, and ſometimes Elis, properly ſo called, excluſive of the other two parts, viz. Piſatis and Triphalis.

(H) It is true, the prophet here ſpeaks of iſles, and not of a continent; but we have often ſhewn that this word, in the language of Scripture, doth not ſtrictly imply an iſland, but the maritime countries, eſpecially thoſe about the Mediterranean; and we have the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient authors, that the coaſts of Elis, and quite up to the Corinthian bay, were famous for a ſhell-fiſh, which they uſed in this dye, and in which they exceeded all nations except Egypt (1).

(1) Pauſan. in Laconic. Vide et Bochart, ubi ſupra, et Auctor ab eo citat.

Extent. Elis was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of Peloponneſus, having the Ionian Sea on that ſide; Arcadia on the eaſt; Achaia on the north; and the bay of Cypariſſos, or Chalonites, now Capo di Torneſe, with Meſſenia, on the ſouth: its extent from eaſt to weſt was at the wideſt about forty-eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almoſt 23 deg. eaſt longitude; and from north to ſouth about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20. min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude[z].

Cities. Its chief cities were, 1. In Elis Proper; Cyllene, a noted ſea-port; Elis, the capital; Ephyra, and Pylus Ælæus. 2. In Piſatis; Piſa, Olympia Salmone, Heraclea, Epine, and three or four more, whoſe names Strabo paſſes by. 3. In Tryphalis, Samicum, Pylus Tryphyliacus, Lepreum, Hypana, Otypanſa, Typanea, Pyrgus Æpium, Bolax, Styllagium, and Phrixa. We ſhall ſpeak only of the moſt conſiderable of them: 1. Elis, ſaid by Strabo to have been formed into a city from ſeveral adjacent villages, is ſituate on the river Peneus, almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large ſpacious place called the Xyſtos (I), where the candidates for the Olympic games were obliged to initiate themſelves for ſome time by diet, exerciſe, and other ſuch preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the Olympic plains[a]. In this place their ſenate likewiſe uſed to aſſemble, and the candidates for all kind of dignities and employments, came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewiſe a temple dedicated to Fortune, with the ſtatue of that blind goddeſs, of a ſurpriſing magnitude, made of wood, covered all over with gold, except the face, hands, and feet. They had likewiſe ſeveral others dedicated to Diana, Minerva, Jupiter, and Bacchus. This laſt deity was held in the greateſt veneration; and the Eleans pretended that he appeared to them on the day in which his feaſt was celebrated. Elis had likewiſe a citadel, in which was a temple of Minerva; and on the helmet of that goddeſs was carved a cock, becauſe that bird is ſuppoſed the moſt cou-

[z] Conf. Strabo. Geogr. lib. viii. Mela lib. ii. cap. 4. Cluver, Wells, & al. [a] Pauſan. Elid. cap. 23.

(I) So called from the Greek ξυω, *to trim* or *poliſh*. This place was ſurrounded with a wall, and lined on the inſide with plantane-trees of great height, to caſt an agreeable ſhade on the courſe.

rageous

rageous of all the feathered tribe [b]. Here was alſo the palace of Augeas, one of their kings, and the famous ſtables, the cleanſing of which proved a taſk fit only for the great Hercules (K).

2. The city of Olympia, falſely confounded by ſome writers with Elis and Piſa, was the next in dignity; ſituate on the famous Olympian plains, on which were celebrated the Olympic games, inſtituted by Pelops in honour of Jupiter; and, after ſome ſuſpenſion, reſtored by Atreus and Hercules. They were celebrated every fifth year, during five days, but with much greater ſolemnity, and a greater concourſe of people than any of thoſe we have hitherto mentioned: from them the computation of time by Olympiads was introduced in Greece (L). This city is famed likewiſe *Olympia.* *Olympic games.*

[b] Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(K) It is ſaid to have held three thouſand oxen, and not to have been cleanſed for thirty years; ſo that when Hercules undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that the king ſhould give his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river Alpheus, or Peneus according to others, into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed.

(L) This ſolemnity, which had been ſo often interrupted, and renewed again by Endymion, Neleus, Pelius, Lycurgus, and others, but without any ſettled time, was at length reſtored by Iphitus, and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year; ſo that between every celebration, four complete years expired, which ſome have miſtaken for five. Hence every four years was called an Olympiad, which computation was afterwards obſerved for a conſiderable number of centuries, as well as the ſolemnity of thoſe games during many generations, without any interruption. The time of celebrating them was at the full-moon, whoſe change immediately preceded the ſummer ſolſtice. Againſt that time the prieſts of Jupiter Olympus, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the year, and to obſerve every new-moon, eſpecially that after which the ſolemnity was to be celebrated, and to cauſe it be proclaimed. They were likewiſe intruſted with the regiſtering of the names of all the victors at thoſe games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between each Olympiad.

We muſt however obſerve here, that this exact and ready way of computing by Olympiads, did not begin immediately after the firſt of them, but commenced only from the firſt year of the twenty-eighth, in which Coræbus of Elis obtained the victory in the race, after which the Grecian accounts began to go on in a regular order of time, and from that epocha the times began to be reckoned

likewiſe for its magnificent temple of Jupiter Olympus, ſaid to have been built from the ſpoils which the Eleans got from their neighbours the Piſeans; in which was a famous ſtatue of that god, fifty cubits high, reckoned one of the ſeven wonders of the world; near which was alſo the famous Olympian wood or grove, dedicated to the ſame deity. As for its ancient name of Olympia, it hath long ſince changed it for that of Sconri. 3. Piſa, ſituate on the river Alpheus (M), near the mouth of it, and ſaid to have been founded by Piſus, the grandſon of Æolus, whoſe inhabitants ſignalized themſelves under Neſtor at the Trojan war. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the Eleans, becauſe the Piſeans celebrated the Olympic games by their own authority: the Eleans, jealous of their privilege, raiſed a war againſt them; and, after many battles, in which they had the advantage, took, the city, which they deſtroyed, and baniſhed the inhabitants.

koned hiſtorical; whereas thoſe which preceded it, up to the deluge, are called fabulous and heroic, becauſe mixed with fable (2).

(M) This river runs quite through Arcadia, Elis, and along the city of Piſa, ſoon after which it is ſwallowed up in the earth. From thence it is ſuppoſed to run, by a ſubterranean channel, under the ſea, without mixing with the ſalt water, and ſo to paſs quite into Sicily, where it mixes itſelf with the fountain Arethuſa, near the city of Syracuſe, inſomuch that any thing that is thrown into it on the Elis ſide, is ſaid to come out at the fountain above named (3). Hence the poetic fiction of Alpheus's love to Arethuſa, which tells us, that this laſt, to avoid his amorous purſuit, hid herſelf under ground; and that he was forced to do the ſame in order to get at her by ſome ſubterraneous paſſage, which he at length accompliſhed near the place where that river and fountain mix their ſtreams.

Pauſanias adds, that the Eleans had a law, which condemned any woman to death that ſhould either appear at the Olympic games, or even croſs this river, during that ſolemnity: and the Eleans add, that the only woman who tranſgreſſed it, had diſguiſed herſelf in the habit of a maſter or keeper of thoſe games, and conducted her ſon thither; but when ſhe ſaw him return victorious, her joy made her forget her diſguiſe, ſo that her ſex was diſcovered. She was however ſpared on account of her father, ſon, and huſband, who had gained the Olympic prize; but from that time an order was made, that the keepers ſhould appear there naked (4).

(2) De his vide Plutarch. Pauſan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. Potter. Archeolog. Hind. et al. plur. (3) Vide Diodorus. (4) Pauſan. in Elid. cap. 6.

The

The other cities we ſhall paſs, as not worthy of notice in a work of this nature.

The two chief promontories in this kingdom were, Chelonites, by ſome ſuppoſed the preſent Capo Torneſe, and Ichthus, now Jardan. The chief rivers were, the Alpheus, Enipheus or Barnichius, and the Peneus. The only mountain of note is the Erymanthus, now Dimizana, on which was built the city of its name, called alſo, according to Pauſanias, Pheaia, and Sophis, and Pſophis, from which flowed the river of the ſame name. Neither ancients nor moderns are altogether agreed about this famed ridge, much leſs about the river and city.

It were fruitleſs to inquire into the chronology of this kingdom, ſince we cannot diſcover whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or ſome of his deſcendents. As to what prophane authors ſay of it, Pauſanias hath taken up his whole fifth and ſixth book in deſcribing the various revolutions which have happened among thoſe nations that inhabited it; but both he and others have ſo intermixed their accounts with fable, that there is no crediting what they allege. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we ſhall give our readers a ſhort ſketch of what they have recorded.

Kings of Elis.

Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at firſt diſtinct from that of Piſa; the laſt having kings of its own for a conſiderable time. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Endymion, who married Aſterodia, or, according to others, Chromia, the daughter of Itomus, and grand-daughter of Amphictyon, by whom he had three ſons, Pœon, Epeus, and Ætolus. When theſe were grown up, he promiſed his kingdom to him that ſhould gain the prize at the Olympic race, and Epeus proved the happy victor. Ætolus however ſtayed with him at Elis; but Pœon, unable to brook the loſs of ſuch a noble prize, went to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, and ſettled in that canton on the river Axus, which took from him the name of Pœonia. Epeus went to the ſiege of Troy, and is ſuppoſed to have been the architect of the Trojan horſe. It was in his reign that Pelops, the Lydian, or, according to others, the Paphlagonian, came from Aſia, killed Œnomaus, king of Piſa, ſeized on his kingdom, and took the city Olympia from the Eleans. Epeus died without male iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother Ætolus.

Ætolus.

This prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill Apis, the ſon of Jaſon, at the funeral games which were celebrated at the tomb of Azan king of

of Arcadia. In conſequence of this accident, he was forced to leave Peloponneſus, and went to ſettle in Ætolia, where we ſhall find him in the ſequel. He was ſucceeded by Eleus, who is ſaid to have been the ſon of Neptune by Eurydice, the only daughter of Endymion, and the father of Augeas, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom.

Eleus.

Euridice.

When Hercules had performed the taſk of cleanſing his ſtable, Augeas refuſed to give him his hire, pretending that he had done the work more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to Phyleus, the eldeſt ſon of Augeas, and he having given it againſt his father, was baniſhed the kingdom, together with his client. Augeas being afraid of that hero's reſentment, was forced to ſtrengthen himſelf by a double alliance, one with Actor, the ſon of Phorbas, by Hermine the daughter of Epeus; and the other with Amaryncæus, a Theſſalian, a man well verſed in the art of war, whom he invited into Elis. To bind theſe two the faſter to his intereſt, he made them his aſſociates in the kingdom; ſo that when Hercules came afterwards with a powerful army againſt him, he met with ſuch vigorous reſiſtance from them, particularly from Actor and his ſons, that he was forced to return, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. Not long after, being informed that theſe brave youths were to go to the Iſthmian games, he, by lying in ambuſh againſt them, killed them all, with ſuch privacy, that it coſt the Eleans ſome time and trouble to diſcover the murderer. But when they knew that it was Hercules, who by that time was retired to Tyrinthus, they ſent ambaſſadors in vain to the Argives to puniſh him; and to the Corinthians, to interdict the Argives from the Iſthmian games, for ſuffering the aſſaſſin of thoſe who were going to them, to live unpuniſhed, in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their requeſt; but Hercules having raiſed a powerful army of Argives, Thebans, and Arcadians, beſieged them, took and ſacked the city of Elis, and was going to vent his reſentment againſt the Piſeans, for aſſiſting them, had not the oracle prevented it. Hercules, who could not be contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a preſent of it to Phyleus, the ſon of Augeas, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom reſtored him all the priſoners he had taken, and among the reſt Augeas, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to Pauſanias; others

others say he killed him and Eurytas, another of his sons[c].

Phyleus thus recalled to the kingdom, continued in it no longer than was necessary to settle the affairs of the state, after which he retired to the island of Dulichium (N). Augeas dying soon after, the crown descended to his next son, Agasthenes; whose son Polyxenus having succeeded him, went to the Trojan war, and was one of those who returned from thence. At his death the crown devolved to Eleus II. It was in this prince's reign that the Dorians and Heraclidæ made their last but successful attempt against Peloponnesus, under Hippotes their general. *Phyleus.* *Agasthenes.* *Eleus II.*

Oxylus, of the race of Endymion, had been forced to leave his native country a year before, for having accidentally killed, some say his brother Thermius, others say Alcidocus the son of Scopius, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to Ætolia, when the Heraclidæ met him, and offered him the command of their army. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered Peloponnesus they should allot him Elis, not only as a reward for his services, but because he had a title to that kingdom, as being the sixth in a lineal descent from Endymion, its second monarch. They agreed so much the more readily to his demand, as he was related to them by the mother's side, his great-grandmother being sister to Dejanira, the mother of Hillus the son of Hercules. The success of this expedition we have seen, as well as the manner in which they divided their conquests, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of Elis, according to their agreement[y]. *Oxylus.*

Oxylus, who expected to have taken possession of it without any opposition, found himself mistaken; and Dius, who was then upon the throne, refused to resign it in his favour. However, to avoid exposing their troops to a battle, they agreed that each should chuse a champion, who should decide the right of it by single combat; and Pyrechmes, an excellent Ætolian slinger, having obtained the victory in favour of Oxylus, he was immediately proclaimed king of Elis. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his,

[x] Conf. Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv. & Pausan. Elid. cap. 3. seq. ibid. Vide & Apollod. lib. ii. Strab. Geogr. lib. x.

[y] Et

(N) A small and inconsiderable island in the Ionian Sea, near that of Cephalonia, and is at present called Dulicha and Tziakki.

reign

reign or thoſe of his ſucceſſors; he had two ſons, Ætolus and Lajas, the former of whom dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he ſhould be buried neither within ſide nor without. His ſon Laſus ſucceeded him; but we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material tranſactions in this kingdom, if we except ſome of the wars with their Arcadian neighbours, and with ſome other ſtates of Greece, till we come to the reign of Iphitus, the reviver of the Olympic games, contemporary with Lycurgus.

Laſus.

Before his reign, Greece had been almoſt ruined by war and peſtilence. Elis ſeems to have ſuffered more than any other ſtate, ſo that thoſe games had been interrupted for a conſiderable time. Iphitus ſent to conſult the oracle concerning the means of appeaſing the angry gods, and obtaining a remedy againſt theſe calamities; he was anſwered, that the reſtoration of thoſe games would prove the ſafety of Greece. He began with offering a ſacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been exaſperated againſt them (O). He next cauſed the Olympic games to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promiſe of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted before; he likewiſe took upon himſelf to be the ſole preſident and judge of thoſe games; a privilege which the Piſeans, on account of their neighbourhood, had often ſharply diſputed with his predeceſſors. This privilege remained with his deſcendents as long as his line, and the regal dignity continued: the people afterwards took upon them to appoint two preſidents, whom they choſe by vote; and this number, in time, increaſed to ten, and at length to twelve. Their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all diſputes that aroſe concerning the victory in all the ſeveral exerciſes which were performed in them.

Reſtores the Olympic games.

Ætolia.

Ætolia was ſo called from Ætolus, the ſon of Endymion, and brother of Epeus, whom he ſucceeded in the

(O) Pauſanius tells us there was a kind of diſpute between the Eleans and the reſt of the Greeks, whether Iphitus was lineally deſcended from Oxylus; if he was not, it was with reaſon that he feared the reſentment of that god, whoſe particular kindneſs to all that were related to him, as Oxylus was, would hardly ſuffer ſuch a wrong to go unpuniſhed; and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeaſing his anger by this ſacrifice.

kingdom

kingdom of Elis, and from which he fled into this country, after he had accidentally killed Apis, the ſon of Jaſon, at ſome funeral games. It was anciently called Curetis and Hyanthis, from thoſe people who poſſeſſed it till driven away by him. What other people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be gueſſed at; only this we find, that both they and their neighbours, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, were the greateſt robbers in all Greece, and continued ſo, during many centuries, after Hercules, Theſeus, and other heroes, had extirpated thoſe banditti every where elſe [z] (P). Neither were the Ætolians ever wholly maſtered till the Romans, whom they had affronted, totally ſubdued them, under Fulvius Nobilior.

Its ſituation and extent.

This ſlip of ground, for ſuch it was, had on the eaſt the Locrians, Phocians, and Ozoleans, from whom they were parted by the river Evenus, or Licormas; the Acarnanians, on the weſt, were alſo parted from them by that of Achelous; on the north it had the Dorians, with part of Epirus; and on the ſouth the bay of Corinth: its utmoſt extent from north to ſouth was about forty-eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from eaſt to weſt, where it was wideſt, ſomething above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and ſouthward. They had but one ſea-port of any note on the Corinthian bay, namely Œnias, ſituate at the mouth of the Achelous above mentioned [a].

Rivers.

It had no other rivers but the Achelous and Evenus; the former of which, was that on which Hercules killed the centaur Neſſus; and the latter, which was alſo called Thoas, from its rapidity, deſcended from Mount Pindus, in Macedonia, into the Ionian Sea. Concerning this laſt the poets have feigned many ſtories, or blended the hiſtory

[z] Thucyd. lib. i. Plutarch. in Theſeo, & al. Mela, Cluver. & al.

[a] Vide Strab.

(P) Livy deſcribes the Ætolians as a proud, arrogant, and ungrateful people (1), though very good warriors; which laſt is the character Homer and Euripides give them. They were famed for fighting with only one ſhoe, implied in the epithet μονοχρηπιδης. Strabo and other authors repreſent them as pirates and robbers; and the former makes them the inventors of the ſling (2).

(1) Livy, lib. xxxvi. (2) Strab. ubi ſup. Max. Tyr. Athæn, &c.

with

with a number of fables. As for its name, ſome think it received it from Achelous, one of the kings of Ætolia; others derive it from the Greek, and think it was given on account of the ſalubrity of its waters [b]; but as we meet with ſeveral rivers of this name [c], and in different countries, viz. this in Ætolia, another in Achaia Propria, called alſo Caucon, a third and fourth in Theſſaly, oppoſite to this in Ætolia, ſince called Epidon, beſides ſome others in Aſia Minor, mentioned by geographers and hiſtorians [d], it is not likely they ſhould all have that name upon this laſt account; however, this of Ætolia is by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable, inſomuch that Homer calls it the king of rivers.

Cities. The country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered ſeveral of their cities almoſt impregnable, and the people ſo ſtout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite ſtates of Greece, and even the Macedonians, tried in vain to tame them. The moſt noted of thoſe cities *Thermus.* were theſe: Thermus, or Thermius, ſituate almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, which became in time the metropolis of it, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance with ſuch high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the ſtates of the country aſſembled, and the repoſitory of all their wealth and treaſure in times of danger, yet it was not ſo much as fortified with a wall, the difficult aſcents and narrow paſſages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed ſufficient to guard it both from ſurprize or invaſion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the nobleſt and wealthieſt Ætolians, and had the ſurname of Panætolium, upon account of the ſenate holding their *Calydon.* meetings there [e]. 2. Calydon, ſituate near the foreſt of that name, where Meleager, accompanied with the nobleſt youth of Greece, ſlew the famed Calydonian boar (Q). Hither

[b] Euſtath. [c] Vide Pauſan. in Aread. cap. 38. & Auct. ſup. citat. [d] Vide int. al. Briet. Parall. Græc. lib. iii. p. 2. Strab. lib. x. Ortel. Theſaur. Euſtath. Comm. in Dionyſ. &c. [e] Vide Strab. Geog. lib. x. Polyb. Byzant. ſub voce Αἰτωλία, & Gronov, not. in eund.

(Q) This fierce and monſtrous creature had done ſo much miſchief about the neighbourhood, that Meleager, king of the country, who kept his court at Calydon, was forced to call to his aſſiſtance a great number of the flower of Greece to deſtroy it. The chief of theſe were, Theſeus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux, and Iolaus, all of them the faithful companions of Hercules, beſides a number of other heroes. To theſe

Hither it was that Hercules came, after he had left Peloponneſus; and though he had a numerous ſpurious brood ſcattered over all Greece, yet wanting legitimate iſſue, married Dejanira, the daughter of Œneus, king of the country, and father to Meleager; and, to ingratiate himſelf with the Ætolians, either turned the current of the river Achelous, or made ſuch improvements upon its channel, as gave riſe to the fable of his having vanquiſhed it in ſingle combat. This city, which ſeems to have continued for ſome time the ſeat of the ancient Ætolian kings, was built by Calydon, the ſon of Ætolus [f], from whom the kingdom was for ſome time called Calydonia, but reſumed its ancient appellation in ſome following reign. The ſituation of this city was very pleaſant and commodious, upon the river Evenus, which ran through the midſt of it; and it had ſome pleaſant plains round it, with the Calydonian foreſt at a ſmall diſtance: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them, in proceſs of time, to remove the ſeat of the kingdom and ſenate to Thermus above mentioned. 3. Pleuron, which gave name to a territory whoſe inhabitants were ſurnamed Curetes, becauſe they ſhaved the fore-part of their heads, leſt their enemies ſhould lay hold on it, but left the hinder part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some other cities of leſs note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted ſtates of Greece, the chief of them were Oechalia, Chalces, Oenias, or Oeinadæ, Ilenas, and the Old and New Pilene [g]. *Pleuron.*

The Ætolians were a people inured to war and plunder, ſeldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general the advantage over them on account of their ſituation. It was chiefly in ſuch excurſive exploits that they ſignalized their courage, without ſtriving to enlarge their territories, till ſome of the Grecian wars invited them to enlarge their dominions.

[f] Vide Byzant. ſub voce. [g] Vide Briet. Parall. ubi ſupra, ſect. 7.

theſe we may add the famous Arcadian princeſs Atalanta, who behaved with ſuch uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occaſion, that Meleager became enamoured with her, and married her.

We may gueſs at the bigneſs of this monſtrous boar, by the length of his tuſks. Pauſanias, who tells us that one of them was ſtill preſerved in the temple of Bacchus in the imperial gardens, ſays it was above a yard long (3).

(3) Arcad. cap. 46.

It

It were needleſs here to give a liſt of their kings, many of whom have been known to ancient anthors by little more than their names. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the deſcendents of Ætolus, namely, Calydon, Œneus, the father of Dejanira, and his ſon Meleager (R); and to theſe we ſhall only add the two heroes of his race, who ſignalized themſelves, one in the Theban, and the other in the Trojan war.

The firſt of theſe was Tydeus, another ſon of Œneus, by Althea, whom we have formerly mentioned in the hiſtories of Argos and Thebes. In the firſt of theſe kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated from manſlaughter, he and Polynices having married the two daughters of Adraſtus, theſe three princes went jointly againſt Thebes, to recover Polynice's right; and here it was that Tydeus performed ſuch glorious exploits againſt Eteocles. He was there mortally wounded by Menalippus, but, before he expired, had the ſatisfaction to ſee his enemy's head brought to him by the brave Amphiaraus; when he took the brutal revenge of extracting his brains, and ſwallowing them [h].

[h] Apollod. lib. iii. cap. 7.

(R) The fable ſays, that when Althea, this prince's mother, was brought-to-bed of him, ſhe ſaw the three fatal Siſters ſitting by the fire; one of whom taking a billet out of it, ſaid the boy ſhould live as long as it remained unburnt: as ſoon as they were gone, ſhe got up and quenched the ſtick, and repoſited it in a ſafe place.

When Meleager was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles, at the killing of the boar, mentioned in the laſt note. That young prince having preſented the head of it to Atalanta, who had given it the firſt wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention roſe to ſuch a height, that the exaſperated prince killed them both. Althea ſeeing her two brothers killed, fell into ſuch fury, that ſhe ran to the fatal brand which ſhe had ſaved, and flung it into the fire; upon which her ſon was immediately ſeized with a burning fever in his bowels, and ſoon after expired.

Pauſanias, who tells us that this fabulous ſtory was deviſed by an ancient tragic poet, named Phrynicus (ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the ſixty-ſeventh Olympiad) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us, upon the credit of two other poets, that Apollo killed him with his own hands, becauſe he had taken the part of the Ætolians againſt the Curetes, in whoſe favour that god had declared himſelf (4).

(4) In Phocid. cap. 31.

His

His ſon Diomedes was one of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves at the Trojan war. He had the good fortune to return ſafe from it; but meeting with a worſe enemy at home, in his faithleſs wife Ægiale, and her paramour Cometes, he was forced to retire into Apulia, where he ſhared that kingdom with Daunus, as we have ſeen above. From this period, we meet with nothing conſiderable in the hiſtory of this nation, except a few warlike excurſions, which they made in conjunction with ſome of the great ſtates of Greece, in which they aſſiſted ſometimes as allies, and ſometimes as auxiliaries, till the famous Achean league, which proved ſo fatal to them, and of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. The reſt of their time was ſpent in mutual excurſions between them and their neighbours the Calydonians, Pleuronians, Dorians, and Locrians, of whom we are to ſpeak next, and eſpecially with the Ozoleans and Acarnanians, whoſe territories lay on each ſide of Ætolia (S).

Locris.

The Locrians were either the ſame people with the Ozoleans, or ſo blended with them, that they were not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed but by their names, or indeed by any thing but their ſituation. In this reſpect they were divided into, 1. the Locri Ozolæ above mentioned, which

(S) The Ozoleans were ſituate on the eaſt of that kingdom. It was a ſmall territory, lying on the north coaſt of the bay of Corinth, and extending itſelf above twelve miles northwards, where it was contiguous with Locris. On the weſt it was bounded by the river Evenus, which parted them from Ætolia; and on the eaſt they had the kingdom of Phocis. Its chief towns were Naupactus, ſituate on the mouth of the river above mentioned, which was often contended for by the Ætolians, and afterwards became wholly theirs. It was called by that name, from the Heraclidæ building their navy there, with which they invaded Peloponneſus; but is now known by that of Lepanto, and was taken from the Venetians by Bajazet.

As for the Acarnanians, their territories were parted on the eaſt by the river Achelous, and ſurrounded by the Ionian ſea on the weſt and ſouth, and on the north joined to Epirus; and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (5).

They were anciently known by the name of Curetes; but whether of the ſame race with thoſe of the Celtic nation, or whether ſo called, becauſe, like the Pluranes, they cut off their fore locks; or whether both were not originally of Celtic extraction, is uncertain.

(5) Vide Strab. Mel. & al.

inhabited the ſouthern or maritime parts: they were likewiſe called Locri Zephirii, or Weſterly, on account of their ſituation with reſpect to the other two, and extended only from Naupactus to the frontiers of Phocis, along the ſea-coaſt, about two hundred ſtadia, or eight leagues in length. 2. The Locri Epicnemidii, ſo called from the mount Cnemis, were ſituate in the middle; and

Opuntian Locri. 3. The northern Locri, ſurnamed Opuntii, from their chief city Opus, or Opoes, near the coaſt of the Ægean or Eubean ſea: authors are not ſo well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of theſe ancient nations [l]. Ancient, indeed, if we conſider that Homer informs us they came to the Trojan war armed with bows and ſlings; and that the Ozoleans carried an early colony into Italy, under the conduct of their princes Evas and Ajax, and built a city there, near the Zephyrian promontory, from which they are called Locri Epizephyrii [k].

Ozolean Locri. The Ozolean Locrians were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of Phocis, of which we have given an account. Their country was partly plain and fertile, partly mountainous and barren. They are branded with being much addicted to unnatural crimes, and having their women in common [l]. They made feaſts at the interment of their relations; and if a ſick man was forbid the uſe of wine and recovered, he was nevertheleſs put to death [m]; but all this is to be underſtood of the ancient Locri, before they had been civilized with the reſt of Greece.

Their three tribes.

Their chief city was Amphiſſa, ſituate on the Evenus. Herodotus calls it Amphicea, and the inhabitants Amphicaioi, or Amphicei. It was afterwards taken by the Phocians, and deſtroyed with the reſt of the Phocian cities in the holy war formerly mentioned; and when it was rebuilt, Pauſanias tells us it took the name of Ophitea, if the text has not been corrupted by his tranſcribers [n].

Epicnemidian Locri. Epicnemidian Locrians were the only people of all the three, who had a right to ſend deputies to the grand Amphictyonian court at Delphos. Their metropolis was Thronium, mentioned by Homer, Ptolemy, and other ancient authors [o]. They had another city called Cnemis, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which

[l] De his vide Ptolom. Strab. Mela. Cluver. & al. ſup. citat. [k] Pauſan. Achaic. cap. 33. & Phocid. 38. [l] Max. Tyr. Athen. Heracl. & al. [m] Ælian. Var. lib. ii cap. 37. [n] Id. ibid. vide Byſant. ſub voce Αμφισσα, & Gronov. not. in Loc. [o] Palmer. Antiq. Græc. lib. v. & Steph. Byſant. ſub voce.

they

they took their appellative [p]. How they received their common name of Locrians, whether they were colonies of one another, and if ſo, which was the moſt ancient, we are not able to diſcover. As for their countries, they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we ſhall in the ſequel ſee that they ſignalized themſelves as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of Greece.

Doris.

Doris was ſituate on the ſouth of Theſſaly, being parted from it by mount Œta, and a ridge of other hills. It had on the ſouth Phocis, and part of Ætolia. On the eaſt it was parted from the Locri Epicemidæ by the river Pindus, and on the weſt from Epirus and Acarnania by that of Achelous. Other rivers of note they had not, except the Cephiſus, which had its ſpring-head in the neighbourhood. Mountains they had in great number, and thoſe not inconſiderable: the moſt famed were Œta and Pindus, which, with ſome others of leſs note, ſurrounded them on the north, as the Callidromians did on the weſt; yet the country abounded with ſpacious plains, and was very fruitful; the air was ſweet and healthy, and their ſoil capable of being improved to all the advantages of huſbandry. Their territories were not large, extending only about forty miles in length, that is, from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about twenty miles in breadth at the wideſt, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30 min. eaſt longitude [q].

Doris, whence ſo called.

This country was called Doris, and the people Dores, from Dorus, the ſon of Helen, and grandſon of Deucalion, who firſt peopled, or rather conquered it, at leaſt that part of it which lies below the mountains of Œta and Pindus. It was likewiſe called Tetrapolis, from its four cities, viz. Pindus, Erineus, Cytinium, and Boium, or Boœum; Ptolemy adds to them that of Lilæa, but others place it more rightly in Phocis. The Dores, though they inhabited ſuch a mountainous tract, were very polite, good orators, poets, and muſicians, yet ſtout and warlike, and uſed to wear a tuft of horſe-hair on their helmets, from which Homer ſtyles them τριχαϊτας. They extended their colonies to ſeveral parts of Aſia, and among others founded the city of Chalcedon, on the Euxine Sea, for

[p] De his vide Ptol. Strab. Mela. Cluver. Pauſan. Achaiac. cap. 33.
[q] Vid. Ptolem. Strab. Mela, Cellar, Wells, &c.

which they had the nickname of Blind, for their ill choice; and it is on account of these frequent colonies, that we find several countries called Doris. Those that continued in their original settlement, were at length driven from it by the Cadmeans, and forced to inhabit for some time about Macednum, and the neighbourhood of Pindus; but returned soon after to Dryopis (T), and the country about Œta [r], where they continued till they made that famous descent into Peloponnesus with the Heraclidæ, and whither they carried also their dialect, called from them Doric (U). Their chief city was called Doris, from the founder of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and others [s].

Cities.

[r] Herodot. lib. ii. Apollod. lib. i. cap. 7. Pausan, &c. [s] De his vide Ptolem. Strab. &c. Bysant. & Palmer. Ant. Gr.

(T) A country situate in the neighbourhood of the mount Œta and Parnassus, and called Dryopis, from Dryope, the daughter of Eurypylus, or, as the poets feign, a nymph ravished by Apollo; but more probably from δρυς, an oak, and ὠψ, voice, from the number of oaks that grew about the mountain, and the rustling of their leaves.

However, the Dryopes valued themselves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themselves the sons of Apollo; wherefore Hercules, having overcome that people, carried them prisoners to Delphos, where he presented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them with him into Peloponnesus. He obeyed, and gave them a settlement there, near the Asmean and Hermionian territotories; hence the Asmeans came to be blended with, and to call themselves Dryopes (6).

(U) The Dorians gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which was much esteemed by the Greeks, but was preserved most pure by the Messenians, even through all their various transmigrations. It was justly esteemed the most elegant, sweet, and best adapted to lyric poetry and music, of which the Dores were very fond, and the most expert of all the Greeks (7); so that they likewise gave their name, 2. to the Doric music, in opposition to that of the Lydians and Phrygians; and, 3. to the Doric order, one of the five in architecture.

Those three kinds of music used to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated Pronomus invented a fourth sort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (8).

(6) Pausan. in Messenic. cap. 34. (7) See Briet. ubi sup. part ii. lib. iii. (8) Pausan. in Bœotic. cap. 12. Athen. lib. xiv. cap. 7.

2. Eri-

2. Erineus, ſituate on the moſt northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part Doris from Macedonia, and mentioned by all the ancient geographers and hiſtorians. 3. Lilæa, on the ſouthern frontiers, adjoining to Phocis, if not in it, as was lately hinted. 4. Bium, as it is called by Ptolemy; or Bojon, as Strabo and others call it, with ſome few of leſs note

We have nothing remarkable left concerning theſe people, before their naval deſcent into Peloponneſus. After their conqueſt of, and ſettlement in, that peninſula, in conjunction with the Heraclidæ, they built a ſtately temple to Jupiter Tropeus, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and anſwerable to the ſurname given to that deity, ſince it almoſt overturned the whole ſtate of affairs in all the different kingdoms and ſtates of Peloponneſus, whoſe cities were now forced to receive a garriſon of Dorians, and to ſubmit to a foreign government.

Temple of Jupiter Tropeus.

Achaia Propria (X), ſo called from Achæus the ſon of Xutus, was originally called Ægialea from Ægialeus the firſt king of Sicyon, as ſome affirm; others think it comes from the Greek Ægialos, *ſea-ſhore*, becauſe above half of it was ſurrounded with the ſea[t]; but whether it was originally part of the Sicyonic kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain. The people were certainly called Ægialean Ionians; and, in all probability, that of Achaia was not given to it, till the ſons of Achæus invaded it, and expelled the Ionians.

Achaia, whence ſo called.

Achaia had Sicyon on the eaſt, and the Ionian ſea on the weſt; the kingdom of Elis and that of Arcadia on the ſouth, and the Bay of Corinth on the north. It would be impoſſible to fix the limits of it, becauſe they were in ſuch conſtant fluctuation, that whatever was ſaid of them would only agree with one epocha; but taking them in the largeſt ſenſe, its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt ſeems to have been no more than about fifty miles, and from north to ſouth about half that ſpace[u], being within the

Situation and extent.

[t] Pauſan. Achaic. cap. i. [u] Strab. Mela, &c. Byſant. in voce.

(X) It is called Achaia Propria, to diſtinguiſh it from the general name of Achaia, by which Greece itſelf was ſometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the Romans to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. Macedonia, containing Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Epirus; and Achaia, containing all the remainder of Greece, both inland and the iſlands about.

Rivers. 38th deg. of latitude, and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the Piereus which diſcharged itſelf into the Ionian Sea, at the mouth of which was the city Olenus, a famous ſea-port mentioned by ancient authors, ſo called from Olenus its founder, the ſuppoſed ſon of Jupiter, or, according to others, of Vulcan; the Lariſſa which parted it from Elis, the Achelous formerly mentioned, the Eraſinus different from that of the ſame name in Argos, and Crathis, all which retain ſtill their old names with very little variation. As for the other cities of Achaia, we ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the following ſketch of their hiſtory.

Xuthus, one of the ſons of Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion, having been baniſhed by his brothers out of Theſſaly, after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzled the royal treaſure, came to Athens, where Erectheus gave him his daughter Creuſa, by whom he had two ſons, Achæus and Ion. After the death of Erectheus, a diſpute ariſing between his ſons, Xuthus was choſen umpire; and having adjudged the ſucceſſion to Cecrops II. who was the eldeſt, the others drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and ſettled in Achaia, and died there. His ſon Achæus ſoon after raiſed a ſmall number of Athenian and Ægialean forces, with which he went into Theſſaly, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for manſlaughter, and went to Laconia, where he died; but his poſterity continued there, till they were expelled from it by the Dores and Heraclidæ.

Achæus born.

Expedition into Theſſaly.

Ion invades Ægialea. In the mean while his brother Ion, who was grown very great at the Athenian court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called Ægialea. Selinus, then king of it, having but one daughter, inſtead of repulſing him, gave her to him in marriage, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. Ion having ſucceeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by his wife's name Helice, and from him the Ægialeans were ſurnamed Ionians; but the country ſeems to have retained its ancient name, ſince Homer, in the liſt of Agamemnon's forces, makes mention both of it and of the city Helice.

Made general of the Athenians. Ion, who had lately defeated the Thracians, and performed wonders againſt them, was for his ſingular merit and valour ſoon after choſen general of the Athenian forces, in their war againſt the Eleuſians: he was either killed in it, or died ſoon after, and was buried in a ſmall town of Attica. He is ſaid by Strabo to have been the firſt who divided

vided the people into four ranks or claſſes, viz. huſbandmen, artificers, prieſts, and guards or military men. He made likewiſe ſeveral wiſe regulations, for which, as well as his ſingular merit, he left his name to the country, and the crown to his deſcendants, who enjoyed it undiſturbed for a conſiderable time. In the mean time, thoſe of his uncle Achæus, known by the name of Achæans, had ſpread themſelves in ſeveral parts of Greece, particularly in the kingdom of Argos and Lacedæmon. When therefore they were driven out of theſe two countries by the Dores and Heraclidæ, they reſolved to lay claim to Achaia, and expel the Ionians. They had their brave king Tiſamenes, the ſon of Oreſtes, at their head, and pleaded a ſuperiority of kindred, as being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of Xuthus; but what they truſted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them ſome Dores, who agreed to aſſiſt them in this expedition. Accordingly they marched againſt them with this army, and ſent a herald to demand that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of compelling them by force. The Ionians, ſurpriſed at ſuch an unexpected meſſage, reſolved to oppoſe their entrance with all their might. They knew, that if the Achæans were once ſuffered to ſettle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince Tiſamenes, whoſe noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: they therefore reſolved to march againſt the invaders, and on the very firſt onſet the Achæans loſt indeed their prince, but gained the victory, and purſued it to the very gates of Helice. The Ionians thus over-powered, were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring whither they found convenient; which being granted to them, they went into Attica, where Melanthus then reigned, who gave them a kind reception; not perhaps ſo much in conſideration of the great ſervices which their progenitor Ion had done to that kingdom, as to make uſe of their aſſiſtance againſt the Dores, whom he now began to fear. Here they ſtayed no longer than till the firſt archontat, when Medon's brethren, unwilling to ſubmit to their lame brother, invited them among other Grecians to ſeek their fortune elſewhere.

Achæans invade the Ionians.

Defeat them.

As for the Achæans, their prince being dead, and the Ionians retired, his ſons agreed to divide their new conqueſt by lot: this kingdom chiefly conſiſted of the twelve

Achaia divided.

following cities, well known to all the Greek writers; for as to the Ionians, Strabo tells us they had built nothing but villages; namely, 1. Helice, mentioned above: 2. Ægion or Ægium, to which the assembly of the states was removed after the submersion of Helice, as being the next in dignity: 3. Olenus: 4. Phares: 5. Ryphes: 6. Tritia: 7. Cerynea: 8. Bura: 9. Dymea: 10. Æges: 11. Ægira: 12. Pellene. These twelve cities were at first divided between the four sons of Tisamenes, Diamenes, Sparton, Telles, and Leontomenes; for as to his fifth son Cometes, he was already gone into Asia. These, together with their cousin Damasias, the son of Penthillus, and grandson of Orestes, having jointly reigned over this new Achaian state for some time, agreed again to ally themselves with Preagenes and his son Patrus, the sovereigns of those Achæans, who had been banished out of Lacedæmon, and gave them the sovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the last of these Patra. By what appears from this division of the Achaian government, it seems as if it then became a kind of aristocracy, rather then a seven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what share the subjects had in it we cannot ascertain; only it seems from the short sketch Pausanias gives us of it, that all those cities above mentioned, except Pellene, were in some measure free cities, and that the states of Achaia ceased not to assemble, even when the rest of Greece was terribly harrassed with wars and pestilence (Y). In this assembly it was that the famous Achæan league was formed, into which the Sicyonians

Government changed.

(Y) Strabo, after mentioning the twelve Achæan cities above named, says, they were governed each by two prætors, annually chosen, at the head of a senate; but he adds, that at end of twenty years, they began to chuse but one, and continued doing so till the prætorship of Aratus, the noble deliverer of Greece; of whose exploits and undeserved fate, we shall give an account in the next chapter.

All that needs to be added here with respect to the Achæans, is, that they so well fortified themselves in their new settlement, after having driven the Ionians out of it, that they were able to make head against the Heraclidæ, and preserved their laws and liberty, even after all the rest of Peloponnesus had been subdued by them, and under a series of kings from Tisamenes to Ogygus; after which they settled themselves into a kind of republic. So highly esteemed were they by all the Greeks, that several of their states chose them for arbitrators of the differences that happened between them; particularly

nians came the firſt, and were followed by all the other ſtates, not only of Peloponneſus, but by thoſe on the other ſide of the Iſthmus; even at laſt by all Greece, except the Lacedæmonians, who ſoon after entered into a war againſt them.

CHAP. XIX.

The Hiſtory of the Athenians.

SECT. I.

Of the State of Athens from the Eſtabliſhment of Annual Archons, to the Achæan League.

THOUGH Athens was in ancient times governed by kings, they were far from being abſolute; the beſt of thoſe kings preſcribed bounds to themſelves, and the people circumſcribed the power of the worſt. The Athenians were always friends to liberty, and reſerved even in the days of Theſeus, ſuch an authority in their hands, as engaged Homer to diſtinguiſh them from the other nations of Greece. The glorious death of Codrus, who ſacrificed himſelf for his ſubjects, and his ſon's diſputing the ſucceſſion, furniſhed the Athenians with a pretence for changing the form of their government. It was improbable, they ſaid, that ever they ſhould have ſo good a prince as Codrus; and, to prevent their having a worſe, they would have no king but Jupiter [x]. However, that they might not ſeem ungrateful, they made his ſon Medon their ſupreme magiſtrate, with the title of archon; they afterwards rendered that office decennial, but continued it ſtill in that family. The extinction of the Medontidæ, at laſt, left them without reſtraint; upon which they not only made this office annual, but created nine

Monarchy aboliſhed at Athens.

[x] Schol. in Nub. Ariſtophan.

ticularly the Thebans, after the famed battle of Leuctra (2). Polybius adds, that the Achæans ſo far gained the love and eſteem of all the Peloponneſians, that their name became common to all that country (3).

(2) Strabo, ubi ſupra, p. 385. (3) Lib. ii.

archons;

Archons created.

archons [r]; by the latter inſtitution they provided againſt the too great power of a ſingle perſon, as by the former expedient they they took away all apprehenſion of their archons having time to eſtabliſh an optimacy, and change the conſtitution. In one word, they attained now what they had long ſought, the making their ſupreme magiſtrates dependent on the people.

Honours and titles annexed to their office.

That theſe magiſtrates might, however, retain as much authority and dignity as would be ſufficient to preſerve order and peace in the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The firſt was ſtyled, by way of eminence, The Archon, and the year was diſtinguiſhed by his name: the ſecond was called Baſileus, i. e. *king*; he too had his peculiar function, and his particular tribunal: the third had the name of Polemarchos; war was his province, though he had the direction of many things beſides military affairs: the other ſix had the title of Theſmothetæ, common to them all, and were looked upon as the guardians of their laws, and conſervators of the conſtitution. We ſhall ſpeak of all theſe offices diſtinctly, in their proper places; at preſent we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the abolition of the decennial magiſtracy in Athens. As to the reaſons on which the names of the three firſt magiſtrates, and their diſtinct offices were founded, they are variouſly and not very clearly explained. Perhaps, their chief end was to tranſfer that reverence which the common people had for their old rulers, to theſe new magiſtrates, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former as was conſiſtent with the ends for which this change was made: as the Romans allowed their conſuls to have faſces carried before them, and bore with the word Rex when it implied no more than a ſupreme ſacrificer. This change happened at Athens in the twenty-fourth Olympiad, but in what year of that Olympiad is not well ſettled. Creon was the firſt of the new archons; and the names of his ſucceſſors, at leaſt ſuch of them as are recorded in hiſtory, the reader will find in the following table, which alſo ſhews the years in which they bore that office (Z).

A Table

[r] Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. Euſeb. Chron. Pauſan.

(Z) Though little has been ſaid, in a regular manner, by the ancient hiſtorians of Greece, concerning the forming of the Athenian republic, and the power of its magiſtrates; yet the

A Table of such of the Annual Archons of Athens as are mentioned in History.

An. a. Ch.	Olmp.	An. a. Ch.	Olymp.
684 Creon -	24. 1	639 Damasias I. -	35. 2
683 Tlesias -	- 2	634 Epænetus -	36. 2
682 Lysias -	3	623 Draco -	39. 2
670 Antosthenes -	27. 3	608 Aristocles -	43. 4
663 Archimedes	29. 2	599 Megacles -	45. 2
658 Miltiades -	30. 3	598 Phisombrotus -	3
645 Dropis -	33. 4	597 Solon -	4
		596 Dro-	

the industry of the learned, by collecting the scattered passages of Grecian writers, have formed treatises of the Athenian government under its several mutations, and so much elucidated this important subject, that it is necessary to place it clearly and distinctly before our readers. But it will also be necessary to give some account of these authors, that if such as peruse this work should be desirous of entering more deeply into the Athenian policy, they may not be at a loss for guides. William Postel, who flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and was deservedly famous for his extensive learning, hath written a very curious treatise of the Athenian republic, consisting of thirty five chapters; wherein he treats concisely of the functions of the Athenian magistrates, the rights of the people, and the dependency of the several parts of the Attic constitution on each other (1). But if the succinctness of Postel leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, Sigonius's four books, with his scheme of the Athenian history, will sufficiently supply it. Sigonius was a man of much reading, great diligence, and had an affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the same kind which he composed (2). This excellent person was a professor in the university of Modena; and when he was twenty years of age, had acquired such a stupendous knowlege in history and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As Sigonius exceeded Postel, so Sigonius himself has been transcended by Ubbo Eminius, rector of the university of Groningen, who having resolved upon a work of the same nature, made his description extend not only to the Athenians, but to all the republics of Greece, conducting it in such a manner, that this description made but one third part of his work; the two former parts containing an exact description of ancient Greece, and a regular history of its inhabitants collected mostly in the words

(1) Tractatus de Repub. sive Magistratibus Athenienſium.
(2) De Republica Athenienſium, Venet. 1565, 8vo.

of

An. a. Ch.		Olymp.	
596	Dropides	46.	1
591	Euorates	47.	2
590	Simon		3
582	Damaſias II.	49.	3
576	Archeſtratides	51.	1
569	Auſtomenes	52.	4
561	Hippoclides	44.	4
560	Comias	55.	1
559	Hegeſtratus		2
552	Euthydemus	56.	2
547	Euxiclides	58.	2
543	Alcæus	59.	2
532	Heraclides	62.	1
523	Miltiades	64.	2
	Iſagoras an. incert.	68.	
	Aceſtorides an. incert.	69.	
	Myrus an. incert.	70.	
496	Hyparchus	71.	2
495	Philippus		3
494	Themiſtocles		4
492	Diognetus	72.	2
491	Hybrilides		3
490	Phœnippus		4
488	Ariſtides	73.	1
487	Anchiſes		2
486	Acratides		3
484	Leoſtratus	74.	1
483	Nicodemus		2
482	Aphephon		3
480	Callias, qui & Calliades	75.	1
479	Xanthippus		2
478	Timoſthenes		3
477	Adimanthus		4
476	Phædon	76.	1
475	Dromoclides		2
474	Aceſtorides		3
473	Menon		4
472	Chares	77.	1
471	Praxiergus		2
470	Demotion		3
469	Phædon		4
468	Theaginedes	78.	1
467	Lyſiſtratus		2
466	Lyſanias		3
465	Lyſiſtheus		4
464	Archimedes	79.	1
463	Tlepolemus		2
462	Conon		3
461	Euippus		4
460	Phaciclides	80.	1
459	Philocles		2
458	Bion		3
457	Mneſitides		4
456	Callias	81.	1
455	Soſiſtratus		2
454	Ariſton		3
453	Lyſicrates		4
452	Chærephanes	82.	1
451	Antidotus		2
450	Eutydemus		3
449	Pedieus		4
448	Philiſcus	83.	1
447	Timarchides		2
446	Callimachus		3
445	Simachides, qui & Lyſimachides		4
444	Praxiteles	84.	1
443	Lyſanias		2
442	Diphius		3
441	Timocles		4

of original writers (3). If to theſe we add the almoſt numberleſs treatiſes of the very learned Meurſius, on every part of the Athenian government (4), there can no queſtion be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly underſtood as any thing of the ſame nature can be. But we think it more reaſonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the conſtruction of the Athenian democracy to its ſettlement by Solon, than to perplex the reader with anticipations, or repetitions.

(3) Vetus Græcia Opus diſtinctum in Tomos tres. (4) Themis Attica, Cecropia, Lection. Attic.

440 My-

An. a. Ch.		Olymp.	
440	Myrichides five Marichidas	85.	1
439	Glaucis		2
438	Theodorus		3
437	Euthimenes		4
436	Nausimachus, qui & Lysimachus	86.	1
435	Antichides		2
434	Charis		3
433	Aspendes		4
432	Pythodorus	87.	1
431	Euthydemus		2
430	Apollodorus		3
429	Epamion		4
428	Diotimus	88.	1
427	Euclides		2
426	Scytodorus, qui & Euthydemus		3
425	Stratocles		4
424	Isarchus	89.	1
423	Aminias		2
422	Alcæus		3
421	Aricto, qui & Aristion		4
420	Aristophilus, qui & Astyphilus	90.	1
419	Archias		2
418	Antiphon		3
417	Euphemus		4
416	Aristomnestus	91.	1
415	Chabrias		2
414	Pysander		3
413	Cleocritus		4
412	Callias	92.	1
411	Theopompus		2
410	Glaucippus		3
409	Diocles		4
408	Euctemon	93.	1
407	Antigenes		2
406	Callias		3
405	Alexias		4
404	Pythodorus	94.	1
403	Euclides		2
402	Micio		3
401	Zeneteus, qui & Epenetus		4
400	Laches	95.	1
399	Aristocrates		2
398	Itycles		3
397	Lysiades		4
396	Phormio	96.	4
395	Diophantus		2
394	Eubulides		3
393	Arches, qui & Demostratus		4
392	Philocles	97.	1
391	Nicoteles		2
390	Demostratus		3
389	Antipater		4
388	Pyrrhio, qui & Pyrghium	98.	1
387	Theodotus		2
386	Mystichides		3
385	Dexiteus		4
384	Diotrephes	99.	1
383	Phenostratus		2
382	Menander, qui & Evander		3
381	Demophilus		4
380	Pytheas	100.	1
379	Nicon		2
378	Nausidicus		3
377	Callias		4
376	Chariander	101.	1
375	Hypodamus		2
374	Socratides		3
373	Asteus five Asteus		4
372	Aristhenes five Alcisthenes	102.	1
371	Pharaclides		2
370	Dysnicitus		3
369	Lysistratus		4
368	Nausiegenes	103.	1
367	Polyzelus		2
366	Cephisodorus		3
365	Chion		4
364	Timocrates	104.	1
363	Characlides		2
362	Molio five Molon		3
361	Nicophemus		4
360	Callimedes	105.	1
359	Eucharistus		2
358	Cephisodorus		3
357	Agathocles		4
356	Elpines seu Elpinius	106.	1

An. a. Ch.		Olymp.
355	Callistratus	2
354	Diotimus	3
353	Eudemus	4
352	Aristodemus	107. 1
351	Thessalus	2
350	Apollodorus	3
349	Callimachus	4
348	Theophilus	108. 1
347	Themistocles	2
346	Archius	3
345	Eubulus	4
344	Lysiscus	109. 1
343	Pythodorus	2
342	Sosigenes	3
341	Nicomachus	4
340	Theophrastus	110. 1
339	Lysimachides	2
338	Charondas seu Charonides	3
337	Phrynicus	4
336	Pythodorus	111. 1
335	Euenetus	2
334	Cteficles	3
333	Nicocrates	4
332	Niceratus	112. 1
331	Aristophanes	2
330	Aristophon	3
329	Cephisophon	4
328	Euthycritus	113. 1
327	Hegemon	2
326	Chremes	3
325	Anticles	4
324	Hegesias	114. 1
323	Cephisodorus	2
322	Philocles	3
321	Archippus five Apollodorus	4
320	Nesichmus	115. 1
319	Apollodorus	2
318	Archippus	3
317	Demogenes	4
316	Democlides	116. 1
315	Praxibulus	2
314	Nicodorus	3
313	Cheophrastus	4
312	Ptolemo	117. 1
311	Simonides	2
310	Hieromnemon	3
309	Demetrius Phalæreus	4
308	Charinus five Cœrinus	118. 1
307	Anaxicrates	2
306	Coræbus five Corybus	3
305	Xenippus five Euxinippus	4
304	Pherecles	119. 1
303	Leostratus	2
302	Nicocles	3
301	Calliarchus	4
300	Hegamachus	120. 1
299	Euctemon	2
298	Mnesidemus	3
297	Antiphates	4
296	Nicias	121. 1
295	Nichostratus	2
294	Olympiodorus	3
293	Philippus	4
290	Philippus	122. 3
279	Gorgias	125. 2
278	Anaxicrates	3
277	Democles	4
271	Pytharatus	127. 2
264	Diognetes	129. 1
140	Antitheus	160. 1
60	Herodes	180. 2

As we are obliged to collect the history of Athens, at this period, from such historians as have flourished long after the date of the events which they relate, the reader cannot expect that it should be very exactly connected. He will see, from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are lost; and of several that remain, we know nothing more than that they were archons in such a year; a circumstance which is frequently discovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better settling the facts of

of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which particular perſons were archons; becauſe anciently the Athenian hiſtory was better known than that of any other nation. If the people laboured for power in Athens, the nobility were likewiſe deſirous of preſerving it to themſelves; and though they frequently found it neceſſary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients, which in the end defeated the deſigns of the people. The archons were, from the beginning of the democracy, choſen by the people, but they were ſelected from the nobility, who ſtill retained one privilege of the ancient magiſtrates, which very probably was much diſliked by the people, that of deciding all cauſes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for at this time the Athenians had no written laws, but every magiſtrate acted according to the principles of natural equity [z].

The more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the leſs eaſily were they governed. Merchants from Syria and Egypt, very probably, gave them firſt to underſtand the expediency of written laws, which might ſerve to rule the magiſtrates as well as the people. This hint inculcated, the Athenians would not be at reſt without them. The ſame ſpirit which had produced former alterations in government, made it neceſſary that laws ſhould be compiled; and therefore the nobility fixed upon Draco to undertake this arduous employment (A).

[z] Suidas in Δράκων.

(A) When it is related that Draco firſt gave laws to the Athenians, it muſt be underſtood in an extenſive ſenſe; for it is certain, that Ceres was ſaid to have firſt taught the Athenians to lead a ſocial life, and to become ſubject to the wiſeſt among them, that their wiſdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed, that Ceres gave theſe laws by her favourite Triptolemus; and we are farther told what thoſe laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; "Honour your parents; Worſhip the gods; Hurt not animals" (1). Theſe precepts were retained likewiſe by Draco, and made the foundation of his inſtitutions; yet he was, in the uſual acceptation of the word, the legiſlator of the Athenians, ſince he firſt reſtrained the magiſtrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal, and in what manner ſuch as committed them ſhould be puniſhed.

(1) Porphyr. de Abſtinentia.

Draco

Yr. of Fl. 1725. Ante Chr. 623.

Draco.

Draco was archon in the ſecond, though ſome ſay in the laſt year of the thirty-ninth Olympiad, when it is ſuppoſed he publiſhed his laws. The name of this great man occurs frequently in hiſtory, but we no where find much relating to him and his inſtitutions, which is certainly the reaſon that the collectors of Greek hiſtory have written ſo ſuperficially about them. We cannot pretend to ſupply their deficiencies; but, from the ſcattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the beſt account of him and his laws that we can compile. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endowed with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a great lover of his country; but at the ſame time ſevere in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he had laid down for the government of Athens [a]. He eſteemed the taking of life away ſo high a crime, that to imprint a deep abhorrence of murder in the minds of men, he ordained that proceſs ſhould be carried on even againſt inanimate things, if they had accidentally cauſed the death of any perſon. So that, for inſtance, a ſtatue which had fallen upon or killed a man, was baniſhed, it being rendered criminal for any one to keep it in Attica [b]. Happy had it been for himſelf and for his country, if the ſame ſpirit of humanity had reigned throughout his inſtitutions; but ſo it was, that he puniſhed all things with death, even indolence, and the taking an apple was as ſeverely puniſhed as ſacrilege; for which ſeverity he himſelf aſſigned this reaſon; "Small faults ſeem to me worthy of death; and, for the moſt flagrant offences, I can find no higher puniſhment [c]. The care of executing theſe laws he entruſted chiefly with the ephetæ, which he took upon him to reform in many reſpects, whence he is by ſome ſaid to have inſtituted it; but that is a miſtake. He made it ſuperior to the areopagus, to which it was before inferior; and Solon, reſtoring the precedency of the laſt-mentioned court, has been by a like miſtake reported to be the inſtitutor thereof [d]. Draco was advanced in years when he gave laws to Athens: ſome have been of opinion, that he borrowed moſt of his principles from the books of the Phœnicians, but this can hardly be proved; certain it is, that his inſtitutions were not ſtyled Nomoi,

His character.

His laws.

[a] A. Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 18. Tatian. Orat. Cont. Græcos. Clem. Strom. lib. i. [b] De his Pauſan. Attic. [c] Plutarch. in Vita Solon. [d] Potter's Archæolog. vol. i. p. 102.

but

but Theſmoi, i. e. not laws but ſanctions, as if they proceeded from more than human wiſdom [e]; but this appellation did not hinder their falling into diſlike with the Athenians, even in his life-time; and as their diſlike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from Athens, from whence he went to the iſland of Ægina, where he was received with the higheſt reſpect. But the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the Athenians; for coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to ſhew their regard for him, threw, as the cuſtom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of theſe being very great, ſtifled the old man, who was too weak to diſengage himſelf from the load [f]. Ariſtotle tells us, Herodicus was wont to ſay, "That his inſtitutions ſeem rather to have come from a dragon than a man," alluding to his name [g]; and Demades rendered himſelf famous by obſerving, that Draco's laws were not written with ink, but blood. Perhaps the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the Athenian people, made that legiſlator have recourſe to ſo harſh a method; for that he was not of ſo ſavage a temper as he is generally repreſented, may be conjectured from thoſe fragments of his laws, which are yet undevoured by time, and from the knowledge we have of his being ſtrongly inclined to poetry, a ſtudy ſeldom agreeable to cruel minds (B).

Obliged to retire from Athens.

His death.

Nothing

[e] Ælian. Hiſt. var. lib. viii. cap. 10. [f] Heſych. Illuſt. de Philoſ. [g] Ariſt. Rhet. lib. ii. cap. 23.

(B) Ariſtotle ſpeaks very ſlightly of Draco's laws. He ſays, they had nothing extraordinary in them, except their cruelty (1); which expreſſion, we apprehend, has given occaſion to the cenſures of many other authors. With reſpect to Draco's laws, what fragments ſtill remain, put it not in our power to decide either for him or againſt him. Porphyry hath preſerved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlaſting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worſhipped, and the heroes alſo, according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors, and in private only, with good words, firſt-fruits, and annual libations (2). This ſeems to have been a commentary on Triptolemus's laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worſhipped. Heſychus (3) mentions a law, whereby a perſon eating himſelf in the temple of Apollo, was adjudged to ſuffer

(1) Ariſt. Polit. lib. ii. cap. 10. (2) De Abſtinent. (3) Ap. Ant. Thyſ. Coll. Leg. Ath. & Rom.

Yr. of Fl. 1742. Ante Chr. 606.

War with the Mitylenæans.

Nothing conſiderable happened at Athens, from the time of Draco's archonſhip till that republic engaged herſelf in a war with the Mitylenæans, about the city of Sigeum, which was ſeated near the mouth of the river Scamander. The Athenian army was commanded by Phrynon, a perſon equally remarkable for the comelineſs of his form, and the generoſity of his mind. The Mitylenæans were commanded in chief by Pittacus, one of the famous ſages of Greece. As theſe commanders looked on the honour of their ſeveral countries to be engaged in this buſineſs, they exerted their utmoſt abilities with equal ſucceſs. At laſt theſe chiefs met in ſingle combat, wherein Phrydon depended on his valour only, but Pittacus made uſe of a ſtratagem; for, concealing behind his ſhield a net, he therewith ſuddenly entangled Phrynon, and eaſily ſlew him; but this victory not putting an end to the war, Periander, tyrant of Corinth, interpoſed, and both parties having ſubmitted the diſpute to his arbitration, he decreed that Sigeum ſhould belong to the Athenians. This event happened in the third year of the forty-third Olympiad [h] (C).

About

[h] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. cap. 25. Plutarch de Malign. Herodot.

death. It is probable, that amidſt the diſturbances which made laws neceſſary, Draco ſaw, or at leaſt thought he ſaw, a neceſſity of puniſhing very ſeverely, ſince the licentiouſneſs of the people was grown to ſuch a height, that nothing but harſh meaſures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant ſeverity of his Theſmoi, or ſanctions, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from ſtriking deep, ſo that by degrees, they growing into diſſuetude, the commonwealth ſtood more in need of new laws, than ſhe ſtood in need of Draco's.

(C) The war between the Mitylenians and the Athenians, about the city of Sigeum, hath coſt the learned a good deal of trouble. Herodotus doth not ſay any thing of Pittacus, in the account he gives us of this buſineſs; but Plutarch alleges this as one inſtance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any ſtate but the Athenians juſtice (1). Plutarch, indeed, in commending exceſſively Pittacus's enſnaring Phrynon, ſeems to ſpeak him a little prejudiced on that ſide, at leaſt as the rules of honour are now ſettled. Polyænus tells this ſtory, without making any farther obſervation, than that Pittacus was undoubtedly the firſt inventor of the art of net-fighting (2), which was af-

(1) Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot. lib. i. cap. 28.

(2) Polyæn. Stratag.

terwards

About ſeven years after this war was ended, Athens was torn by civil diſſenſions. Cylon, a man of a moſt antient family, ſon-in-law to Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, whoſe affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whoſe great riches procured him many dependents, formed a deſign of ſeizing the ſupreme power; this he communicated to ſuch as he thought fit to be truſted with ſo important a ſecret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to conſult the oracle of Apollo, which would be the fitteſt time for them to put this deſign in execution. The oracle anſwered, "When the citizens were employed in celebrating the higheſt feaſt to Jupiter." Cylon and his aſſociates waited therefore for the forty-fifth Olympiad, and when many of the citizens were gone to the Olympic games, the conſpirators made themſelves maſters of the citadel. Megacles, at that time archon, with his eight aſſociates, and the whole power of Athens, immediately beſieged them; and Cylon and his party found themſelves ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed, eſpecially for proviſions and water, that they knew not what reſolution to take. Their chief and his brother found means to make their eſcape, but the meaner ſort were left to ſhift for themſelves[1]. In this extremity they fled to the temple of Minerva, where they took ſanctuary. Megacles perſuaded them with much difficulty to come down from thence, and to truſt to the clemency of their country; when they aſſented to this propoſal, they tied a cord to the image of the goddeſs, and carried the clew with them to demonſtrate that they were ſtill under ſanctuary; but unfortunately, as they paſſed the temple of the Furies, the line ſnapped of itſelf. Megacles and his officers conſtruing this accident into a renunciation of them by the goddeſs, fell upon them, and put them to death without mercy: ſuch as were without the temple were immediately diſpatched; thoſe that retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none eſcaped but ſuch as bribed the wives of the officers of juſtice. But this ſlaughter did not put an end to the ſedition. The remains of Cylon's faction created great diſturbances, not

Yr. of Fl. 1749. Ante Chr. 599.

Cylon forms a conſpiracy to ſeize the ſupreme power,

but fails in his attempt, and is murdered.

[1] Herodot. lib. v. Thucyd. lib. i.

terwards common among the Romans in their ſhews, but with this difference from Pittacus's behaviour, that the retiarius fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas Phrynon knew nothing of a net till he found himſelf intangled in it.

by pretending to direct the opinions of their countrymen, but by inſinuating that the violation of Minerva's ſanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the misfortunes that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. Theſe inſinuations had ſuch an effect, that Megacles and his officers were ſtyled execrable, and held to be perſons under the peculiar diſpleaſure of the gods [k]. What happened in conſequence of this we ſhall ſhortly ſee: in the mean time, let us obſerve that the oracle of Apollo juſtified itſelf by declaring that Cylon and his adherents miſtook the feaſt; that intended by the oracle being the Diaſia, held in Athens to the honour of Jupiter, and not the Olympic games [l] (D).

The Megarenſians take Niſea and Salamis.

While Athens was in this confuſion, the Megarenſians attacked Niſea; having taken it, they drove the Athenians out of Salamis, which the latter endeavoured to recover; but in vain, for the Megarenſians, continually

[k] Plutarch. in Vita Solon. [l] Dacier in Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

(D) There was, for a long time after the democracy took place, a ſtrong party againſt it, who left no meaſures untried, in order to reſtore their ancient form of government. Cylon, as a man of quality, repined at the ſudden change of the magiſtrates, and at the thoughts of aſking that as a favour, which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The deſign of ſeizing the citadel, if it had ſucceeded, would, in all probability, have ended the diſpute in his favour; but the number he drew together proving far inferior to thoſe who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwiſe than he expected, and to endure a ſiege where he hoped to make a conqueſt (4). In the citadel, there were two temples to Minerva; that ſeated in the middle was ſtyled Parthenion, alluding to her conſtant preſervation of her virginity: it was afterwards burnt by the Perſians, but repaired by Pericles, with ſuch ſkill as well as magnificence, that the remains are admirable, and ſhew it to have been one of the fineſt ſtructures in the world (5). As to the proceeding againſt Cylon's confederates, it was againſt the common cuſtom of Greece, and might eaſily alarm a nation ſo prone to ſuperſtition as the Athenians were; for, though they had the moſt penetrating genius of all the inhabitants of Greece, yet, in theſe reſpects, they were more ſcrupulous than any other people, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory, when we come to ſpeak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

(4) Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in Vit. Solonis. Wheeler's Voyages. (5) Cecropia.

victorious

victorious, cut off ſuch numbers of them, that at laſt, deſpairing of ſucceſs, and afflicted with the great loſs they had received, the Athenians made a law, that it ſhould be capital for any one to propoſe to attempt the recovery of Salamis [m]. About this time the city was exceedingly diſturbed with ſuperſtitious fears, and frightful appearances, which moved them to conſult the oracle; and the anſwer they received was, that the city muſt be expiated. Upon this reſponſe, Nicias was ſent to Crete, to bring from thence Epimenides the Pheſtian, reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep ſkill in the myſteries of religion. He coming to Athens, took ſome ſheep that were all black, and others that were all white; theſe he led into the areopagus, and turning them looſe, directed certain perſons to follow them, who ſhould mark where they couched, and there ſacrifice them to the local deity. This ceremony being performed, altars were erected in all theſe places, to perpetuate the memory of this ſolemn expiation. Epimenides directed alſo many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly noted, viz. the chapel of Contumely, and the chapel of Impudence. He looked earneſtly on the port of Munychia for a long time, and ſaid to thoſe who were near him, "How blind is man to future things! for did the Athenians foreſee what miſchief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth [n]." This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and ſeventy years after, when Antipater conſtrained the Athenians to admit his garriſon into that place. During his ſtay at Athens he became intimately acquainted with Solon, who was already taken notice of for his ſhining parts and admirable moderation. As for Epimenides, the Athenians were highly ſatisfied with what he did for them; and, in token of their gratitude, offered him preſents of great value, and conſiderable honours; but he requeſted only a branch of the ſacred olive; and this being granted, he returned, well ſatisfied, to Crete [o] (E).

Epimenides ſent for.

His prediction.

It

[m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [n] Diogen. Laertius, in Vita Epimen.
[o] Plutarch. in Vita Solon.

(E) This Epimenides was a very extraordinary perſon. Diogenes Laertius tells us, that he was the inventor of the art of luſtrating or cleanſing houſes, or rather, that he was the firſt that luſtrated houſes or fields, which, if ſpoken of Greece, may be true, for Moſes had, long before, taught ſomething

Yr. of Fl. 751. Ante Chr. 597.

It was about this time that Solon began to ſhew himſelf to his countrymen, and to diſplay thoſe qualities which rendered

Solon.

of this nature to the Jews. This was practiſed on the great day of atonement, which might properly be called the annual luſtration of Iſrael. Upon that day the prieſt took for himſelf a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the prieſt offered for himſelf; then he caſt lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of Jehovah, and was offered; the other Azazel, or, as we tranſlate it, the ſcape-goat; the latter was preſented alſo before the altar of God, and the prieſt laying his hands upon him, confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of Iſrael, and all their tranſgreſſions, which Moſes calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then ſent away into the wilderneſs, "becauſe he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of ſeparation (1)." The reader will perceive that we have given this account of the ſcape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is ſaid of Epimenides's method of cleanſing the city of Athens, which has a viſible reſemblance, and was, in all probability, copied from it, or from the cuſtom of ſome other eaſtern nations, which originally borrowed it from the Hebrews. There were, however, other ceremonies practiſed for the ſame purpoſe. Tzetzes, in his poetical chronicle, has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which luſtrations were made, their cauſes and effects.

Thus was, in ancient times, luſtration made:
When any city groan'd beneath the weight
Of famine, plague, or worſe calamity,
Forthwith a grateful victim was prepar'd,
Which at the holy altar, when they'd plac'd,
They caſt upon the pile cheeſe, cakes, and figs;
Then ſtriking quick ſeven times its genitals
With ſea-leeks, and wild figs, and other fruits,
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood, cut from unplanted trees;
Next tow'rds the wind the ſportive aſhes caſt
Upon the ſea; thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city laboured, drove away (2).

As to Epimenides, Strabo reports that he made a great uſe of verſes and of hymns in his purifications (3); and Suidas tells us, that he wrote in verſe many rules and inſtructions for this ſort of rites (4). Laertius reports, that as he was about to mark a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction: "Not to the nymphs,

(1) Leviticus xvi.
(2) Tzetzes, Chil. Hiſt. ver. 93.
(3) Geogr. lib. x.
(4) In voce Επιμ.

rendered him ſo deſervedly beloved while living, and which have preſerved, uninjured, for ſo long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was, in every reſpect, formed to make a figure in the Athenian commonwealth. He was noble by birth, for he deſcended lineally from Codrus; his mother was nearly related to the mother of Piſiſtratus, and he had a brother, called Dropides, who was archon the year after himſelf [p]. We are told that he was born at Salamis; however, we think that aſſertion may be doubted. As honourable as his family was, the generoſity of his father left Solon in no very affluent condition. Narrow circumſtances engaged him in merchandize, though he might otherwiſe have ſubſiſted decently by the aſſiſtance of his friends; but this dependency did not ſuit that greatneſs of ſoul which he inherited; he choſe, therefore to travel, and to merchandize, that he might live independent at home on his return, and not ſuffer that houſe to receive kindneſſes, whoſe cuſtom it had been to beſtow them. It is plain, both from his actions and his writings, that he was a diſintereſted patriot. The ſhameful decree, that none under pain of death ſhould mention the recovery of Salamis, grieved him ſo much, that he compoſed an elegy, conſiſting of a hundred verſes, to inflame the minds of the people againſt the Megarenſians, who had taken from them that iſland. Having digeſted this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran

[p] Diod. Laert. Vit. Solon.

nymphs, but to Jupiter." Beſides the prophecy before mentioned, relating to the haven Munychia, Epimenides uttered another during his ſtay at Athens; for hearing that the citizens were alarmed at the progreſs of the Perſian power at ſea, he propheſied that the Perſians would not, for many years, attempt hoſtilities againſt the Greeks; and when they did, that nation would receive greater loſs than they would be able to bring upon the ſtates they ſought to deſtroy (5). Having related ſuch uncommon circumſtances of this prophet and philoſopher, it will be proper to cloſe this note with obſerving, that the ſacred olive was the tree produced by Minerva when ſhe contended with Neptune; and that Ariſtotle was an infidel, with reſpect to the ſtories of Epimenides' foretelling future events; that famous ſage being of opinion our luſtrator's talents lay quite another way, viz. in diſcovering what old crimes had produced preſent puniſhments, and how atonement might be made, and thoſe ills taken away.

(5) In Vit. Epimenid.

into the market-place, as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and aſcending the ſtool of the common cryer, he repeated, with great vehemence, the elegy he had compoſed, to the people who gathered round him. That poem began thus:

From Salamis, behold a cryer come,
Who brings you news, in nervous verſes home.

But the moſt moving ſtrokes, in this celebrated poem, were contained in the following verſes;

Rather than Athens, would I ow'd my birth,
To Pholegondrian, or Sicinian earth;
Since men will ſay, wherever I am toſt,
He's of that daſtard race, who Salamis have loſt.

It ended thus:

To Salamis let us renew our claim,
And with the iſle reſtor'd, reſtore our fame.

Perſuades the Athenians to attempt the recovery of Salamis.

Piſiſtratus, who was his near relation, mixed with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he, by his perſuaſive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which Solon had kindled by his verſes; ſo that, of a ſudden, the ſentiments of the Athenians were wholly changed: they determined to aſſert their right to Salamis, and decreed a war accordingly. It is not eaſy to diſcover who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition; ſome ſay Solon, and that Piſiſtratus accompanied him; others ſay that Piſiſtratus went general, and that Solon aſſiſted him with his advice [q] (F).

There

[q] Plut. Diog. Laert. Pauſan. &c.

(F) The name of Solon's father was Euphorion, or, as moſt writers affirm, Execeſtides; we know nothing more of him, than that, notwithſtanding his liberality, and the nobility of his deſcent, he was far from being conſiderable in Athens. Ariſtotle reckons Solon himſelf among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth is, that Solon was never rich, becauſe he was honeſt: ſomething of this ſort ſeems to be implied in the following verſes:

Many unjuſt grow rich, and pious poor;
We would not change our virtue for their ſtore;
For conſtant virtue is the ſolid baſe,
Riches from man to man uncertain paſs (6).

(6) Plutarch. in Vita Solonis.

In

There are various accounts of the manner in which Salamis was again reduced under the Athenian power. The moſt current ſtory is, that Solon, coming with Piſiſtratus to Colias, and finding the women buſy in celebrating, according to the cuſtom, the feaſt of Ceres, ſent a confident to Salamis, who, pretending to be no friend to that people, told the inhabitants that, if they were inclined to ſeize the faireſt of the Athenian ladies, they might find an opportunity, by paſſing over to Colias. The Megarenſians, giving eaſy credit to what this man ſaid, fitted out a ſhip, which Solon perceiving from the oppoſite ſhore, immediately diſmiſſed the women, and having dreſſed a ſufficient number of beardleſs youths, in female habits, under which they concealed every one a dagger, he ſent them to the ſea-ſide to dance and divert themſelves as the women uſed to do. When thoſe who came from Salamis drew near the coaſt, and ſaw theſe young people amuſing themſelves, they leaped on ſhore with great eagerneſs, to ſeize the ſuppoſed females; but their ſhip was ſurpriſed, themſelves were murdered, and the Athenians embarking on board their veſſel, ſailed immediately to Salamis, which they reduced. Polyænus has inſerted this relation, and Plutarch alſo admits that it was the received account; he tells us, however, that others had related it after this manner: the firſt thing Solon did after he was

By what ſtratagem recovered.

In his youth he was much addicted to poetry, and as he had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and publiſhed a great many poems; certain it is, that all he did in this way deſerves the higheſt commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his ſubjects uſeful and ſublime; and therefore Plato had juſt reaſon to ſay, that if he had finiſhed all his poems, and particularly the hiſtory he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to reviſe and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Heſiod, or any other ancient poet would have been more famous (7) He had a juſt and high idea of the power of verſe, which he thought capable of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in proſe with peculiar neatneſs of expreſſion and perſpicuity. It is evident, both from the life and writings of Solon, that he was a perſon not only of exalted virtue, but of a moſt agreeable temper. He loved ſociety, and made it his buſineſs to promote the welfare of ſociety. His inſtitutions are as remarkable for their lenity and practibility, as thoſe of Lycurgus are for harſhneſs and forcing human nature.

(7) In Timæ.

appointed

appointed director of this expedition, was to conſult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, from whom he received this reſponſe:

Let ſacrifice be to thoſe heroes paid,
Who under the Aſopian ground are laid,
And dead, are by the ſetting ſun ſurvey'd.

Solon undertook to explain this dark prediction, and was ſo happy as to interpret it right. He conjectured that the heroes, mentioned by the oracle, were Periphemis and Cychris; he ſailed, therefore, by night, to Salamis, and made offerings at their tombs. This ceremony being performed, he aſſembled a body of five hundred Athenian volunteers, who, if they ſucceeded, were to have the government of the iſland. Theſe embarked in a galley of thirty oars, and in a conſiderable number of fiſhing boats, and ſetting ſail in the evening, arrived, the day following, in a bay of the iſle of Salamis, which looked towards Eubœa. The next morning the whole iſland was alarmed, though they did not know on what account; at laſt, the Athenian galley being deſcried, the Megarenſians manned a ſtout ſhip, which doubling the cape, in order to attack the galley, was on a ſudden ſurrounded by Solon's armed boats, and ſoon taken. The Athenians having put to death all the men they had ſurpriſed in this veſſel, filled it with their braveſt youth, dreſſed in Megarenſian habits, which procured them an eaſy entrance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haſte on ſhore, and attacked thoſe who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time the remainder of the Athenians marched by land, and attacked the city on the other ſide with ſuch fury, that it was ſpeedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event, they inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt, during which an Athenian ſhip came, as it were, privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man leaped on ſhore, and ran towards the promontory of Sciradium, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there ſtood a temple dedicated to Mars, ſuppoſed to have been erected by Solon, in memory of this victory, which put the Athenians in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland, the reſt of the Megarenſians retiring to their own country, in virtue of a treaty concluded with Solon. The Megarenſians ſo highly reſented the loſs of Salamis, that, notwithſtanding the treaty, they preſently ſent new forces thither, againſt whom the Athenians fought, ſometimes with good,

Different accounts of the taking of Salamis.

good, ſometimes with ill fortune. At laſt it was decreed to leave this diſpute to the Lacedæmonians, who commiſſioned the five following perſons: Critolaides, Amompharetus, Hypſechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes, to hear both parties. Solon pleaded on this occaſion the cauſe of his country, and ſome have ſuggeſted that he practiſed a little fraud to make it ſucceed. They ſay, that finding the following verſe in Home:

Ajax from Salamis twelve frigates brought,

he added thereto,

And rang'd his troops where the Athenians fought.

From whence he would have inferred, that Salamis at that time belonged to the Athenians. But the friends of Solon aſſert, that this is an idle ſtory, and that their great orator made uſe of quite another proof; he made it appear, that Philæus and Euryſaces, the ſons of Ajax, ſettled at Athens, and being received into the number of citizens, gave up that iſland to the Athenians, Philæus becoming ſo conſiderable a perſon, that one of their wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the perſons buried in Salamis lay with their faces to the weſt, agreeable to the cuſtom of the Athenians, and directly contrary to that of the Megarenſians, who turned the faces of their dead towards the eaſt; and that only one perſon was laid in a grave, which likewiſe correſponded with the practice of the Athenians, and differed from the Megarenſian cuſtom, which was to bury three or four in one grave [r]. It would be needleſs to fatigue the reader with any farther circumſtances of this debate; let is ſuffice to ſay, that Solon carried his cauſe, not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of ſtrong argument, urged in plain and perſpicuous terms [s].

The claim of the Athenians to Salamis, on what founded.

On the return of Solon to Athens, he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occaſion of admiring his wiſdom. It happened that the inhabitants of Cirrha, a town ſeated in the bay of Corinth, after having, by repeated incurſions, waſted the territory of Delphi, beſieged the city itſelf, from a greedy deſire of making themſelves maſters of the riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this outrage being ſent to the Amphictyons, who were the ſtates-

[r] Plut. in Vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. cap. 19.

[s] Var. Hiſt. lib. vii.

general

general of Greece, Solon adviſed that this matter ſhould be univerſally reſented; and that all the Greek ſtates ſhould immediately join in ſaving the Delphic oracle, and puniſhing the impiety of the Cirrhæans; with which propoſal the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war againſt that people. Solon was not appointed general of this expedition, as Hermippus, from another author, relates, nor did he command the Athenian troops. Clyſthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, commanded in chief, and Alcmæon was general of the Athenian quota; Solon acted as counſellor or aſſiſtant to Clyſthenes; and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a proſperous iſſue. When the Greek army had beſieged Cirrha ſome time, without any ſign of ſucceſs, Apollo was conſulted, who anſwered,

A general war decreed againſt the Cirrhæans.

> In vain you hope to take the place before
> The ſea's blue waves roll o'er the hallow'd ſhore.

This reſponſe ſtruck the army with ſurprize, from whence Solon extricated them by adviſing Clyſthenes to conſecrate ſolemnly the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow that the ſea muſt waſh the ſacred coaſt [t]. Pauſanius tells us that he made uſe of another ſtratagem, which was this; he cauſed the channel of the river Pliſtus to be turned, which ran through the city of Cirrha, hoping to have diſtreſſed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his ſcheme did not thoroughly ſucceed. He then cauſed a great number of hellebore roots to be ſliced and thrown into the Pliſtus, and when the water was thoroughly impregnated with the juice of theſe roots, he turned the river into its old channel. The Cirrhæans, overjoyed at the ſight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly; an epidemic flux enſued, and the citizens, being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was ſoon taken. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were ſeverely puniſhed, and Cirrha became thenceforward the arſenal of Delphi [u].

The city of Cirrha, by what means reduced.

When Solon returned from this expedition he found all things out of order: the remnant of Cylon's faction began to gather ſtrength, and to excite groat diſturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to embroil the whole ſtate. They gave out confidently, that

[t] Plut. in Vita Solon. [u] Pauſan. in Phocicis. Polyæn. Strat. lib. iii. p. 7. Suidas in voce Σολων.

all

all the misfortunes the republic had met with, were derived from the anger of the gods, occaſioned by the impious cruelty of Megacles and his faction. It happened that the loſs of Salamis a ſecond time coincided with this clamour. Solon interpoſed on this occaſion, and perſuaded thoſe who were ſtyled execrable to abide a trial. To this experiment when they had conſented, three hundred perſons were choſen judges. One Myron, of the Phlyenſian ward, taking upon him to proſecute, exerted himſelf with ſuch effect, that the three hundred condemned ſuch of Megacles's faction as were living, to perpetual baniſhment, and cauſed the bones of ſuch as were dead to be taken up and caſt without the limits of their country; thus this ſedition was appeaſed, and the tranquility of Athens was reſtored [w].

New diſturbances in Athens.

The mutineers condemned to perpetual baniſhment.

The turbulent diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Attica would not ſuffer them to remain long in quiet. They ſoon began to be diſpleaſed with their conſtitution, though they could not agree how it ſhould be improved. Theſe diſputes divided the Athenians into three parties, the Diacrii, Pediæi, and Parali; the firſt were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared poſitively for a perfect democracy; the ſecond, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, inſiſted upon an oligarchy, ſuppoſing that the government would then be for the moſt part in their hands; the third part, living on the coaſt, were men of moderate principles, and deſired a mixed government. In the midſt of theſe debates there ſprung up a new cauſe of trouble; the rich taking advantage of the laws, oppreſſed and enſlaved the poorer ſort in ſuch a manner, as they were unable to bear. The meaner people being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the ſixth part of the produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, ſo that ſome were made ſlaves at home, and many ſold abroad; nay, to ſuch a pitch of miſery was this miſchief grown, that many ſold their children to pay their creditors, and others in deſpair quitted their native country. Such as had more reſolution than the reſt, were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be borne; theſe began to look about for a leader, declaring openly that they intended to make a thorough change in the government, to free ſuch as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a repartition of lands. In this deſperate ſituation the citizens in general

Three different factions in Athens.

Diſturbances raiſed by the debtors.

[w] Plutarch. in Vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. in Vita Solonis.

caſt

Some are for raiſing Solon to the ſovereignty.

caſt their eyes upon Solon. Thoſe who were in the greateſt fear of what might happen from preſent troubles, wiſhed to exalt him to the ſovereignty; and the moſt prudent Athenians, when they conſidered how difficult it would be to reform ſo diſordered a commonwealth by law and reaſon, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the oracle of Apollo adviſed the ſame expedient in the following reſponſe directed to Solon:

> Aſſume the helm, the ſhip with prudence guide,
> And thouſands will aſſiſt to ſtem the tide.

It was upon this occaſion that Solon ſhewed a ſpirit of patriotiſm which perhaps never had its equal: he condeſcended ſo far as to make uſe of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatneſs of ſoul diſſembled with and cheated both parties, that he might ſave all. Had he accepted the ſovereignty, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wiſh, and might have done his country ſervice: he refuſed this as far as it might have benefited himſelf, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince, to benefit the people; thus he demonſtrated that neither fear nor indolence had any ſhare in his reſolution [x].

Which he declines.

Is choſen archon.

He was choſen archon without having recourſe to lots, and when he was elected he diſappointed the hopes of both parties. Wherever he found things tolerable under the old conſtitution, he refuſed to alter them; and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reaſon and neceſſity of thoſe changes he made, laying this down as a maxim, "That thoſe laws will be beſt obſerved which power and juſtice equally ſupport." He was a perfect judge of human nature, and ſought to rule men by convincing them it was their intereſt to obey, and not by attempting to force upon them whatever he eſteemed right; and therefore he anſwered a perſon who aſked him "Whether he had given the Athenians the beſt laws in his power;" "I have eſtabliſhed the beſt they could receive." Knowing that it was impoſſible to pleaſe all, he made it his utmoſt care not eſſentially to diſpleaſe any; whence it followed, that none ſought to abrogate the laws he enacted.

Solon compoſes the diſſenſion of the Athenians.

As to the occaſion of the ſedition, namely, the oppreſſed ſtate of the meaner rank, he took it away in a great meaſure by a contrivance which he ſtyled ſiſachthia, i. e. *a diſcharge*; but what this was, authors are not agreed;

[x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

ſome

ſome ſay that he releaſed all debts then exiſting, and prohibited for the future the making any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm that the poor were eaſed, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the intereſt, and increaſing the value of money; a mina, which before was worth ſeventy-three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, a meaſure which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt. But, after all, it is more probable that the ſiſachthia was a total diſcharge or remiſſion, otherwiſe Solon would not have aſſerted, that by this expedient he had removed the many marks of mortgages which were every where to be ſeen; for the Athenians had a cuſtom of hanging up billets to ſhew that houſes were mortgaged for a certain ſum of money; that he had freed from apprehenſion ſuch as were driven to deſpair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad till they forgot their native language; and delivered from bondage ſuch as were ſlaves in their native ſoil. In the midſt of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almoſt overturned all his ſchemes. Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, his intimate friends, having been conſulted by him on an oration he had prepared to engage the people to conſent to the diſcharge of debts, on a promiſe that he would attempt nothing as to lands; theſe men, betraying the truſt he repoſed in them, borrowed great ſums of money, and purchaſed eſtates before the edict came out: this traffic was at firſt thought to have been the effect of connivance, but the aſperſion was wiped off, when it appeared that Solon himſelf was a ſufferer, as ſome ſay, five talents, others ſeven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at intereſt, and which in conſequence of his own law he loſt: his friends however could never recover their credit, but were for ever ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of chreocopidæ, i. e. *debt-ſinkers* [r].

The ungenerous conduct of three of his friends.

Groundleſs aſperſions againſt Solon.

The Athenians ſoon began to be as little pleaſed with Solon's management as with their former condition, the rich and poor being equally diſſatisfied; the former thought he had done too much in cancelling their debts; the latter thought he had done too little, becauſe he had not divided the lands of Attica equally amongſt them. It is from Solon himſelf that we have this account, and we have it in his uſual manner, that is, in verſe:

[r] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

I was

I once your favourite was, but now
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but me obtain'd your grace,
He would have claim'd a ſal'ry with his place.

In a ſhort time, however, they had judgement enough to diſcover they were in the wrong, and they gave at leaſt a more public, if not a more general token of their repentance, than they had ſhewn of their diſpleaſure; for they inſtituted a ſolemn ſacrifice in teſtimony of their acquieſcing under the inſtitution, and called it ſiſachthia; at the ſame time they unanimouſly elected Solon, legiſlator of Athens, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their conſtitution as he ſhould think proper [z].

Is declared legiſlator of Athens.

The firſt ſtep this great man took, after his country had conferred upon him ſo extraordinary an office, was to cancel the laws of Draco, excepting only thoſe relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, ſince there is nothing more diſhonourable, and at the ſame time more dangerous to a ſtate than latent laws, i. e. ſuch as are diſuſed, and yet in being, which was the caſe of Draco's; their ſeverity rendering them hateful, Solon took away their authority; nor would he ſuffer his inſtitutions to bear the ſame name. It was the deſire of Solon to act in all reſpects moderately; he therefore reſolved to place the ſupreme power in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles: with this view he divided the people into four degrees, or ranks; the firſt of theſe conſiſted of ſuch whoſe ſtock amounted to five hundred medimni, or meaſures of fruit; theſe he ſtyled Pentacoſimedimni, and they paid a talent to the public treaſury. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of ſuch as were able to keep a horſe, or were worth three hundred meaſures; they were ſtyled Hippodatelountes, i. e. *bound to find a horſe.* The third claſs was compoſed of ſuch as were worth two hundred meaſures; they were ſtyled Zengites, which implies a middle rank, becauſe they ſtood between the knights, and the loweſt order of the people, who were ſtyled Thetes; theſe were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general aſſembly of the people, which was thought at firſt a matter of little conſequence, ſo that the nobility gave themſelves no pain about it, though, in after-times, it was found of the higheſt conſequence, as Solon foreſaw it would be; the reaſon

Cancels the laws of Draco.

Divides the people into four ranks.

[z] Plutarch. ubi ſupra, &c.

was

was this: Solon purpoſely drew up his laws in obſcure terms, and allowing, in all caſes, an appeal to the people, doubts often aroſe; appeals were conſequently frequent; and hence, though the common ſort could not attain to magiſtracy, yet they had a great power in the ſtate.

Herein conſiſted the ancient democracy of Athens; but becauſe that kind of government is, in its nature, more apt to change than any other, Solon, in order to ſecure it, eſtabliſhed two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make uſe of his metaphor, threw out two anchors to ſecure it. The firſt of theſe was the court of areopagus, which, though ſettled long before, had loſt much of its power by Draco's preferring the ephetæ. In ancient times, it conſiſted of ſuch perſons as were moſt conſpicuous in the ſtate for their wealth, power, and probity; but Solon made it a rule, that ſuch only ſhould have a ſeat, as had ſerved the office of archon: this had the effect he deſigned; it raiſed the reputation of the areopagites very high, and rendered their decrees ſo wonderfully venerable, that none conteſted or repined at them, through a long courſe of ages. The ſecond prop of the Athenian commonwealth was the ſenate, which Solon made to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. Theſe had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be propoſed to the general aſſembly till digeſted by them; ſo that, as far as he was able, he provided againſt a thirſt of arbitrary power in the rich, and a deſire of licentious freedom in the commons; the areopagus being a check upon the former, as the ſenate was a curb on the latter [a].

Raiſes the reputation of the areopagites.

The ſenate.

The general frame of the republic thus ſettled, he gave the Athenians a body of laws, of which we have ſtill ſome remaining; theſe were ſo much eſteemed, that the Romans ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to tranſcribe them for the uſe of their ſtate. As theſe tranſcribed laws became the baſis of the Roman juriſprudence, which has ſince been received almoſt throughout Europe, under the name of the civil law; we may with reaſon affirm, that many of Solon's conſtitutions are yet in force. Such as are aſcribed to him by ancient authors we ſhall give a conciſe account of in this place.

We will begin with one of the moſt extraordinary ſtatutes enacted by this lawgiver, and which has given poli-

His laws.

[a] Pollux, lib viii. cap. 10. Plutarch, ubi ſupra. Potter's Archeologia, Meurſius, Solon, &c.

ticians the moſt trouble to underſtand; we are obliged to A. Gellius for preſerving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus: "If, through diſcord and diſſenſion, any ſedition or inſurrection diſtract the people into two parties, ſo that with exaſperated minds they take arms and fight againſt each other; he who at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a caſe, ſhall not engage himſelf on one ſide or other, but ſhall endeavour to retire and ſeparate himſelf from the evils fallen on his country, let ſuch a one, loſing houſes, country, and eſtate, be ſent out an exile [b]." Plutarch explains the reaſon of it [c], as does the firſt author cited, who highly commends it, and ſays, that though at firſt ſight it may ſeem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to ſupport it; for the wiſe and juſt, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to chuſe ſome ſide, matters were eaſily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the caſe with other cities, had the management of factions, they would, for private reaſons, be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin of the ſtate [d].

Relating to ſeditions.

His rules relating to heireſſes.

The rules which Solon gave for beſtowing heireſſes have been very harſhly cenſured; we will collect them, that the reader may ſee the general intent of the legiſlator. The next of kin to an heireſs may require her in marriage, and ſhe may likewiſe require him; if he refuſes, let him pay five hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who poſſeſſeth ſuch an inheritrix by law, as her lord and maſter, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her huſband's neareſt kindred; and let him who has married an heireſs be obliged to viſit her thrice a month at leaſt. The intent of theſe injunctions was, that neither a rich heireſs might carry the eſtate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to the law, allowing a woman to have recourſe to ſome of her huſband's relations, it might poſſibly have been made to prevent perſons, who knew themſelves to be impotent, from marrying ſuch heireſſes, and depriving the next relation of his due [e].

To marriages.

He enacted, that a bride ſhould bring no more with her than three robes, and ſome ſlight houſehold goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom ſhould be ſhut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the

[b] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12. [c] Ubi ſupra. [d] A. Gellius ubi ſupra. [e] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. D. Sicul. lib. xii. Terent. Hecyr. act. i. ſcen. ii.

bride

bride likewiſe brought an earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the houſe of her huſband. The meaning of all this was, that Solon deſired to render marriage no longer a mercenary buſineſs, but a contract of minds, founded upon mutual affection; the eating of the quince implied, that their diſcourſes ought to be pleaſant to each other, that fruit making the breath ſweet; the earthen veſſel, which was called phrogeteon, ſignified that ſhe undertook the buſineſs of the houſe, and would do her part towards providing for the family [f].

Forbids to revile the dead, or the living.

He ordained, that none ſhould revile the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceaſed. This law procured him great applauſe, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed, that none ſhould revile any living perſon at ſacred ſolemnities, in the courts of juſtice, or at public ſpectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the perſon reviled, and two more to the public treaſury. He likewiſe made a law againſt ſlander. This great man knew, that a general law againſt anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himſelf with providing, that the paſſions of private men ſhould not diſhonour religious ceremonies, the juſtice of the ſtate, or public diverſions, and that no paſſion ſhould excuſe calumny.

Allows the childleſs to leave their eſtates to whom they pleaſed.

Before Solon's time, citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and eſtate went to his heir at law; but Solon, having abrogated this cuſtom, enacted, that ſuch as had no children might leave their eſtates to whom they pleaſed, preferring friendſhip to family, and the ties of affection to conſanguinity; but then he added this proviſo, that the maker of ſuch a will ſhould be in the full poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, not wrought upon by ſickneſs, potions, bondage, or the blandiſhments of a wife. He likewiſe ordained, that adopted perſons ſhould make no will, but as ſoon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted; or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the eſtates to the relations of the perſons who adopted them [g].

Laws relating to women and their expences.

With reſpect to women, and their expences, he made the following laws. When a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three robes, nor any proviſions above the value of an obolus; her pannier

[f] Pollux, lib. i. cap. 12. 15. Iſidor. Epiſt. lib. iii. E. 243.
[g] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Demoſth. Orat. in Leptin.

or baſket was not to be above a cubit in bigneſs, nor was ſhe allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with torch-light. He forbad them likewiſe to tear their cheeks, by way of mourning and lamentation, at the funerals of ſuch as they had no relation to: he would not permit an ox to be ſacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments ſhould be buried with the dead; and he forbade women to approach the monument of perſons not related to them, except at the time of their interment [h].

Relating to idleneſs.

The liberty, and other emoluments enjoyed at Athens, drawing thither a great concourſe of people from other parts, Solon foreſaw that this would have bad conſequences, if ſome means were not deviſed to make theſe people induſtrious; he therefore eſtabliſhed by law, that a ſon ſhould be releaſed from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in caſe that father had not bred him up to ſome trade. He veſted the court of areopagus with a power of examining how people lived, and of puniſhing idleneſs: he allowed every man a right to proſecute another for that crime, and in caſe a perſon was convicted of it thrice, he ſuffered atimia, i. e. *infamy*. Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus agree, that a law of this kind was in uſe in Egypt. It is probable, therefore, that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them; a practice for which the Greeks were famous, though at the ſame time they ſtyled thoſe nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed.

To adultery, rapes, and proſtitution.

The huſband who ſurpriſed his wife in adultery, was allowed by Solon to kill the adulterer; whoever raviſhed a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debaſed himſelf ſo low as to become a pander, except to a common woman, ſuffered a fine of twenty drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or ſiſter to the ſcandalous trade of proſtitution, unleſs he firſt ſurpriſed her with a man. He enacted, that no adultereſs ſhould be permitted to adorn herſelf; and in caſe ſhe did, he gave liberty to any perſon to tear her cloaths, and alſo to beat her [i].

To the rewards at the Iſthmian and Olympic games.

To the victor at the Iſthmian games, Solon adjudged the reward of five hundred drachmæ. To the victor of the Olympic, he ordered that one hundred ſhould be

[h] Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii. Orat. de cæd. Erat.

[i] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Lyſias.

given.

given. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon the wreſtlers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs, by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes which ought to be ſpent in providing for their families.

To the extirpating of wolves.

He directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a ſhe-wolf; the former being the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. Attica was at this time extremely infeſted by theſe creatures, of which this law occaſioned a ſpeedy deſtruction.

To wells; to the planting of trees.

Water being extremely ſcarce at Athens, and in its neighbourhood, he ordained that where there was a public well, all who lived within a hippicon, i. e. four furlongs of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived farther off were obliged to dig wells for themſelves; but if a man digged ten fathom, and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of ſix gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well; and whoever ſunk a well, was to take care that it was as far diſtant from his neighbour's as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to ſee that it was five feet diſtant from his neighbour's, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine; a hive of bees was to be thirty feet diſtant; all theſe tended to the ſame end, viz. to prevent one man from treſpaſſing on the property of another [l].

To prodigal perſons.

He enacted, that whoever refuſed to maintain his parents, or had waſted his paternal eſtate, ſhould be atimos, i. e. *infamous*. It ſeems Solon did not conceive that a man could be privately bad and publicly good; that one who neglected his duty to his parents ſhould preſerve it to the ſtate, or be frugal of his country's revenue who had ſpent his own [m].

To ſuch as frequented infamous women.

Such as commonly aſſociated with infamous women, he forbad to make orations; believing, that men without ſhame were not to be truſted to ſpeak to the people: Demoſthenes highly commended this law, and exhorted the Athenians to take care that it was put in execution, as the ſureſt means to preſerve the peace and honour of the republic [n].

To guardians.

He forbad a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; ſome ſay that he forbad likewiſe a guardian to marry his ſon to the mother of his ward [o]. All

[l] Caius de Legib. lib. iv. [m] Liban. Declamat. xviii. Dion. Halyc. lib. ii. [n] Æſchin. in Timarch. Demoſt. in Androt. [o] Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

theſe were beyond queſtion made to hinder colluſion, and to prevent, as far as poſſible, the ſcandalous practice of cheating minors.

Concerning theft. He enjoined gravers to keep no impreſſions of the ſeal-rings they ſold. If a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed that he ſhould loſe both his. As to theft, Demoſthenes gives us Solon's laws in theſe words: "If any man ſteal in the day-time, he may be carried to the eleven officers; if he ſteal any thing by night, it ſhall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the purſuit to wound him, and to carry him to the eleven officers. Whoever is convicted of ſuch offences as are liable to chains, ſhall not be capable of giving bail for his theft, but his puniſhment ſhall be death; and if any one ſteal out of the lyceum, or the academy, or cynoſarges, a garment, or a ſmall veſſel of wine, or any other thing of little value, or ſome veſſel out of the gymnaſia, or havens, he ſhall be puniſhed with death: but if any man ſhall be convicted of private theft, it ſhall be lawful for him to pay a double value; and it ſhall be alſo at the pleaſure of the convictor, beſides payment of money, to put him in chains five days, and as many nights, ſo as all men may ſee him bound[p]."

Miſcellaneous laws. By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be puniſhed with death; Solon wiſely conceiving that a magiſtrate guilty of ſuch an offence muſt be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed, that in caſe a man ſurpriſed his wife in adultery, and lived with her afterwards, he ſhould be deemed infamous; he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter, in caſe of diſobedience, to diſinherit and turn them out of doors. He condemned ſuch as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or ſhewed any other flagrant ſign of cowardice, to be expelled the ſanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worſhip. He appointed it for a ſtatute, that a citizen of Athens ſhould be tried no where but at Athens; and that the eldeſt citizens ſhould firſt make orations, but with the greateſt modeſty, and without any endeavours to ſtir the paſſions of the people: afterwards he ordered that all ſhould ſpeak according to their ſeniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on

[p] Demoſt. in Timocr.

any

any matter in debate; but he prohibited young men, however wiſe they might be eſteemed, either to become magiſtrates, or to make orations to the people [q].

It was a maxim eſtabliſhed by this wiſe legiſlator, that the common people ſhould be puniſhed ſlowly, but magiſtrates and perſons in authority ſuddenly; aſſigning for it this reaſon, that the former might be puniſhed at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to the funerals, the expence of which were in his time exceſſive, Demoſthenes recites his directions in theſe words: "Let the dead bodies be laid out within the houſe, according as the deceaſed gave order; and the day following, before ſun-riſe, carried forth: whilſt the body is carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the women follow: it ſhall not be lawful for any woman to enter upon the goods of the deceaſed, and to follow the body to the grave under threeſcore years of age, except ſuch as were within the degree of couſins [r]." Cicero reports that, with reſpect to ſepulchres, he enacted, that no man ſhould demoliſh them, or bring any new thing into them, and that ſuch ſhould be puniſhed as demoliſhed any monuments erected to the memory of the dead [s]. From theſe laws of his inſtituting, it appears that his philoſophy did not lead to treſpaſs on thoſe notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he ſought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the ſame time permitted all reaſonable honours to be paid to the memory of the defunct.

His directions concerning funerals,

and monuments.

We will conclude our account of Solon's laws with two or three which had more regard to ſociety, than to the intereſt of private perſons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured another, any Athenian might have his action againſt him [t]; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided againſt the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquieſce, yet a perſon of equal rank with the aggreſſor, might, either out of a principle of juſtice or of rivalſhip, commence a proſecution on that account. Solon inſtituted feaſts in the common halls under the title of public meals; but he forbad that the ſame perſon ſhould be entertained often, and ordered ſuch to be fined as did not

Provides againſt the power of the great.

Different regulations.

[q] Demoſth. ubi ſupra. Æſchin. in Chryſip. [r] Orat. in Macart.
[s] De Legib. lib. ii. [t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

come in their turns; aſcribing the former offence to greedineſs, the latter to a contempt of the public. He forbad any ſtrangers to be naturalized at Athens, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to Athens, had brought their whole families to ſettle there, ſo as to have no intereſt in another place[u]. He provided for the children of ſuch as were ſlain in the ſervice of the ſtate, by directing that they ſhould be brought up and inſtructed at the public expence, till they were twenty years old[w]. He made but few laws relating to religion; and againſt parricides he made none, aſſigning for it this reaſon, "that he ſcarce believed that any Athenian would be ſo wicked[x]!"

He corrects the irregularity of months.

He ſhewed the excellency of his knowlege by correcting the irregularity of months; for, conſidering that the courſe of the moon did not agree with the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, but that ſometimes ſhe overtook and paſſed him in the ſame day, he ordered ſuch a day to be called the laſt and the firſt, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction, to the old moon, and that which ſucceeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called noumenia, i. e. *the new moon*; and for theſe alterations he is reckoned by Plutarch to have been the firſt who underſtood a verſe in Homer, wherein mention is made of a day "wherein the month ended, and the next began (F)."

He

[u] Meurſ. in Solon. [w] Ariſtides in Panathen. [x] Maxim. Tyr. Diſ. xxxix. Cic. Orat. pro Roſc.

(F) It is a point worthy of obſervation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation as much from the ſtrength of their brain as of their arms; and that though ſome excelled in valour, others in wiſdom, yet, in all, there was a happy mixture of both. Hercules, ſo famed for his labours, inſtructed the Greeks in aſtronomy, which he learned from Atlas; and is thence ſaid, by the poets, to have borne, for a time, the heavens upon his ſhoulders. Numa, as he gave laws to Rome, reformed the Roman kalendar; and in ſucceeding times, Julius Cæſar, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away thoſe errors which were grown reſpectable among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this ſcience of aſtronomy, but as a conſummate maſter. Such alſo was Solon, for the times in which he lived; for, though ſome have pretended to aſcribe the honour of introducing aſtronomy into Greece to Oeropidas of Chios, or Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it; the firſt principles

He procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and cauſed them to be engraved in different tables. Such as related to private actions in parallelograms of wood, with

Cauſes his laws to be conſerved in different tables.

principles of this art came certainly into Greece with the firſt planters, and were from time to time cultivated by ſuch as either came out of Egypt, or the Eaſt, and ſettled in Greece, or had at leaſt travelled into thoſe countries. Thales, the Mileſian, and Pythagoras, the Samian, were the two great maſters who brought the undigeſted notions of the heavenly ſyſtem, which hitherto had amuſed the Greeks, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to Homer, in whoſe poems we meet with the rudiments of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find that he deſcribes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the ſeaſons. The returns of ſeed-time and harveſt, the conſtant revolutions of labour and reſt, in conſequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, ſerved to mark the ſucceſſion of events, and therefore it was an act of judgment in this great poet to make uſe of thoſe characters in his account of a battle (4), as he elſewhere introduces Achilles meaſuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious diviſion of morning, noon, and evening (5). We are not to infer from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of Homer; the contrary appears from ſeveral paſſages in his poems, and particularly from this very line, which Solon is ſaid to have been the firſt who penetrated its true ſenſe:

Τῷ μὲν φθινόντος μηνὸς τῷ δ' ἱσταμένοιο.

When one month ended, and the next began (6).

Thales divided the year into twelve months, making each month conſiſt of thirty days, and the year, conſequently, of three hundred and ſixty days; but finding that this year did not anſwer the motion of the ſun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, becauſe it happened at the beginning of the third year, ſome have miſtaken for a triennial period. It is eaſy to perceive that this method of Thales muſt, in a ſhort time, have introduced great confuſion, there being a redundancy of almoſt ten days in a year (7). Solon diſcovered this, and alſo its principal cauſe, which was Thales's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days: this Solon found to be falſe, and that the true time was was twenty-nine days and a half. This account ſhews with what juſtice Solon was applauded for his ſkill as an aſtronomer: let us ſee with what dexterity he applied that ſkill as a legiſlator: he did not alter the number of months which Thales had fixed, but

(4) Iliad. A. ver. 84. (5) Iliad. Φ. ver. 23. (6) Odyſſ. Ξ. ver. 162. (7) Diog. Laert. in Vit. Thal.

directed

with caſes which reached from the ground, and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called axones, placed firſt in the citadel, and then in the prytanæum, that people might ſee them when they pleaſed, and ſome remains there were of them in Plutarch's time. Such as concerned public orders and ſacrifices were contained in triangular tables of ſtone, called cyrbes [y]; the Athenian magiſtrates were ſworn to obſerve both: in time theſe monuments of his wiſdom became ſo famous,

[y] Plut. ubi ſupra. Pollux. viii. 10.

directed that each of them ſhould be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred and fifty-four days; but perceiving that this would leave things ſtill in confuſion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the ſolar year, which was thus: at the end of two years he directed a month, of twenty-two days, to be intercalated, and, at the end of a ſecond two years, he ordered that a month of twenty-three days ſhould be intercalated; now, if we take all theſe ſums together, we ſhall find that the number of days in Solon's cycle of four years, was one thouſand four hundred ſixty-one, the fourth part of which is three hundred ſixty-five and a quarter, the true ſolar year, as it was then accounted. Solon, likewiſe, engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts ſtyled the Beginning, Middling, and Ending; each of theſe conſiſted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the laſt of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In ſpeaking of the two firſt parts, they reckoned according to the uſual order of numbers, viz. the firſt day of the moon beginning the ſecond day of the middle moon; but with reſpect to the laſt part of the month, they reckoned backwards; that is, inſtead of ſaying the firſt day of the ending moon, they ſaid the tenth day of the ending moon, and inſtead of the ſecond, the ninth day, and ſo on to the laſt. This is a circumſtance that muſt be carefully noted; for, without being aware of it, it is impoſſible to underſtand many paſſages in ancient authors. As for inſtance, in Ariſtophanes' comedy of the Clouds, a man ſpeaking of the manner in which intereſt became due, reckons the days thus; "five, four, three, two, and the moſt abominable of all days, that of the old and new moon." Thus much as to Solon's knowlege in aſtronomy; we ſhall, in its proper place, give a farther account of the Attic year (8).

(8) Cenſorin. de Die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Græc. Stanley's Life of Solon, cum mult. al.

that

that all public acts were for them named axones, and cyrbes, as we are informed by Harpocration and Suidas [z].

After his laws were promulgated, individuals were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reaſons on which they were founded, and to adviſe him to alter particular parts, as their humour or intereſt led them; which importunities made him ſo uneaſy, that, to avoid them, he reſolved to travel. For he conſidered, that not to anſwer theſe people would argue pride, and that the anſwering them would beget great inconveniences: with this view he bought a ſhip, and pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the Athenians to permit him to be abſent for ten years, during which ſpace he hoped his laws would become familiar to their practice and conception [a]. *Abſents himſelf from Athens for ten years.*

It will not be amiſs to inſert, in this place, our promiſed account of the republic. For the ſake of perſpicuity we ſhall not confine ourſelves to the form ſettled by Solon; but give a conciſe hiſtory of the Athenian government, as it ſubſiſted in ſucceeding times; that we may not be obliged occaſionally to inſert notes for explaining thoſe terms which may be rendered familiar by introducing ſuch an account of the Athenian commonwealth.

In the firſt place, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the city of Athens. In the moſt early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel, was the whole city, known by the name of Cecropia, from its founder Cecrops, whom the Athenians, in after-times, affirmed to have been the firſt builder of cities, and called this, therefore, by way of eminence, Polis, i. e. the City. In the reign of Erichthonius it loſt the name of Cecropia, and acquired that of Athens, on what account is not certain; the moſt probable is, that it was ſo named in reſpect to the goddeſs Minerva, whom the Greeks call Athene, always eſteemed its protectreſs [b]. This old city was ſeated on the top of a rock, in the midſt of a large and pleaſant plain. As the number of inhabitants increaſed, it became full of buildings, and acquired the diſtinction of Acro and Catapolis, i. e. of the Upper and Lower city; the extent of the citadel was ſixty ſtadia; it was ſurrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as ſome ſay, with a ſtrong paliſade; in ſucceeding times it was encompaſſed with a ſtrong wall, in which were nine gates, one very large, and the reſt *Deſcription of the city of Athens.* *The citadel.*

[z] In vocibus Ἄξονες & Κυρβεῖς. [a] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [b] Ariſtid. Panathen. Stephan. voce Ἀθῆναι.

ſmall.

ſmall. The inſide of the citadel was adorned with many edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himſelf from the treatiſe written expreſsly on this ſubject by the learned Meurſius; or an abridgment of it in Potter's Antiquities of Greece [c]. The moſt remarkable of theſe were the following. The magnificent temple of Minerva, ſtyled Parthenion, becauſe that goddeſs was a virgin; the Perſians deſtroyed it, but it was rebuilt, with ſtill greater ſplendor, by the famous Pericles, all of the fineſt marble, with ſuch ſkill and ſtrength, that it remains, perhaps, the firſt antiquity in the world, and ſtands as a witneſs to the truth of what ancient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of Athens in her flouriſhing ſtate. The temple of Neptune and of Minerva, for it was divided into two parts, one ſacred to the god, in which was a ſalt fountain, ſaid to have ſprung upon the ſtroke of his trident; the other to the goddeſs protectreſs of Athens, wherein was the ſacred olive ſhe produced, and her image, which fell down from heaven in the reign of Erichthonius: both theſe edifices are ſtill remaining. At the back of Minerva's temple ſtood the public treaſury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treaſurers, who having miſapplied the revenues of the ſtate, took this ſhort method of making up accounts [d]. The lower city comprehended all the buildings ſurrounding the citadel, the fort Munychia, and the havens Phalerum and Pyræus, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by Pericles, but that on the ſouth by Themiſtocles; but, by degrees, the turrets, at firſt erected on theſe walls, were turned into dwelling-hoſes for the accommodation of the Athenians, whole large city was now become too ſmall for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not neceſſary to trouble the reader. Among the principal edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of Theſeus, erected by Conon; near its centre, adjacent thereto, the young people performed ther exerciſes. It was alſo a ſanctuary for diſtreſſed perſons, whether ſlaves or free: it long remained entire, and was uſed as a church, dedicated to St. George. The Olympian temple, erected in honour of Jupiter, the honour of Athens, and of all Greece.

The temple of Minerva.

The lower city, with its edifices.

The Olympian temple.

[c] Plutarch. in Perici. Pauſan. Attici. Harpocrat. Ariſtid. ubi ſupra. [d] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Harpocrat. &c. Sir George Wheeler's Travels.

The

The foundation of it was laid by Piſiſtratus, and it was carried on ſo ſlowly, that ſeven hundred years elapſed before it was finiſhed. This was the firſt building in which the Athenians beheld pillars. The Pantheon, dedicated to all the gods; a moſt noble ſtructure, ſupported by a hundred and twenty marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horſes carved by Praxiteles. In ſeveral parts of it were ſtaoi, or *porticos*, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a ſect of philoſophers were denominated Stoics, becauſe their maſter Zeno taught in thoſe porticoes [e]. *The Pantheon.*

There were at Athens two places called Ceramicus, from Ceramus, the ſon of Bacchus and Ariadne; one within the city, containing a multitude of buildings of all ſorts; the other in the ſuburbs, in which was the academy, and other edifices. The gymnaſia of Athens were many, but the moſt remarkable were the lyceum, academia, and cynoſarges. The lyceum ſtood on the banks of Iliſſus; ſome ſay it was built by Piſiſtratus, others by Pericles, others by Lycurgus. Here Ariſtotle taught philoſophy, inſtructing ſuch as came to hear him as they walked, whence his diſciples are generally thought to have derived the name of Peripatetics [f]. The Ceramicus, without the city, was at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia from its walls; the academy made part; as to the name of which there is ſome diſpute (H). The cynoſarges was a place in the ſuburbs, not far from the lyceum; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a gymnaſium erected there, appointed for the ſpecial uſe of ſuch as were Athenians only by one ſide; in after-times Themiſtocles derived ill-will to himſelf, by carrying many of the nobility to exerciſe with them here, becauſe, being but of the half blood, he could exerciſe no where elſe; in this gymnaſium Antiſthenes inſtituted a ſect of philoſophers, who, from the name of this diſtrict, as many think, were ſtyled Cynics [g]. *Palaces, gymnaſia, lyceum, &c.*

[e] Athenæus Diep. lib. viii. [f] Suidas, & al. [g] Plutarch. in Vit. Themiſt. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Antiſthen.

(H) Some affirm that it was ſo called from Academus, an ancient hero, who, when Helen was ſtolen by Theſeus, diſcovered the place where ſhe lay hid, to Caſtor and Pollux; for which reaſon the Lacedæmonians, when they invaded Attica, always ſpared this place (9).

(9) Plut. in Vit. Theſ.

The

The havens of Athens. The havens of Athens were three; the Pyræus, about thirty-five or forty ſtadia from the city, but joined to it by the long walls before mentioned. It had three docks, Cantharos, Aphrodiſium, and Zea; the firſt ſo called from an ancient hero, the ſecond from the goddeſs Venus, who had there two temples, and the third from bread-corn. There were in this port five porticos, which, joining together, formed one great arcade, called from thence Macra Stoa, or the *grand portico*. There were likewiſe two great markets or fora, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The ſecond port was Munichia, a promontory not far diſtant from Pyræus, a place very ſtrong by nature, and afterwards rendered far ſtronger by art. The third was Phalerum, diſtant from the city, according to Thucydides, thirty-five ſtadia[h], but, according to Pauſanias, only twenty[i]. This was the moſt ancient harbour of Athens, as Pyræus was the moſt capacious (I).

People of Athens, freemen, ſojourners, or ſlaves. The people of Athens were freemen, ſojourners, or ſlaves; the citizens, called in Greek Politai, were very numerous; but, what may ſeem ſtrange, were as many in the time of Cecrops, as in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty thou-

g Plutarch. in Vit. Themiſt. Diog. Laert. in Vit. Antiſthen.
h Bel. Pelop. lib. ii. i In Arcad.

(I) Ariſtides, an author who wrote expreſly on this ſubject, affirms, that Athens, in her glory, was a day's journey in compaſs; thoſe who have thought this account too general, inform us, that it was one hundred and ſeventy-eight ſtadia in circumference, that is, ſomething more than twenty-two Roman miles. After it declined from its ancient ſplendor, it endured great variety of fortune. Sylla deſtroyed it without mercy, made its ſtreets ſtream with blood, and laid its moſt ſuperb buildings in aſhes. It provoked Julius Cæſar by an obſtinate reſiſtance; but when it ſubmitted at laſt, he contented himſelf with ſaying, "That he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead," and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They ſided with Brutus againſt the triumvirate; and with Anthony, who called himſelf a Lover of Athens, againſt Auguſtus. Tiberius, or at leaſt his ſon Germanicus, favoured them; but it was to Adrian, who had been archon of their city, that the Athenians owed the revival of their ancient luſtre. The ſucceeding emperors took a pleaſure in adorning it; but the Goths, in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, deſtroyed it, together with the other cities of Greece. Theodoſius II. out of reſpect to his empreſs, cauſed it to be re-edified.

ſand.

ſand [k]. It was Solon who decreed that none ſhould be accounted free, but ſuch as were Athenians both by father and mother. After his time this law became obſolete, till revived by Pericles; and again, at his inſtance, repealed. After the expulſion of the thirty tyrants, Solon's law was reſtored. A perſon born of a ſtranger was ſtiled Nothos, *a baſtard*; whereas the ſon of a free-woman was called Cneſios, i. e. *legitimate*. There was in the Cynoſarges a court of judicature, to which cauſes of illegitimacy properly belonged; and the utmoſt care was taken to prevent any from being enrolled Athenian citizens, who had not a clear title to that pre-eminence. The citizens were divided by Cecrops into four tribes; the firſt called Cecropes, from Cecrops; the ſecond Autochthon, from a king of that name; the third Actai, from Acteus, another king of Athens, or rather from Acte, which ſignifies *a ſhore*; the fourth Puralia: theſe names were altered by Cranaus, and afterwards by Erichthonius. In the reign of Erictheus, they were again changed; the ſoldiers were called Oplitai, the craftſmen Ergatai, the farmers Georgoi, the graziers and ſhepherds Aigicorai. In this ſtate they were when Solon ſettled the commonwealth, and appointed the ſenate to be compoſed of four hundred, one hundred out of each tribe. Clyſthenes increaſed the number of the tribes to ten, and made the ſenate conſiſt of five hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe. In ſucceeding times, two other tribes were added; each tribe was ſubdivided into its Demoi, or *wards*; and with reſpect to theſe it was that Solon inſtituted the public feaſts before mentioned, at which ſometimes the whole tribe aſſembled, ſometimes ſeveral wards, and ſometimes only the inhabitants of one ward.

The citizens divided into four tribes,

which are increaſed to ten.

The ſecond ſort of inhabitants we mentioned were called Metoicoi, i. e. *ſojourners*; theſe were perſons who lived always at Athens, yet were not admitted free denizens. As for ſuch as did not conſtantly reſide in Athens, they were ſtyled Xenoi, i. e. *ſtrangers*. The ſojourners were obliged to chuſe out of the citizens protectors, who were ſtyled Patrons; they performed ſervices to the ſtate, and, beſides theſe, an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every man, and ſix for every woman; but ſuch as had ſons, and paid for them, were exempted. Thoſe who were not able to pay this tribute, were ſeized by the taxmaſters, and actually ſold for ſlaves; which, as Diogenes

Sojourners.

[k] Plutarch. in Vit. Periclis. Athenæus. Deipnoſ. lib. vi.

Laertius

Laertius tells us, was the fate of Xenocrates the philoſopher. The ſojourners in Attica were ſubject to the ſame law as thoſe in Athens. As to ſervants, they were freemen, who through indigence were driven to receive wages; and, while they were in this ſtate, had no vote in the aſſembly. Slaves were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and, as ſuch, were uſed as they thought proper. They were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which is indeed amazing, Solon excluded them from the pleaſure or privilege of loving boys, as if that had been honourable. They were likewiſe debarred from anointing or perfuming themſelves, and from worſhipping certain deities: they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in moſt other reſpects were uſed like brutes [l]. Their maſters ſtigmatized them at their pleaſure, that is, branded them with letters in the forehead and elſewhere: however, Theſeus's temple was allowed them as a ſanctuary, whither, if a ſlave was exceedingly ill uſed, he might fly, and thereby oblige his owner to let him be transferred to another maſter. In this and many other reſpects, the Athenian ſlaves were in a much better condition than thoſe in many parts of Greece; they were permitted to acquire eſtates for themſelves, giving a ſmall premium to their maſters, who were obliged to make them free, if they could pay their ranſom: they likewiſe obtained the ſame favour from the kindneſs of their maſters, or for having rendered military ſervices to the ſtate. When they were made free, they were obliged to chuſe patrons, and had likewiſe the privilege of chuſing a curator, who, in caſe their patrons injured them, was bound to defend their cauſe [m]. Having thus ſpoken of the people in general, let us return to the conſideration of the Athenian citizens in their political capacity (K).

Servants and ſlaves.

The

[l] Plutarch. in Vit. Solon. Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. [m] Plutarch. in Vit. Solon. Ariſtoph. in Avibus, &c. Pollux, lib. vii. Plautus, &c.

(K) In Cecrops' time, the citizens were twenty thouſand; under the adminiſtration of Pericles, when the Athenian power was at its greateſt height, they were not ſo many. When Demetrius the Phalerean preſided over them, there was an exact account taken of the ſeveral ſorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by Athenæus; from whence it appeared, that there were twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſojourners, or foreigners, and four hundred thouſand

The general aſſembly of the people was called eccleſia, and conſiſted of all the freemen of Athens, excepting thouſand ſlaves. At the time of Cecrops' poll, the whole number of his ſubjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when Athens roſe in power and glory, ſhe ſet a high value upon this dignity. Menon, who ſent them a ſupply of two hundred horſe, was refuſed the freedom of Athens when he deſired it. Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, who had done them great ſervices, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city, with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus rigid in reſpect to perſons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of diſtinguiſhed merit. Hippocrates the phyſician was readily admitted a citizen of Athens; and the ſame favour was granted to all the inhabitants of Platæa, for their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance in the Perſian war. It was only the general aſſembly of the people which could confer this privilege; and when it was conferred, the grant was not valid, unleſs ratified in a ſecond aſſembly, wherein ſix thouſand citizens were preſent. As this honour was generally ſued for by perſons of eminent diſtinction, the people gave their votes privately, by putting little ſtones into veſſels, that no ſort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all theſe ceremonies, it appeared that the perſon on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away, in the court of areopagus; nor are inſtances of this ſort wanting in the Athenian hiſtory (1). As to the foreigners or ſojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifeſted an extraordinary love towards the ſtate, by any ſhining action, they had a ſort of half freedom beſtowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the taxes they bore before; and in reſpect to pecuniary matters, were on the ſame foot with free denizens; this they ſtyled Ateleia (2). Such Athenians as through poverty became ſervants, were ſtyled Pelatæ: except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens; they changed their maſters when they thought proper, and, in caſe they found themſelves in a condition to live in a ſtate of independency, they were reſtored to their votes, and their ſervitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (3). As to ſlaves, they, on their coming to a new place, had a handſome entertainment given them, and ſweet-meats thrown over their heads, to welcome them to their ſervice; which, if they fell into good hands, was ſometimes eaſy enough; but for this they were not obliged to the gentleneſs of their laws, but to their maſters.

The general aſſembly of the people, and their meetings.

(1) Potter. Arch. vol. i. p. 44. Demoſt. Orat. in Neæram.
(2) Suidas. Harpocration. Heſychius. (3) Pollux, lib. iii. cap. 1. 8.

ſuch as were atimoi, or *infamous*. The meetings of theſe aſſemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were appointed by law, the extraordinary ſuch as neceſſity required. Of the firſt there were four in five-and-thirty days. In the firſt aſſembly they approved or rejected magiſtrates, heard propoſals for the public good, and certain cauſes. In the ſecond they received petitions, and heard every man's judgement on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign ambaſſadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs relating to the gods and their worſhip. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magiſtrates when occaſion required, whereas to the ordinary aſſemblies the people came of their own accord. The firſt were held either in the market-place in the Pynx, a place near the citadel, or in the theatre of Bacchus; as to the latter, the magiſtrates who appointed the extraordinary meeting appointed alſo the place where it ſhould be held. If any ſudden tempeſt roſe, or an earthquake happened, or any ſign notoriouſly inauſpicious appeared, the aſſembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people from apprehending unhappy conſequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and ſerene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary courſe of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the aſſembly was held, by ſprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs; the crier made a ſolemn prayer for the proſperity of the republic, and that heaven would beſtow a happy iſſue on their counſels and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration againſt any who ſhould in that aſſembly propound what might be diſadvantageous to the ſtate. Theſe ceremonies being performed, they proceeded to buſineſs.

Magiſtrates regulating theſe aſſemblies.

There were ſeveral magiſtrates who had the care of overſeeing and regulating theſe aſſemblies; firſt the epiſtate, or preſident of the aſſembly, choſen by lot out of the proedri; his office was to give the ſignal for the people's voting. Next to him were the prytanes, i. e. a committee of the ſenate, who of courſe were preſent on this occaſion; by their order a programma, or ſcheme of the buſineſs to be propoſed at the aſſembly, was previouſly ſet up in ſome public place, that every man might know what buſineſs to apply his thoughts to. The proedri were nine in number, appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the prytanes did not belong; they had the right of propoſing to the people what they were to deliberate upon,

upon, and their office ended with the assembly; they sat with assessors, who were to take care that nothing they proposed was detrimental to the commonwealth. The first step to business was the crier's reading the decree of the senate, whereon the assembly was to deliberate; when he had finished this, he made proclamation in these words; "Who of the men above fifty will make an oration?" When the old men had done speaking, the crier made proclamation again, that any Athenian might offer his sentiments whom the law allowed to exercise this privilege; that is, all such as were above thirty years old, and not infamous. If such a one rose up to speak, the prytanes interposed, and bid him be silent, and if he did not obey them, the lictors pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the president permitted the people to vote, which they did by casting first beans, but in after-times pebbles, into certain vessels; these were counted, and then it was declared that the decree of the senate was either rejected or approved, and the prytanes dismissed the assembly [n].

Method of transacting business.

Having spoken of the people, their privileges and assemblies, let us now proceed to the senate, which, as we have already shewn, was instituted by Solon, to prevent the dangerous consequences of leaving the supreme power in the people: at the time of his institution, it was to consist of four hundred, one hundred out of each tribe; it was increased to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to ten; and when they rose to twelve, it was also swelled to six hundred. They were elected by lots after this manner: at a day appointed, towards the close of the year, the president of each tribe gave in a list of such persons as were fit for and desired to appear for this dignity; these names were engraved on tablets of brass, and a number of beans equal to the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones put into a vessel; and then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and such as were drawn by the white beans were received into the senate [o]. After the senate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preside in that assembly; these were the prytanes before mentioned, and they were elected thus: the names of the ten tribes were thrown into one vessel, and nine black beans and a white one into another vessel. Then

The senate.

How elected.

Officers presiding in it, and how chosen.

[n] Vide Sigon. & Ubbo. Emmius, Rep. Athen. Byzant. de Urb.

[o] Steph.

the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean anſwered, preſided firſt, and the reſt according to the order in which they were drawn.

Their number. The prytanes, while the ſenate conſiſted of five hundred, were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confuſion, ten of theſe preſided a week, during which ſpace they were called proedri, and out of theſe an epiſtate or preſident was choſen, whoſe office laſted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once: the reaſon of this inſtitution was, that he had in his cuſtody the public ſeal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the treaſury [p]. The reader muſt diſtinguiſh between the epiſtates and proedri laſt mentioned, and thoſe ſpoken of before, becauſe, though their titles were the ſame, their offices were perfectly diſtinct. The ſenate aſſembled by direction of the prytanes once every day, excepting feſtivals, and ſometimes oftener, in the ſenate-houſe, which was thence called prytaneum.

When a member of the ſenate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraved on tablets, that the members might be prepared to ſpeak to it. At the ſubſequent aſſembly the epiſtates opened the matter; every ſenator, that pleaſed to ſpeak, delivered his ſentiments; then any of the prytanes drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud: they proceeded to vote; and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became pſephiſma, and was afterwards propounded to the people: if they approved, it became a law, otherwiſe it was of no force longer than the ſenate, who decreed it, ſubſiſted. The power of the ſenate was very great, for they inſpected the accounts of magiſtrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the proviſions made for poor citizens out of the public treaſure; they had the ſuperintendency of public priſons, and a power of puniſhing ſuch as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care of the fleet; and beſides all theſe, they poſſeſſed many other branches of authority, which is not neceſſary for us to mention. Before they took their ſeats they were conſtrained to undergo a very ſtrict examination, wherein the whole courſe of their lives was inquired into; and if the leaſt ſtain on their reputation appeared, they were ſet aſide. When this examination was over, they took an oath, whereby they bound themſelves to promote in all

The power of the ſenate.

The members ſtrictly examined before their admiſſion.

[p] Pollux, ubi ſupra.

their

their councils the public good, to adviſe nothing contrary to the laws, and to execute their functions faithfully. The higheſt fine the ſenate could impoſe was five hundred drachms. If they thought the offender deſerved a heavier mulct, they then tranſmitted the cauſe to the theſmothetæ, who puniſhed them as they thought proper. The ſenators, when their year ended, gave an account of their management to the people; but that they might have the leſs to do, they always puniſhed ſuch of their number as had offended, by expulſion. An expelled ſenator was, notwithſtanding, eligible to any other office, the moſt trivial omiſſion being ſufficient to occaſion a diſmiſſion from the ſenatorial dignity; and therefore, when the tribes choſe their ſenators, they alſo choſe a certain number of ſubſidiaries, out of which, when a ſenator was expelled, another was ſubſtituted in his place [q]. Each ſenator was allowed a drachm every day, for it was a conſtant rule with the Athenians, that the public ought to pay for every man's time; and therefore ſuch of the poor Athenians as thought fit to demand it, had three oboli for going to the aſſembly. If during their adminiſtration any ſhips of war were built, the ſenators had crowns decreed them; but if not, they were forbid to ſue for that honour. The ſenate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the Athenian ſtate, we will now ſpeak of the other.

Senators how puniſhed.

The court of areopagus was ſo called, becauſe it aſſembled on a hill not far from the citadel called Arious Pagos, i. e. *Mar's hill.* Some ſay that Mars was the firſt criminal tried in this court (L). It is very difficult to aſcertain the number of which this tribunal conſiſted, becauſe authors are much divided about it. Such of the ar-

The court of areopagus.

Number of the areopagi.

[q] Æſchin. in Timarch. Ariſtoph. Avibus. Pollux, ubi ſupra. Demoſt. Timocrat.

(L) It is not agreed who inſtituted this court; ſome aſcribe it to Cecrops, others to Cranaus, and many to Solon; among whom, though Plutarch and Cicero are reckoned, yet it is certain, that they were miſtaken; for Ariſtotle affirms directly the contrary; nay, Plutarch himſelf cites a law of Solon's, wherein the ſentences of the areopagi are mentioned as things of an old date (5). The ſource of this error ſeems to be Solon's reſtoring the power of this court, and making it ſuperior to the ephetæ, whom Draco had made ſuperior to it.

(5) Meurſ. in Areop.

chons, though some say only such of the thesmothetæ, as had given an account of their administration before the togistæ, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this court: this was Solon's institution, and was strictly observed for a long course of years, whence it became the most sacred and venerable tribunal in Greece. A senator in this court was an officer for life, unless he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled: to laugh while the court was sitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was seen sitting in a tavern or public-house, it was sufficient to prevent his admission. Demosthenes affirms, that to his time no judgement of that court had ever been questioned[r]. They had cognizance of all capital causes, and with them the intent to murder was punished as severely as if it took effect: till Pericles lessened their power they were a check upon the people; they could cancel the sentence of an assembly where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people; they had the custody of the laws, the disposal of the public fund, and the direction of youth; for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices, to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety. They had the power of punishing idleness, and in consequence of this they sent for any person who fell under their notice, and examined him touching what he spent, and how he came by it; so that it was impracticable for a man to live dissolutely in Athens on ill-acquired wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion such a person would have been convened before the areopagi. Matters of religion belonged entirely to this court. Plato having learned in Egypt, that there was but one God, was forced to conceal this circumstance, for fear of being questioned by the areopagites[s]; and St. Paul was on this account arraigned before them when he preached Jesus and anastasis, i. e. the *resurrection*[t].

They had cognizance of all capital causes.

Judges in matters of religion.

The court of areopagus rarely took cognizance of state affairs, unless in times of public calamity, when the citizens considered them as their last refuge. They met three times every month; and if any sudden occasion required their assembling, they met in the royal portico. It is observable that this court always sat in the open air; secondly,

When and where they met.

[r] Aristocrat. [s] Justin. Martyr. [t] Acts xviii. 18, 19.

that

that they decided all causes in the dark, that, seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant, their passions might be uninfluenced. Causes of murder were introduced by the basileus, or second archon, who, in right of his office, had a seat amongst them; but before he took it, he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which, as the mark of his dignity, he wore at all other times (M).

We come now to the magistrates. The chief of these were the archons, or archontes, nine in number, chosen by lot; but after their election they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the senate-house, called anacrisis, the other in the forum, called docimasia; in these they were asked who were their ancestors, whether by three descents they were Athenian citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to Apollo Patrius, or Jupiter Hercæus; whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had served the appointed times in the wars, had the estate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; questions which some think were put to every other magistrate: these demands being satisfactorily answered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in these words; "I will be punctual in the observance of the laws; and if I am deficient in this respect, I will for every such default consecrate a statue of gold as big as myself to the Delphian Apollo[a]." These ceremonies being ended, the archons entered on their charge, some parts of which they executed separately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of punishing with death such malefactors as deserved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle; had the power of appointing certain under-officers; and of in-

The archons.

Strictly examined before their election.

Their power.

[a] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9.

(M) All the great men of Athens paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal, till Pericles rose; who, because he could not become a member, having never been archon, took such a dislike to them, that he left no means unessayed to diminish their authority, and sink their credit; which, by the help of Ephialtes, he in a great measure effected, causing most of the business, which had been before them, to be transferred to other courts, to which some authors, not without reason, have ascribed the sudden degeneracy of the Athenians, and, in consequence, the ruin of this state (6).

(6) Plutarch. in Vit. Periclis, Meursius Areop.

quiring into the conduct of other magiſtrates. As the reward of their labour in the ſervice of the public, they were free from all taxes whatever; and if any was ſo inſolent as to ſtrike or affront them, he was puniſhed with infamy [w]. The firſt of them was ſometimes ſtyled eponymos, becauſe the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all cauſes between men and their wives, all matters relating to poſthumous children, dowries, legacies, and teſtaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians to orphans; to decide ſuch diſputes as aroſe among neighbours; and enjoyed many prerogatives. The celebration of certain feaſts, and the regulation of ſtage plays, were alſo within his province, and he had a particular court of judicature, wherein he heard cauſes: if even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he ſuffered death [x]. The ſecond archon, who was ſtyled baſileus, or king, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controverſies among prieſts; took information on impiety, blaſphemy, and ſuch like crimes; he preſided in all the great feaſts, and aſſiſted in all the public ſacrifices for the proſperity of the republic. It was required that his wife ſhould be a citizen of Athens, and a virgin at her marriage; ſhe too was ſtyled by the Athenians, baſiliſſa. Accuſations of murder were firſt lodged in this court, and then introduced into the court of areopagus [y]. The polemarchos, a third archon, had all ſojourners and ſtrangers within his juriſdiction; he was obliged to offer a ſacrifice to Mars, another to Diana, and to take care that the children of ſuch as loſt their lives in the ſervice of the ſtate, ſhould duly receive the maintenance ſettled on them by law. As it often happened that theſe three magiſtrates, on account of their youth, were not ſo well ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their reſpective offices; they choſe each of them two grave and diſtinct perſons, who underwent the like examinations with themſelves, to ſit with them as aſſeſſors, and theſe were accountable, as well as the archon, for their behaviour in their poſts [z].

The firſt archon. His charge.

The ſecond archon.

The third archon.

The other ſix archons. The other ſix archons were ſtyled theſmothetæ; they had one common tribunal, where they heard cauſes of various kinds: they ratified all public contracts and leagues, ſettled the court-days in the ſeveral judicatures

[w] Demoſt. in Midian. [x] Pollux, ubi ſupra. [y] Demoſt. in Neær. & in Lacrit. [z] Pollux, ubi ſupra.

of

of Athens; took care that no laws ſhould be paſſed contrary to the intereſt of the public; and proſecuted ſuch as endeavoured to perſuade the people to give their conſent to any ſuch laws; they were likewiſe obliged, every year, to examine the whole corpus juris, in order to diſcover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other; whether there was a multiplicity of ſtatutes about the ſame ſubject; or whether there were any ſo doubtful as to render it impoſſible to know their true ſenſe; if there were, then the theſmothetæ drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the ſtate of the caſe; this was hung up in a public place, and the next aſſembly of the people voted which of the laws ſhould be preſerved, and which repealed or altered [a].

Other public magiſtrates.

Inferior to the archons were many public magiſtrates. In the firſt place the nomophylaces, who were alſo ſtyled the eleven, becauſe they were ſo many in number, one choſen out of each tribe, and a clerk, or ſecretary, who made up the eleventh. Their duty was to look to the execution of their laws: they had authority to ſeize robbers and other capital offenders; and if they confeſſed, to put them to death [b]. Dr. Potter thinks they reſembled our ſheriffs.

The nomophylaces.

The phylarchi, the philobaſileus, the demarchi, &c.

The phylarchi were the preſidents of the Athenian tribes; but in time this became a military title. The philobaſileus was an officer in each tribe, who acted within his juriſdiction as the baſileus did with reſpect to the ſtate. The demarchi were the principal magiſtrates in wards; the lexarchi were ſix in number, and were to take care that the people came duly to the aſſemblies; in their cuſtody was the public regiſter of the citizens names; they had under them toxotæ, who were lictors or bailiffs; ſometimes a thouſand in number; theſe men, though neceſſary, were conſidered as infamous. They were generally Scythians, raw-boned brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded to perform [c]. The nomothetæ were a thouſand in number; their buſineſs was to watch over, and inſpect into the laws.

Orators.

There were two ſorts of orators in the ſervice of the ſtate; ſome appointed to defend an old law, when a motion was made to repeal it; theſe had their fee from the ſtate, but the ſame man was incapable of being elected twice.

Rhetores, their qualifications.

Beſides theſe there were ten ſettled orators, called rhetores, elected by lots; their buſineſs was to plead

[a] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. [b] Cicero de Legib. lib. iii. [c] Ariſtophan. ejuſque Schol. Acharn. & Theſmoph.

public

public causes in the senate-house; for this service they had their stated fees; and, with respect to their qualifications the laws run thus: "Let no one be a public orator who hath struck his parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them out of his doors, who hath refused to serve in the army, who hath thrown away his shield, who hath been addicted to lewd women, notoriously effeminate, or has wasted his patrimony. If any man who has been guilty of these crimes dare to deliver an oration, let him be brought to trial upon the spot[d]. Let an orator have children lawfully begotten, and an estate within Attica[e]: if in his oration he talks impertinently, makes idle repetitions, affects an unbecoming raillery, digresses from the point in question, or, after the assembly is over, abuses the president, let the proedri fine him fifty drachmæ; and, if that is not thought enough, let him be brought before the next assembly, and fined again."

Courts of justice.

We shall conclude this sketch of the Athenian government with an account of their courts of justice, which, exclusive of the areopagus, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and six of civil causes. These ten courts were numbered with the ten first letters of the alphabet, and were thence styled alpha, beta, gamma, &c. When an Athenian was at leisure to hear causes, he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he presented to the thesmothetæ, who returned it again to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the cryer of the court, who presented him a sceptre, and gave him admission. When the causes were over, every judge delivered his sceptre to the prytanes, and received a stated fee for every cause that was tried. But as this was intended only to compensate their loss of time, so that there might be no appearance of covetousness, a man was forbid to sit in two courts on the same day[f]. The first criminal court, after the areopagus, was that of the ephetæ, consisting of fifty-one members, all upwards of fifty-one years old; Draco gave it a very extensive jurisdiction; but Solon deprived them of the power of judging in any other causes than those of manslaughter, accidental killing, and lying in wait to destroy: the basileus entered all causes in this court[g]. The second criminal court was called delphinium, because it was held in

Criminal courts.

[d] Æschin. in Timarch. [e] Dinarch. in Demosthen. [f] Athen. Deipnos. lib. vi. [g] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 10.

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the temple of Apollo Delphinius. It had cognizance of such murders as were confessed by the criminal, but, at at the same time, justified under some pretence or other. The prytaneum was the third criminal court; it held pleas of such cases where death ensued from inanimate things; causes were heard here with the same solemnity as in other courts; and, on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was, that had occasioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of Athens. This judicature was as ancient as the reign of Erichtheus, and the first thing tried was an ax, wherewith Jupiter's priests killed an ox which had eat some of the consecrated cakes, and who, as soon he had committed the fact, secured himself by flight [h]. The last criminal court was styled phreatum; it sat in a place not far from the sea-shore. Such persons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country, and fled to Attica; the proceedings of this court were so severe, that they did not permit the criminal to come on shore; but obliged him to plead his cause in his vessel; and, if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and seas [i].

Of the judicatures for hearing civil causes, the first was the parabaston, so called, as some think, because in it no matter could be heard, if the cause of action was above one drachm [k]. The cainon, or new court, was the second tribunal [l]. The third was styled the court of Lycus, because it assembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whose statue, represented with the face of a wolf, was set up in all courts of justice [m]. The trigonon was so called, because it was triangular in its form [n]. The court Metidius derived its appellation from the architect who built it. The sixth, and last court, called heliæa, was by far the greatest, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges sitting in the open air, exposed to the sun. All the Athenians, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to sit in these courts as judges. But before they took their seats were sworn by Apollo Patrius, Ceres, and Jupiter the king, that they would decide all things righteously and according to law, where there was any law to guide them; and by the rules of

Courts for civil causes.

[h] Ælian. Hist. var. lib. viii. cap. 1. [i] Sigonius de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. cap. 3. [k] Pausan. Atticis. [l] Aristoph. Vesp. [m] Pollux, Suidas, Aristoph. ubi supra. [n] Sigon. ubi supra.

natural

natural equity, where there was none (N). The heliæaſtic court conſiſted at leaſt of fifty, but its uſual number was five hundred judges; when cauſes of very great conſequence were to be tried, a thouſand ſat as judges, and, on ſome occaſions, they were increaſed to fifteen hundred, and even to two thouſand: there were many inferior courts in Athens for the deciſion of trivial cauſes; but of theſe there is no neceſſity of ſpeaking, ſince we deſign no more than a ſuccinct view of the Athenian republic, as it was ſettled by, and in conſequence of Solon's laws.

Solon travels into Egypt;

We left that great lawgiver at his departure from Athens, to viſit foreign climates, for the ſake of acquiring wiſdom. He went firſt to Egypt, where he converſed with Pſenophis the Heliopolitan, and Sonchis the Saite, the moſt learned prieſt of that age and country; from theſe he drew the knowlege of many things unknown to

(N) The oath taken by the judges, who ſat in the court laſt mentioned, is reported by Demoſthenes in theſe words: "I will give ſentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of Athens, and the counſel of five hundred; I will not conſent to place the ſupreme power in the hands of a ſingle perſon, or a few; nor permit any man to diſſolve the commonwealth, or ſo much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of ſuch a revolution. I will not endeavour to diſcharge private debts, nor to make a diviſion of lands or houſes: I will not reſtore perſons ſent into baniſhment, nor pardon thoſe condemned to die, nor expel any man the city, contrary to the laws and decrees of the people and council of five hundred, nor permit any other perſon to do it: I will not elect any perſon into any public employ; and particularly I will not create any man archon, hieromnemon, ambaſſador, public herald, or ſynedros, nor conſent that he ſhall be admitted into any of thoſe offices which are elected by lots, upon the ſame day with the archons, who has undergone any former office, and not given in his accounts; nor that any perſon ſhall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the ſame office in one year: I will not receive gifts myſelf, nor ſhall any other for me; nor will I permit any other perſon to do the like by any means, whether direct or indirect, to pervert juſtice in the court of heliæa: I am not under thirty years of age: I will hear both the plaintiff and defendant without partiality, and give ſentence in all the cauſes brought before me: I ſwear by Jupiter, Neptune, and Ceres; if I violate this oath, or any part of it, may I periſh with my whole family; but if I religiouſly obſerve it, may we live and proſper (1)."

(1) Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert, in Vit. Solonis.

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the Greeks, and particularly the ſituation and condition of the Atlantic iſle: he wrote his account in verſe, which Plato continued. From Egypt he went to Cyprus, where he was extremely well entertained by one of its petty kings: this prince reigned in a little city called Apeia, i. e. High, built by Demophoon the ſon of Theſeus, on an eminence near the river Clarius, in a ſoil craggy and barren. Solon obſerving that there was a very pleaſant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and larger city for their reception. Solon aſſiſted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected; and his ſcheme ſucceeded ſo well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, ſettled there; whence the king, whoſe capital it was, changed its name, and called it Solos (O). *and to the iſland of Cyprus.*

While

(O) He is thought to have viſited, about this time, Thales the Mileſian, with whom, it is certain, he had an intimate acquaintance. Plutarch hath recorded a very ſingular paſſage, which happened at this time; Solon enquiring of Thales why, conſidering the happy ſituation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children; Thales, for the preſent, made him no anſwer. A few days after he introduced a ſtranger, properly inſtructed, who ſaid, that he came ten days ago from Athens. Solon immediately aſked what news he brought from thence: "I know of nothing extraordinary (replied he) except that the whole city celebrated the funeral of a young man, the ſon of a citizen, moſt eminent for his virtues, who, it ſeems, went abroad upon his travels." "Miſerable man, cried Solon: but did not you bear his name?" "I did, returned the ſtranger, but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wiſdom and his juſtice." "Was it Solon?" (ſaid our philoſopher.) "It was," anſwered the ſtranger. Upon this our legiſlator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himſelf. But Thales interpoſing with a ſmile, addreſſed him thus: "Theſe, O Solon, are the things which make me afraid of marriage and children, ſince theſe are capable of affecting even ſo wiſe a man as you; be not, however, concerned, for this is all a fiction." Whether on this occaſion, or on the real loſs of a ſon, is uncertain, Solon being deſired by a perſon not to weep, ſince weeping would avail nothing; he anſwered, with much humanity and good ſenſe, "And for this cauſe I weep." At Delphi he had an interview with the reſt of the ſophiſts, and the year following at Corinth, by Periander's invitation; ſome think that at this time alſo he went to Crete, and viſited Epimenides; he likewiſe conferred with Croeſus, king of Lydia; Plutarch ſays, that Æſop, the fabuliſt,

Great diſturbances at Athens.

While Solon was abroad, Athens fell again into confuſion. The three factions before mentioned began to be more troubleſome than ever; Lycurgus put himſelf at the head of the country people; Megacles, the ſon of Alcmæon, was the chief of thoſe who lived upon the coaſt; and Piſiſtratus placed himſelf at the head of the poorer ſort in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of Solon were indeed obſerved, becauſe none of the factions found it for their intereſt to ſubvert them; but all looked for a change, and were uneaſy till it was effected, though how to change for the better, none of them even pretended to know; in the interim Solon returned, and his return ſeemed propitious to his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to ſhew him the deepeſt reverence and reſpect, beſeeching him to reſume his authority, and to compoſe the diſorders of the ſtate. This expedient he declined, on account of his age, which, as he obſerved, rendered him unable to ſpeak and act for the public benefit. However, he ſent for the chiefs of each party, and ſpoke to them in the mildeſt and moſt pathetic terms, beſeeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private intereſt [*].

Piſiſtratus. His character.

Piſiſtratus, among all the principal perſons of Athens, ſeemed to be the moſt affected with Solon's diſcourſes. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great ſimilitude in their diſpoſitions. Piſiſtratus was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was bleſſed with a large eſtate, ſo he was generous without profuſion, and beneficent without oſtentation. He had always two or three ſlaves near him, with bags of ſilver coin; when he ſaw any man look ſickly, or heard that any perſon died inſolvent, he comforted the one with a proper ſum, and buried the other at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cauſe, and if it proceeded from poverty, he ſupplied what might enable them

* Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. i.

fabuliſt, was at the court of Croeſus at the ſame time with Solon, and that he was extremely concerned when he ſaw how much the king ſlighted ſo great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving Solon the following ſhort piece of advice, "Let your viſits to kings be as ſeldom or as pleaſant as you can." To which our Athenian anſwered, "No, rather let them be as ſeldom or as profitable as you can (1).

(1) Plutarch ubi ſupra.

to

to get bread, but not to live idly: in a word, he had, or seemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman: he would not suffer his servants to shut his garden, or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in, and take what they pleased. His looks were easy and sedate, his language smooth and modest; he seemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the constitution. Solon saw through all these appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to shew him the iniquity of his dissimulation, and would often tell him, "Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the best citizen in Athens:" and when he found this remark made no impression upon him, Solon said the same thing to others, that men might beware of his designs, and not suffer his virtues to be fatal to his country[p].

About this time, Thespis either introduced or reformed the theatre at Athens. Solon, who piqued himself upon learning, even in his old age, went to see this new amusement; and, after the performance was over, addressed himself to Thespis in these words: "I wonder you are not ashamed of telling lies before so great an audience." Thespis replied, "That there could be no harm in giving a specious form to falshood, so that it were in jest." "Ah," cried Solon, striking the ground violently with his staff, "if once we are pleased with your falsehoods in jest, we shall soon have them creep into our more serious affairs."

Pisistratus assumes the sovereignty.

The mischief which Solon apprehended from the ambition of his kinsman Pisistratus soon began to appear; that great politician perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, resolved to seize the first opportunity, to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to use nor to keep. With this view having wounded himself, and (as Herodotus says) the mules that drew his chariot[q], he drove into the market-place, as if pursued by his enemies, and shewing his bleeding body, besought the people to protect him from those whom his kindness to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they testifying loudly their concern, Solon, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and said, "Son of Hippocrates, you do not act Homer's Ulysses well, since you deceive your fellow-citizens; whereas he, when he had wounded himself, practised only on the enemies of

Yr. of Fl. 1787. Ante Chr. 561.

He craftily obtains a guard.

[p] Dacier. Not. in Vit. Solon. Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii. [q] Herodot. lib. i.

his

his country." A general aſſembly was immediately convened, wherein Ariſton moved, that Piſiſtratus might have a guard of fifty perſons armed with clubs. Solon oppoſed this motion; he told the citizens, that if misfortunes befel the ſtate, they muſt not charge the gods with them; for that evils were not accidental, but puniſhments; that crafty perſons knew how to dreſs lies in the veſtments of truth; and that before they made innovations, they ſhould conſider the conſequences. After him Piſiſtratus ſpoke, and the people receiving all he ſaid with loud applauſe, Solon contented himſelf with ſaying,

"You doat upon his words, and ſoothing ſpeech."

The meaner ſort of people adhering unanimouſly to the propoſition of Ariſton; and the richeſt Athenians remaining ſilent, when they ſaw how things would be determined, Solon took his leave, ſaying, that he was wiſer than ſome, and ſtouter than others; wiſer than thoſe who did not penetrate Piſiſtratus's deſign, and ſtouter than thoſe who did not oppoſe it. When he retired, the aſſembly proceeded to vote Piſiſtratus a guard, but what number is not eaſily ſettled; it ſhould ſeem, from Plutarch's account, that he had but fifty [r]. Herodotus does not mention any preciſe number. Polyænus makes them three hundred [s]; but Solon himſelf, in his letter to Epimenides, ſays expreſsly there were four hundred [t]; however it was, he made uſe of his guard to ſeize the citadel, which having poſſeſſed, he, without farther ceremony, according to Herodotus and Plutarch, aſſumed the ſovereignty. But Polyænus hath given us a very ſingular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the Athenians to defend themſelves, even againſt the ſmall number of men that were under his command. He ſummoned an aſſembly to be held at the Anacium, and directed that the people ſhould go thither armed. When they were met, Piſiſtratus harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining that they could not eaſily hear what he ſaid, he pretended that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and adviſed them lay them down in the portico of a temple. This advice they complied with; and Piſiſtratus then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which while they liſtened with deep attention, his guards con-

And with it ſeizes the citadel.

[r] Plut. ubi ſupra. [s] Strateg. lib. i. cap. 21. [t] Vide Epiſt. Solon. ad Epimen.

vered

veyed away their arms; ſo that when he had done ſpeaking, the Athenians ſaw themſelves helpleſs, and all power of reſiſtance taken from them [u]. Hiſtorians agree, that amidſt the confuſion which followed this tranſaction, there was an aſſembly held, wherein Solon inveighed againſt the meanneſs of his countrymen's ſpirit, and invited them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing could rouze them, he contented himſelf with ſaying, "To the utmoſt of my power I have ſtriven for my country and my laws." Plutarch ſays, that he refuſed to leave his country; and that when Piſiſtratus ſent to know who it was that inſpired him with boldneſs enough to treat him in ſuch a manner, he anſwered, "My old age [x]." But other authors ſay, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominion of Athens. *He finds means to disarm the people.*

Piſiſtratus, in poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſupreme power in Athens, did not overturn the laws eſtabliſhed by Solon; on the contrary, he uſed all his power to provide for their better execution, and loſt nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable [y]. With reſpect to Solon, he preſerved for him the higheſt veneration, and was ſo much diſturbed at his leaving Athens, that he wrote to him, in order to engage him to return [z].

Solon returned no more to Athens, but died abroad. Plutarch ſays [a], Heraclides Ponticus affirmed, that Solon lived a long time after Piſiſtratus aſſumed the ſovereignty; whereas Phanias, the Epheſian, reported, that he did not live after it quite two years. Ælian agrees pretty well with this computation, for he ſays he died a little after, being decrepit with age. Diogenes Laertius informs us, that he reached the age of fourſcore; but Lucian affirms, that he lived a hundred and upwards. Where he died is another diſputable point: ſome ſay in Cyprus [b], others deny that aſſertion. Diogenus Laertius informs us, that he directed his bones ſhould be burnt, and their aſhes carried to Salamis, and ſcattered over the iſland. Plutarch treats this as a fable; but acknowleges, at the ſame time, that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly Ariſtotle. The Athenians, after the death of Solon, paid him the higheſt honours, and erected for him, in the forum, and at Salamis, a ſtatue in braſs, with his *Solon dies.*

[u] Strateg. lib. i. cap. 21. ſect. ii. [x] Ubi ſupra. [y] Plutarch ubi ſupra. Ariſt. Polit. lib. v. cap. 12. [z] Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra. [a] Plut. in Vita Solonis, prope fin. [b] Diog. Laert. ubi ſupra. Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. 3.

hand in his gown, the poſture in which he was uſed to ſpeak; an honour which he certainly deſerved, for the eminent ſervices rendered by him to his country [c]. But to return to Piſiſtratus.

Megacles retires from Athens.

At the beginning of his adminiſtration, Megacles and his family retired from the territories of Athens, with a view to preſerve themſelves from being cut off, to render his principality the ſurer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correſpondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his aſſociates entered into a treaty with Lycurgus, and his party; and having engaged them in a ſcheme for overturning Piſiſtratus, they proſecuted this with ſuch effect, that he found himſelf obliged to retire, and ſeek, as they had done, ſhelter in a foreign clime. The Athenians, notwithſtanding all the inſtances of regard they had ſhewn him, ordered his goods to be publicly ſold. Though this reſolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no perſon but Callias who would venture to buy any of them, from an apprehenſion that he would, in a ſhort time, be reſtored [d].

Piſiſtratus obliged to abandon Athens.

As Megacles and his party had negotiated with Lycurgus the ruin of Piſiſtratus, ſo ſome time afterwards, finding that Lycurgus and his faction were not implicitly governed by them, they began to treat with Piſiſtratus, and to offer, in caſe he would marry the daughter of Megacles, to reinſtate him in his principality, to which propoſal Piſiſtratus readily aſſented. It is eaſy to conceive, that this affair required rather fraud than force for its being conducted with ſucceſs. Piſiſtratus and Megacles reſolved to depend upon an expedient, which Herodotus ſtyles a ridiculous project; but ridiculous as it appeared, it ſucceeded. They found a woman, whoſe name was Phya, the daughter of Socrates, a man of mean family and fortune: this woman was of prodigious ſtature, and very handſome; they placed her in a chariot, dreſſed in armour, and having made her appear with all poſſible advantage, conducted her towards the city, ſending heralds before with orders to ſpeak to the people in theſe terms: "Give a kind reception, O Athenians, to Piſiſtratus, who is ſo much honoured by Minerva, that ſhe condeſcends to bring him back to the citadel." When the heralds had publiſhed this intimation, in ſeveral places, the report was ſpread, that Minerva was bringing home Piſiſtratus; and in the

Is reſtored by Megacles, whoſe daughter he marries.

[c] Æſch. in Timarch. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. i.

city,

city, the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddeſs, addreſſed her with prayers, and readily received the tyrant. When he had recovered the ſovereignty, he married, as he had promiſed, the daughter of Megacles; and gave Phya in marriage to his ſon Hipparchus [e].

Piſiſtratus did not long enjoy in quiet that authority to which he had been ſo ſtrangely reſtored. He kept his word to Megacles, in marrying his daughter, and it ſeems Piſiſtratus conceived, that his promiſe extended no farther. But conſidering that he had children by a former wife, and that Megacles' family were held by the Athenians to be execrable, he never converſed with this new wife; an omiſſion which for a time ſhe concealed; but at length, mentioning it to her mother, the family ſo highly reſented his neglect, that Megacles inſtantly began to negotiate with the malecontents. Piſiſtratus perceiving his conduct, and ſeeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he quitted Attica voluntarily, and retired to Eretria. There, as ſoon as he found himſelf in ſafety, he conſulted with his ſons what courſe was proper to be taken in the preſent ſituation of their affairs. Hippias propoſed the reducing Athens by force; a ſcheme which was agreed to, and immediately Piſiſtratus applied to ſeveral of the Grecian cities, to furniſh him with men and money for carrying this deſign into execution. Several ſtates yielded him aſſiſtance; but the Thebans exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of Argives were ſoon levied by the help of theſe ſubſidies, and all preparations were much forwarded by the kindneſs of Lygdamias, a Naxian, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a conſiderable number of men, and advanced alſo a large ſum of money. In the eleventh year of their baniſhment, ſays Herodotus, Piſiſtratus, with his family, and the army he had drawn together, marched from Eretria, and entered Attica. The firſt place they poſſeſſed themſelves of was Marathon, where they were joined by multitudes of Athenians, who loved the government of Piſiſtratus better than a democracy. It ſeems the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous ſteps, though they knew that Piſiſtratus was raiſing men, and borrowing money: but when they heard he was marching directly towards Athens, they aſſembled all their forces to defend themſelves, and to repel the invader. In the mean time, Piſiſtratus advancing with his army from Ma-

Piſiſtratus quits Attica.

But returns at the head of an army.

Takes Marathon.

[e] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. cap. 21. Valer. Max. lib. i. cap. 2.

rathon, arrived at the temple of the Pallenian Minerva: after they had placed their arms before the gates, Amphilytus, a prophet of Acarnania, by divine impulse, went to him, and pronounced this oracle in Hexameter verse:

"The net is spread, and dexterously thrown,
By the clear moon-light shall the tunnies come."

When the prophet had delivered these words, Pisistratus comprehending the oracle, and saying he accepted the omen, put his army in motion. In the mean time, the Athenians, having drawn their forces out of the city, and dined, betook themselves to dice or sleep; so that the army of Pisistratus attacking them by surprize, soon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their escape, Pisistratus contrived a stratagem, in order to disperse them so entirely, that they might not rally. He commanded his sons to ride swiftly before, and in his name to inform all those that they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation [f]. Thus Pisistratus became a third time possessed of the sovereignty of Athens, from which that he might be no more driven, he took a method directly contrary to that which Theseus had made use of for aggrandizing his kingdom; for as that prince made the inhabitants of Attica retire from the country, and live together in the city, Pisistratus obliged them to addict themselves again to agriculture, that they might not assemble in the market-places, and cabal against him. By this expedient, he greatly improved the state of the Athenian territories; and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over Attica, which before was not only almost void of corn, but also bare of trees [g]. He likewise commanded, that in the city men should wear a certain kind of sheep-skin vest, reaching only to the knees, which in succeeding times became proverbially the habit of slavery [h]. The Athenians being so nice in respect to liberty, that if things right in themselves were commanded by persons who were not possessed of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greatest misery. On this account it was that Pisistratus's laws against idleness were held tyrannical, though they were enacted in support of those of Solon.

Defeats the Athenians, and again possesses the sovereignty.

By what methods he secured to himself the possession of it.

[f] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 61. [g] Dion. Chrysost. Orat. vii. Maxim. Tyr. Dissert. xiii. [h] Suidas in voce Κατωνακη.

He

He received, as prince of Athens, the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds; which, though applied to the ſervice of the ſtate, ſeemed to the Athenians an intolerable grievance. It happened once that Piſiſtratus, being in the country, perceived an old man creeping over the rocks, and picking ſomething: Piſiſtratus aſked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour? "Troubles, and a few plants of wild ſage," replied the old man, "and of theſe Piſiſtratus muſt have the tenth." Piſiſtratus made no reply, but on his return to the city, diſcharged him from paying this duty [l]. He endeavoured, by all means poſſible, to ſoften the manners of the Athenians; but to little purpoſe; for, as he was averſe to ſeverity, it was a difficult thing for them to learn ſubmiſſion. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feaſt, in their return met his wife, and inſulted her groſsly: next day, however, when they were cool, they went in the moſt humble manner to aſk pardon. Piſiſtratus heard their apology very graciouſly, and when they had done, "I would adviſe you, gentlemen, ſaid he, to behave for the future more modeſtly; but as for my wife, ſhe was not abroad yeſterday [k]." He adorned the city with ſplendid edifices, particularly the temple of the Pythian Apollo. He was the firſt who built a library for public uſe; and directed that Homer's poems ſhould be digeſted into regular order, as we have them at preſent. In all other reſpects, he was a great encourager of learning; and converſed familiarly with Crotoniates, the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the Argonauts [l]. As to his military virtues, we have already ſhewn what a ſhare he had in the reduction of Salamis. He is alſo reported by Herodotus to have conquered the iſland of Naxus, which he put into the hands of Lygdamis. He moreover reduced the city of Sigeium, and purified the iſland of Delos; ſo that on the whole it ſeems he wanted nothing but a legal title, to have rendered him an excellent prince [m]. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his ſtation, but when he heard he was accuſed, in the court of areopagus, of a murder, he came like a private man, and ſubmitted to judgement. At another time, having offended certain Athenians of principal dignity, and they

He receives the tenths of every man's revenues.

His edifices.

Builds a public library.

His military virtues.

Maintains the laws.

[l] Zenobius, Cent. iv. Prov. 76. [k] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [l] Suidas. Vitruvius. Præt. lib. vii. A. Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. vi. cap. 17. [m] Herodot. lib. i.

retiring to the caſtle of Phylæ, he went thither next day, with a cloak-bag on his back: when they aſked him what he meant, "Either, ſaid he, to engage you to go back with me to Athens, or to ſtay with you myſelf; and therefore you ſee I am come provided."

Thirty years intervened from the time of his firſt poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty to his death; of which he reigned but ſeventeen, as we learn from Ariſtotle, and conſequently his firſt and ſecond exile included ſixteen years: as to the latter, Herodotus tells us expreſsly, that it laſted eleven years; conſequently his firſt exile was of five years only. He left behind him two ſons, both men of great capacity, Hippias and Hipparchus; but which of theſe was the eldeſt cannot be determined. Thucydides affirms that it was Hippias, and charges ſuch as believe the contrary with being in a groſs error. Polyænus ſays the ſame thing; yet Plato is as poſitive that Hipparchus was the eldeſt. Ælian follows him, and Heraclides Ponticus ſeems to be of the ſame opinion. Thucydides ſupports his account of the matter by ſome arguments, which, in the opinion of the learned Meurſius, are not very concluſive.

His two ſons, Hippias and Hipparchus.

Hipparchus and Hippias.

Yr. of Fl. 1820. Ante Chr. 528.

The brothers Hipparchus and Hippias ſhared, as moſt think, the ſupreme authority between them, ſome ſay that the former only had the title, and others affirm, that Piſiſtratus bequeathed his authority, not only to theſe two, but alſo to his third ſon Theſſalus [n]. It is clear that Hipparchus and Hippias lived and reigned together. As to the former, he was a perſon of ſweetneſs of temper, a great favourer of learning, and a very learned man. He directed that the rhapſodiſts, a ſort of bards by profeſſion, ſhould at the great feaſt, ſtyled Panathenæa, ſing all the poems of Homer, that the Athenians might be generally inſtructed both in the ſciences, and in the moral conduct of life. He treated Simonides the poet with great kindneſs, and kept him always near his perſon, and ſent a galley on purpoſe to bring the celebrated Anacreon to Athens [o]. Onomacritus was another of his favourites; but he having been detected in the fact of interpolating the Oracles of Muſæus, Hipparchus not only diſmiſſed him the court, but baniſhed him from Athens [p]. So aſſiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he cauſed in city and country, but eſpecially in the

Hipparchus's excellent character.

[n] Athenæus Deipnoſ. lib. xiii. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Herac. Pont. Fragm. [o] Plato in Hipparch. [p] Herodot. lib. vii.

latter,

latter, ſtatues of Mercury to be ſet up, and certain wiſe counſels, in elegaic verſe, to be inſcribed on both ſides of them. Sometimes there was only a ſhort ſaying, ſuch as, "This is the precept of Hipparchus, Be thou ſtrictly juſt, or deceive not thy friend." On account of theſe ſhining virtues, he was greatly admired by the citizens, and the principality of the Piſiſtratidæ ſeemed to be thoroughly and quietly eſtabliſhed. But, when it was leaſt expected, a conſpiracy was formed for taking off both the brothers, which ſucceeded in reſpect to Hipparchus, and narrowly miſſed with regard to Hippias. There were two young men in Athens, Hermodius and Ariſtogiton; the former was exquiſitely beautiful in his perſon, and on that account, according to the infamous cuſtom of the Greeks, violently beloved of the other; this Harmodius was alſo beloved by Hipparchus, who, if we may believe Thucydides, forced him to his luſt: Ariſtogiton grievouſly reſented this outrage, and, with the injured youth, determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their reſentment: Hipparchus finding that Harmodius endeavoured to avoid him, publicly affronted him by not permitting his ſiſter to carry the offering of Minerva, as if ſhe was a perſon unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to ſhew any public ſigns of reſentment, conſulted privately with their friends, among whom it was reſolved at the approaching feſtival of the Panathenæa, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to reſtore Athens to liberty; the conſpirators believing the people would be unanimous in ſupport of a deſign ſo manifeſtly calculated for their advantage. When the day appointed for putting this deſign in execution arrived, they perceived at a diſtance one of their own number talking very familiarly with Hippias; this circumſtance amazed them; they were afraid that he had diſcovered to him the conſpirators; taking courage therefore from the ſuppoſed deſperate ſtate of their affairs, they inſtantly attacked Hipparchus, and with a number of wounds diſpatched him. The people however did not ſecond them in this great exploit; but ſuffered Harmodius to be killed upon the ſpot by Hipparchus's guard, and having ſeized Ariſtogiton, delivered him up [q].

A conſpiracy formed againſt both Harmodius and Ariſtogiton.

Hipparchus killed; and likewiſe Harmodius.

Hippias behaved on this occaſion with great prudence; he diſſembled his grief for his brother's death, that he

[q] Thucyd. lib. vi. Plato, ubi ſupra. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. xi. 8.

might the better preſerve himſelf and family; he approached the crowd of people with his guards, and having apprehended ſuch as their looks, or their wearing daggers, induced him to believe conſpirators, he diſmiſſed the reſt [r]. As for the Athenians in general, though they ſeemed to have a high eſteem for the Piſiſtratidæ, and had been governed by them with great gentleneſs for the ſpace of a long ſeries of years, and had not made any general inſurrection, in order to favour the attempt of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, yet they carried their reſpect for them after their deaths to a height ſcarce to be accounted for; they cauſed their praiſes to be ſung at the Panathenæa, and forbad any citizen to call his ſlave by either of their names [s]; they erected brazen ſtatues for them in the forum, which ſtatues, as Pliny informs us, were the works of Praxiteles [t]; theſe ſtatues Xerxes afterwards carried into Greece, from whence they were ſent back to Athens, either by Alexander [u], Antiochus [w], or Seleucus [x]; for authors do not agree which. They likewiſe granted ſeveral immunities and honorary privileges to the deſcendents of thoſe patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable [y] (P).

Harmodius and Ariſtogiton greatly honoured by the Athenians.

The

[r] Thucyd. lib. vi. [s] Liban. Declam. xxix. [t] H. N. lib. xxxiv. cap. 8. [u] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. iii. [w] Pauſan. in Atticis. [x] Val. Max. iib. ii. cap. 10. [y] Demonſt. Orat. in Leptin.

(P) The hiſtory of Hipparchus's murder is variouſly reported. Thucydides ſays expreſly, that Harmodius, in the flower of his age, was beloved by Ariſtogiton, a citizen of the middle rank, and aſcribes the murder of Hipparchus to his rival's hatred (2). Ariſtotle calls Harmodius and Ariſtogiton lovers (3); and ſo does Maximus Tyrius. Juſtin differs from all other writers, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After Piſiſtratus's death, Diocles, one of his ſons, ſays he, having raviſhed a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (4). He had this probably from Trogus Pompeius, whoſe work he abridged; but where Trogus had it, is not known. Ariſtogiton is by ſome authors ſaid to have been an humble dependent on Harmodius, and his miſtreſs Leæna, no better than a ſinging woman, who uſed to attend at feaſts. On the whole, whatever honours the Athenians thought fit to decree theſe men, their conſpiracy ſeems rather the effects of paſſion than any deſire to do their country good; or at beſt the latter was pretended to cover the former;

(2) Thucyd. lib. vi. (3) Rhetor. lib. ii. (4) Lib. ii. cap. 9.

but

The ſupreme power being now in the hands of Hippias, he altered his conduct towards the people, and treated them with a ſeverity unknown to his family before; this was the worſe borne, becauſe himſelf had been ſo mild a prince. The firſt effects of this change of his temper fell upon thoſe concerned in the late conſpiracy; he ordered Ariſtogiton to be put to the torture, in order to extort from him the names of thoſe who were privy to this tranſaction. This man, as ſoon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named ſome of Hippias's beſt friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the ſame fate; and when Hippias aſked him if there were not ſtill ſome others, he replied ſmiling, "I know of none now, but yourſelf, that deſerves to ſuffer death [z]." But it was not Ariſtogiton only who triumphed over the cruelty of Hippias; a woman he kept, whoſe name was Leæna, behaved with no leſs intrepidity. Hippias having directed her to be tortured, in order to extort diſcoveries, ſhe bore the torture patiently for a conſiderable time; when ſhe found ſhe could endure it no longer, ſhe bit off her tongue, that it might not be in her power to declare any thing to the prejudice of the man ſhe loved. The Athenians conceiving it indecent to ſet up the ſtatue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themſelves with erecting that of a lioneſs without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraved theſe words, "Her tongue herſelf bit off [a]." This conſpiracy being, as Hippias conceived, at an end, he took all the meaſures which human policy could ſuggeſt to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes; he increaſed his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the Athenians to bring in their ſilver coin, at a certain price, and coined it anew. Theſe violent methods ſoon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preſerved it ſo long. Hippias held the ſovereignty only three years after the demiſe of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled [b] (Q.).

Ariſtogiton impeaches all Hippias's friends.

The intrepidity of Leæna.

We

[z] Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. cap. 22.
[a] Plut. de Garr.
[b] Herodot. lib. v. cap. 45.

but it ſuited the Athenians, who were violent enemies to the government of a ſingle perſon, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors the title of heroes.

(Q.) It may ſeem a little ſtrange that in ſpeaking of the govern-

The Piſiſtratidæ expelled Athens, and the democracy reſtored.

We have already obſerved that Megacles, who was of the family of Alcmæon, left his country, when Piſiſtratus was a ſecond time reſtored; but he, and thoſe who were with him, carried away a great ſum of money. The Alcmæonidæ (for ſo the family of Megacles, from their great anceſtor Alcmæon, were ſtyled) ſettled at Lipſydrum in Pæonia, and there gave refuge to all who fled from Athens, which were not a few; for Piſiſtratus, as ſome ſay, or, as others report, Hippias, baniſhed all who depended on that family, and ſuffered not ſo much as the dead to reſt in their graves, on the old ſuperſtitious account, of their being thought execrable [c]. This family

c Suidas.

government of the Piſiſtratidæ, we have aſſerted that they did not greatly violate the laws or conſtitution of their country. In order to explain this, we muſt examine the particulars of Piſiſtratus's policy. He pretended to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magiſtrates of the commonwealth, but ſuffered them to continue veſted with the ſame power they had before, taking care that the archon ſhould be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on; ſo that he at once preſerved that ſuperiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which was ſo pleaſing to them. That all the family of Piſiſtratus had, in their turns, a ſhare in the adminiſtration, might be made appear from various teſtimonies; at preſent we will inſiſt only on one. Piſiſtratus, the ſon of Hippias, and grandſon of the great Piſiſtratus, as we learn from Thucydides, placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the Pythian Apollo; the inſcription on the former the Athenians demoliſhed, but that on the latter they ſuffered to remain, which run thus: "This monument, during the time of his magiſtracy, Piſiſtratus, the ſon of Hippias, placed in the temple of the Pythian Apollo." It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, becauſe the year in which he was archon could not be ſettled; but the authority before produced may be aſſuredly relied on. The exceſſes committed by Hippias, after the death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildneſs of the adminiſtration preceding it; for few things that he did, would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with obſerving, that Auguſtus Cæſar affected, like Piſiſtratus, to leave the popular magiſtrates and the ſenate in the nominal poſſeſſion of their authority, though at the ſame time he held the ſupreme power himſelf (5).

(5) Thucyd.

reſiding

reſiding at Lipſydrum, buſied themſelves in contriving means for expelling the Piſiſtratidæ, and at laſt deviſed a method which proved ſucceſsful. They agreed with the amphictyons, or ſtates-general of Greece, to rebuild the temple of Delphi; as they were poſſeſſed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than could be expected from their contract, and particularly faced the frontiſpiece with Parian marble inſtead of common ſtone. While they were thus employed in the public ſervice of Greece, they corrupted the Pythia, who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the Lacedæmonians who came to conſult the oracle, either on behalf of the ſtate, or on their private account, to deliver Athens. This expedient had the effect they expected; for the Lacedæmonians finding this admonition inceſſantly inculcated, ſent Anchimolius, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into Attica, to perform what the oracle had directed, although the Piſiſtratidæ were at that time their good friends and allies[d]. Hippias receiving advice of theſe proceedings, ſent to the Theſſalians, who were his confederates, to demand their aſſiſtance, who readily ſupplied him with a thouſand horſe, under the command of Cineas, one of their princes. A ſhort time after he had received this reinforcement, Anchimolius, with his fleet, arrived on the Athenian coaſt, and immediately the army landed and encamped. The Piſiſtratidæ did not abandon Athens, but Hippias having cleared the adjacent country in ſuch a manner that the Theſſalian horſe might act with eaſe, attacked the Lacedæmonians ſuddenly, routed them with great ſlaughter, ſlew their general Anchimolius, and obliged the ſhattered remains of his army to betake themſelves to their ſhips. The body of the Spartan general was honourably interred near the temple of Hercules in the cynoſarges. The Lacedæmonians, incenſed at this unfortunate expedition, ſent another army into Attica, under their king Cleomenes, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the Athenian territories defeated the Theſſalian horſe, who retired precipitately into their own country, he made uſe of this opportunity to beſiege Hippias, who had retired within the Pelaſgic wall: this ſiege, however, could not have produced any great effect, Hippias and his forces being well provided with all things within, Cleomenes and his army deſtitute of all things without; but, an accident

Hippias defeats the Lacedæmonians.

[d] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

occaſioned

occaſioned an alteration, and conſtrained Hippias to abandon Athens. The Piſiſtratidæ were ſo careful of their children, that, to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted to ſend them out of Attica; which meaſure, though intended for the preſervation of their offspring, proved the ruin of themſelves, their children falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. The Piſiſtratidæ in order to redeem them, agreed by treaty to retire in five days from Attica, which they accordingly abandoned [e]. The princes of Theſſaly invited them into their country; the king of Macedon offered them a city and a territory, if they would retire into his dominions [f]. But Hippias and his family choſe rather to go to the city of Sigeum, which Piſiſtratus had conquered, and left to Hegiſtratus his natural ſon. From this time forwards, the Athenians purſued this family with implacable hatred, retaining ſuch a ſenſe of their uſurpation, that leſt other eminent perſons ſhould imitate them, and through their intereſt in the people aſſume the ſovereignty; they were ready to baniſh even the moſt worthy of their citizens, that at all events they might be ſafe, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſhew in the ſucceeding part of this hiſtory.

Hippias conſtrained to abandon Athens.

The Athenians did not enjoy ſuch uninterrupted quiet as they expected, after the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ. The people were ſoon divided into two factions; at the head of the one was Clyſthenes, the moſt eminent of the Alcmæonidæ; and at the head of the other Iſagoras, the ſon of Tirſander, a man of quality, and in high eſteem with the nobility of Athens. Clyſthenes, who was a perſon of great parts, and had a principal hand in corrupting the Pythia, applied himſelf chiefly to the people, and in order thoroughly to engage them in his intereſt, ſought, by all methods poſſible, to increaſe their power. With this view he altered many things in Solon's ſcheme of government; for, whereas, till this time, the Athenian tribes had been but four in number, he augmented them to ten; and encreaſed the ſenate to five hundred. Iſagoras penetrating his deſign, and readily conceiving that by this courſe he would get the better of him and his faction, reſolved to ſeek aid from the Lacedæmonians. This reſource ſeemed to him the more eaſy, becauſe, in their laſt expedition, he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Cleomenes. The

The people at Athens divided into two factions.

The king of Lacedæmon ſides with one of the parties.

[e] Ariſtoph. Lyſiſtr. Pauſan. in Lacon. ubi ſupra. [f] Herodot.

Lace-

Lacedæmonians readily agreed to Iſagoras's propoſition, and Cleomenes ſuddenly diſpatched a herald to Athens, with a declaration of war, in caſe the Alcmæonidæ were not immediately baniſhed. The Athenians, either dreading the Lacedæmonian power, or being tired already of Clyſthenes, made no great difficulty of complying; but, to avoid a war, baniſhed their benefactors. This compliance, however, did not anſwer their end; for Cleomenes, at the head of a Spartan army, ſoon after entered Attica. On his arrival at Athens he drove ſeven hundred families into baniſhment, excluſive of thoſe whom the Athenians had before baniſhed with Clyſthenes; and would have diſſolved the ſenate, in order to veſt the government in three hundred of the principal perſons of Iſagoras's faction. The Athenians perceiving that either they muſt ſubmit to ſlavery, or reſiſt the Lacedæmonians, immediately took arms, and conſtrained Cleomenes and his troops to retire, together with Iſagoras and his friends, into the citadel, where they beſieged them for two days. On the third, the king of Lacedæmon, being convinced that force would do nothing with the Athenians, ſurrendered upon condition that all who were in the citadel ſhould have leave to retire out of Attica unmoleſted. The Athenians, however, fell upon ſuch as were ſeparated from the army, and put them to death without mercy: amongſt theſe was Timeſitheus, the brother of Cleomenes; ſo that the Athenians no longer kept any meaſures with the Lacedæmonians, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who endeavoured to ſubvert the democracy, and to conſtitute an ariſtocracy, which, in truth, was ever the aim of the Spartans, who, wherever they had authority, preferred that form of government. Their motive was this, that they could better depend on the friendſhip of ſuch ſtates, than on democracies, governed by the people, who very ſeldom know their true intereſt, and are frequently prevailed on to change their counſels.

and enters Attica.

Is beſieged in the citadel of Athens, and forced to retire.

Cleomenes and his Spartans had no ſooner quitted the Athenian territories, than the people of that country recalled Clyſthenes, and all the families they had ſent into exile, that they might be the better able to ſupport a war which they foreſaw they ſhould be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded: Cleomenes raiſed forces throughout all Peloponneſus, though without declaring poſitively his intention, which was to make Iſagoras, who was ſtill with him, tyrant of Athens. When all things were ready, the Lacedæmonian king engaged

Cleomenes attempts to make Iſagoras tyrant of Athens.

gaged the Bœotians on one ſide, and the Chalcidians on the other, to attack the Athenians, while he, at the head of the grand army, entered the country of Eleuſis. The Athenians, knowing it was impoſſible for them to raiſe armies ſufficient to reſiſt their enemies, reſolved to leave their territories to the mercy of the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and, with all the forces they could draw together, to march againſt Cleomenes. This reſolution they carried accordingly into execution; but before the armies were ready to engage, the Corinthians, who were among the forces of Cleomenes, began to doubt the juſtice of their cauſe; and thinking it ſafeſt not to act where they were doubtful, marched back to their own country. Demaratus, the ſon of Ariſton, the other king of Sparta, and colleague of Cleomenes, was alſo againſt this expedition; and his oppoſition was the more remarkable, becauſe, till then, he had never differed with his colleague. The confederates, obſerving that neither the Lacedæmonian princes could agree amongſt themſelvs, nor prevail upon the Corinthians to remain with the army, began to diſlike this buſineſs, and dropping off by degrees, delivered the Athenians from all apprehenſion.

But is abandoned by his confederates.

When the Spartans and their allies were withdrawn, the people of Athens determined to revenge themſelves upon the Chalcidians, againſt whom the army marched immediately; but finding the Bœotians had aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces between them and the Euripus, they attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs, that the enemy were entirely routed, many ſlain, and ſeven hundred taken priſoners. This victory opened a free paſſage into Eubœa, whither the Athenians marched the ſame day, and falling upon the Chalcidians, obtained a glorious victory, taking a great number of priſoners, whom, with the Bœotians, they carried to Athens, leaving in Eubœa four thouſand men. All the priſoners taken in this battle the Athenians put in irons, though they afterwards ſet them at liberty, on receiving two minæ for each man by way of ranſom. The fetters they hung up in the citadel; and having conſecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ranſom, they purchaſed a chariot with four horſes a-breaſt, which they ſet up in the portico of the citadel, with this inſcription:

The Athenians gain two complete victories over the Chalcidians and Bœotians.

Warm with juſt rage, when the Athenian youth
O'ercame Bœotian and Chalcidian bands,
Their foes, in fetters bound, to Pallas then,
Theſe, as the tenth of all their ſpoils, they plac'd.

The

The Bœotians, ſtung with the indignities offered to their countrymen, when made priſoners by the Athenians, reſolved to revenge themſelves; and, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, before they began to war, they ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphos. Having received its anſwer, and ſpent a conſiderable time in conſulting about its meaning, they, at laſt, reſolved to engage the inhabitants of Ægina to invade Attica at the ſame time; which it was eaſy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that coaſt. This nation, having an hereditary hatred to the Athenians, and elated with their great wealth, readily embraced the propoſal; and, while the people of Athens bent all their attention to the Bœotian war, landed a conſiderable army on the oppoſite ſide, and waſted all the ſea-coaſts. The Athenians were incenſed at this invaſion; but ſending to Delphi, before they equipped a fleet againſt Ægina, they ſuddenly engaged in new difficulties. Yr. of Fl. 1847. Ante Chr. 501.

The war with the Æginatians.

Cleomenes, when he returned to Sparta after his unſucceſsful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he ſaid he had found in the citadel of Athens, while he was beſieged. The purport of theſe oracles was, that Athens would in time rival Sparta. About the ſame time they diſcovered the underhand dealings between Clyſthenes and the prieſteſs of Apollo, whereby the Lacedæmonians had been engaged to drive the Piſiſtratidæ out of Athens, or, in other words, to ſacrifice their friends to ſuch as by their intereſts were their enemies. The Spartans, repenting of their folly, ſent for Hippias from Sigeum, in order to reſtore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their ſummons; and, after a long voyage by ſea, came in perſon to Lacedæmon, where the kings of Sparta, and the deputies of the ſtates in alliance with them, were in deep conſultation. Soſicles, the Corinthian, made a long harangue againſt the propoſition for reſtoring Hippias, which had ſuch an influence on the deputies from the reſt of the confederates, that the Lacedæmonians found it impoſſible to engage them in this deſign, and were, therefore conſtrained to abandon it themſelves; ſo that Hippias was obliged to return to Sigeum, without relinquiſhing, however, his hopes of one day reducing Athens.

The Spartans propoſe to reſtore Hippias.

The propoſal rejected by the other ſtates.

Ariſtagoras, the Mileſian, having promoted a revolt in Ionia, and having failed in his attempt to engage the Lacedæmonians to ſupport it, came to Athens; and, as Herodotus obſerves, found it eaſier to manage all the citizens by his eloquence than to perſuade the Lacedæmonian king. In conſequence of his fine ſpeeches, they decreed that

Ionian war.

that twenty ſhips ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Ionians, under the command of Melanthius, an Athenian nobleman, univerſally eſteemed; by the aſſiſtance of this fleet the Ionians performed many great exploits, and amongſt the reſt ſacked Sardis, of which event, when the Perſian king had advice, he declared himſelf the ſworn enemy of Athens, and ſolemnly beſought God that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them [s]. This was the ſource of thoſe wars which enſued between the Perſians and the Greeks, and were ſo fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the Ionians were unſucceſsful, and the Perſians reduced them again under their yoke.

When the Ionian war was ended, the Perſian king ſent to demand earth and water, as tokens of ſubmiſſion from the Greeks, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at ſea, moſt of the iſlanders yielded, and amongſt the reſt the inhabitants of Ægina. The Athenians, as ſoon as they received notice of this incident, took it for granted, that this nation had ſubmitted to the great king, that they might be at liberty to act againſt the Athenians, under pretence of their being ſubject to the Perſian crown. On this account they ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to accuſe the inhabitants of Ægina of treachery to the Greeks. The Spartans, upon this complaint, ſent their king Cleomenes to Ægina, who, on his arrival, attempted to ſeize the perſons principally concerned in making their ſubmiſſion to the Perſians. But Crius, the ſon of Polycritus, interpoſed, and told him he ſhould not carry away any of his countrymen, becauſe he apprehended what he did was not by any commiſſion from the Lacedæmonians. This oppoſition exceedingly irritated Cleomenes, who, notwithſtanding, was conſtrained to return without effecting what he deſigned, his colleague Demaratus having accuſed him at home. But having, after he came back, procured his colleague to be depoſed, and his own kinſman Leutychides to be crowned, he conducted the laſt mentioned prince into the iſland of Ægina, and having ſeized ten of the principal perſons of that iſland, and amongſt them Crius, he brought them away priſoners, and delivered them to the Athenians. Not long after this tranſaction, having in his phrenzy killed himſelf, all his tyrannical acts were diſapproved by the Spartans, who, when the inhabitants of Ægina accuſed Leutychides for the injury he had done

Yr. of Fl. 1856. Ante Chr. 492.

War between the Athenians and the people of Ægina.

[s] Herodot. lib. v. cap. 101.

them

them, delivered that prince to them; yet nothing more was deſired of him, than that he would go with them to Athens, in order to ſolicit the releaſe of Crius and his aſſociates. When they arrived, the Spartan king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to ſhew that the hoſtages were only depoſited by him and his colleague in Athens, that they might be ſafe; and that now, when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this argument either the Athenians did not or would not underſtand; ſo that the war between them and the people of Ægina was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs. The latter being informed that the Athenian galley, which repaired annually to Delphi, lay at anchor at Sunium, they intercepted it, and took many perſons of diſtinction that were on board. The Athenians, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one Nicodromus, a perſon of great intereſt in Ægina; he had been formerly baniſhed his country by thoſe who then governed it; and, in order to be revenged on them, reſolved to betray it to the Athenians. The Athenians for this purpoſe fitted out a conſiderable fleet, but not thinking it ſufficient for their purpoſe, Ægina being then miſtreſs of thoſe ſeas, they had recourſe to the Corinthians for their aſſiſtance: this ſtate being the friend and ally of Athens, did not give her a denial, but alleged a law, forbidding them to lend their ſhips; an expedient, however, was found, by which the Athenians obtained what they wanted, and yet the Corinthians did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ſhips, in conſideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The delay occaſioned by this treaty fruſtrated the Athenian hopes; for Nicodromus, depending on their arrival the day prefixed, ſeized on the old town, and declared for the Athenians; but, he and his party not being able alone to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, they were obliged to ſecure themſelves by flight, the day before the Athenian and Corinthian fleet appeared off Ægina. This defection of Nicodromus proved very beneficial to the Athenians; for, having aſſigned to him and his aſſociates land on the ſhore oppoſite to Ægina, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the iſſue was of this war, Herodotus does not inform us: it is generally conceived that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the Athenians, and for Greece in general; for, it exerciſed that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the uſe and conſequence of a

Nicodromus of Ægina reſolves to betray his country to the Athenians;

but fails through the ſlowneſs of the Athenians.

naval force, which hitherto they had little underſtood. When the firſt news came that the Perſian had in view the conqueſt of Greece, the Athenians and the inhabitants of Ægina, as well as the reſt of the Grecian ſtates, compromiſed their differences, that they might be able to reſiſt the power of the great king, who threatened to deſtroy the liberties of the Greeks, in revenge for the aſſiſtance given by the Athenians to the Ionians, when they ſought to recover their freedom [h].

Hippias endeavours to be reſtored to the principality of Athens.

We have already taken notice of the diſpleaſure which Darius had taken againſt the Athenians, on account of the ſacking of Sardis; but we forbore to mention the intrigues of Hippias, in order to obtain by force the principality of Athens, from whence, through the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, he had been expelled. This old man, after his return from Lacedæmon to Aſia, applied to Artaphernes, governor of the adjacent provinces for the Perſian king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promiſing that himſelf would be obedient to Darius, and greatly forward all his deſigns, in caſe he could be reſtored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at Athens. The Athenians were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propoſitions he had made to Artaphernes; they therefore ſent ambaſſadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any attention to Hippias's propoſals, but to ſuffer the people of Athens to remain free and quiet in their preſent ſituation. But Artaphernes, conceiving that it would be more for his maſter's intereſt to have a prince governing Athens, than to leave it under a democratic form of government, anſwered the Athenians haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they muſt receive Hippias, and obey him: but this propoſal was ſo odious to the people, that they immediately reſolved to give the enemies of Darius all the aſſiſtance they could; and to endeavour, if it were poſſible, to cut him out ſo much work near home, that he might have no opportunity to attempt any thing either againſt them or Greece. At laſt, however, Darius commiſſioned Mardonius to revenge the inſults which he conceived had been put upon him by the Greeks. But Mardonius and his troops, through a ſtorm at ſea, and other accidents, having been diſabled, Datis and Artaphernes, the ſon of Artaphernes, were commiſſioned to execute what he was to have performed [i].

With that view recurs to the Perſians.

[h] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 88, & ſeq.

[i] Id. ibid. cap. 94.

The

The misfortune which the Perſians had ſuffered by ſhipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of Athos, made ſuch an impreſſion on the commanders laſt mentioned, that they reſolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of Cilicia, and paſſing from thence through the Cyclades to Eubœa, in order to deſtroy Eretria. From thence their deſign was to proceed to Athens, they having it in charge from Darius to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his diſpoſal. The Eretrians, when they had advice of the arrival of the Perſian fleet among the Cyclades, ſent to demand aſſiſtance from the Athenians. That ſtate ordered the four thouſand men whom they had left in the Chalcidian territory to advance to the aid of the Eretrians. But the inhabitants of that city were neither ſteady nor honeſt; one party was for receiving the Athenian ſuccours into the city, and reſiſting to the laſt extremity; a ſecond was for abandoning the city, and retiring to the mountains of Eubœa; a third party reſolved to deliver their country to the Perſians, for the ſake of private advantage. Æſchines, the ſon of Nothon, a man of authority among his countrymen, perceiving the ſituation things were in, generouſly informed the commanders of the Athenian troops, and adviſed them to return home: in conſequence of this advice, they immediately retired to Oropus, and eſcaped that total deſtruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of Eretria; for that city being betrayed to the Perſians, was pillaged, burnt, and the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves, according to the command of Darius[k].

Yr. of Fl. 1858. Ante Chr. 490.

The Perſian war.

The Eretrians divided among themſelves.

Their city betrayed to the Perſians.

The Athenians, who were generally divided among themſelves, and perſecuted one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with great zeal, when they heard that the Perſians were ſo near. They raiſed with the utmoſt expedition all the forces they were able to maintain, and yet could not draw together above nine thouſand men. Theſe, with a thouſand Platæans who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers who had equal power. Among theſe were Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles, all men of diſtinguiſhed valour and abilities. But it being conceived that it would be impoſſible for them, with their ſmall forces, to give any interruption to the Perſians, they ſent Phidip-

The Athenians raiſe what forces they can.

[k] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 100.

pides to Sparta, to entreat the immediate aſſiſtance of that ſtate. This man affirmed afterwards to the Athenians, that paſſing by Mount Parthenius, he heard himſelf loudly called by his name; when, turning about, he beheld the god Pan, who, after having aſked why the Athenians held him in no greater eſteem, aſſured Phidippides that he had deſerved very well of their ſtate, and would continue his good offices. The people of Athens, upon this information, cauſed a temple to be erected to Pan, near the citadel, and honoured him thenceforward with annual ſacrifices, and a lamp continually burning. Phidippides, after this ſtrange adventure, arrived on the ſecond day at Sparta, where he communicated his buſineſs to the ſenate in the following terms: "Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians deſire you to aſſiſt them, and not to ſuffer the moſt ancient of all the Grecian cities to be enſlaved by the Barbarians. Eretria is already deſtroyed, and Greece conſequently weakened by the loſs of ſo conſiderable a place." The Lacedæmonians readily agreed to what he propoſed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march; but at the ſame time declared, that they would not depart in leſs than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition but at the full of the moon, whereas it was then but the ninth day. The Perſians, in the mean time, being informed by Hippias, that the plains of Marathon would be the moſt advantageous place for them to give battle, becauſe it would afford them room to act with their horſe, they marched thither, after the deſtruction of Eretria; of which motion when the Athenians had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to advance to Marathon alſo [1].

Yr. of Fl. 1858. Ante Chr. 490.

The battle of Marathon.

The Athenians being encamped at the temple of Hercules, were joined by a thouſand men, the whole ſtrength of the little city of Platæa, which ſhe now hazarded in the cauſe of Athens, out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council of war being held, the generals were

[1] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 105, & ſeq.

(R) The city of Platæa was in old times free. Herodotus has given us a very full account of the reaſons which induced its inhabitants to raiſe their utmoſt force in the cauſe of Athens. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words: "The Platæans were already under the protection of Athens, and the Athenians had gone through many dangers in their defence; for when the Platæans ſaw themſelves oppreſſed by the Thebans, they firſt offered

were very much divided in their opinions: ſome were for fighting, others for remaining on the defenſive. Miltiades obſerving this diviſion, and conſidering the great importance of the matter in debate, thus addreſſed himſelf to Callimachus of Aphidna, who was polemarch, and whoſe power was equal to that of all the other generals: "You alone, O Callimachus, muſt now determine, either to ſee the Athenians reduced to the condition of ſlaves, or, by preſerving the liberty of your country, have an eternal monument of your fame, ſurpaſſing the glory of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton: for the Athenians were never in ſo great danger, from the time they were firſt a people. If they fall under the power of the Medes, one *Miltiades' ſpeech.*

fered their ſubmiſſion to Cleomenes, the ſon of Anaxandrides, and to the Lacedæmonians. But they rejected the offer in theſe terms: "We are placed, ſaid they, at ſuch a diſtance from you, that in time of neceſſity our ſuccours will prove ineffectual; for your country may be frequently ravaged, before we can be informed of your danger. We adviſe you, therefore, to put yourſelves under the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, and ſufficiently able to defend you." This council the Lacedæmonians gave, not out of any good will to the Platæans, but becauſe they were deſirous to ſee the Athenians weakened by a war againſt the Bœotians. However, the Platæans approving their advice, went to Athens, and arriving there when the Athenians were met to ſacrifice to the twelve gods, they placed themſelves by the altar, in the poſture of ſuppliants, and made their ſubmiſſion to that place; which when the Thebans heard, they ſent an army againſt Platæa, and at the ſame time the Athenians marched to aſſiſt the Platæans. But as they were ready to engage in battle, the Corinthians, apprehending the conſequences, interpoſed their good offices to reconcile the contending parties; and, with the conſent of both ſides, determined the diſpute by this agreement: "That the Thebans ſhould permit all thoſe Bœotians, who would no longer be accounted members of Bœotia, to do as they thought moſt convenient for themſelves." After this reconciliation, the Corinthians returned home; and as the Athenians were retiring likewiſe, the Bœotians attacked them in their march, but were repulſed with loſs: upon which ſucceſs, the Athenians enlarged the frontiers of the Platæans; and inſtead of that appointed by the Corinthians, fixed the limits of the Thebans at Aſopus and Hyſia. In this manner the Platæans came under the protection of the Athenians, and joined their forces at Marathon (1)."

(1) Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 108.

may eaſily imagine what uſage they muſt expect from Hippias; but, if they conquer, Athens will be the principal city of Greece. To let you know, then, by what means theſe things may be effected, and from what cauſe the fate of Athens is now in your hands, I ſhall acquaint you, that we are at this inſtant divided in opinion touching a battle; ſome of us propoſing to fight, and others adviſing the contrary. If we decline a battle, I foreſee ſome great diſſenſion will ſhake the fidelity of the army, and induce them to a compliance with the Medes; but if we fight before corruption ſlides into the hearts of the Athenians, we may hope, from the equity of the gods, to obtain the victory. All theſe things are in your power, and entirely depend upon the reſolution you ſhall take. If you ſupport my opinion with the acceſſion of your vote, you will ſee your country free, and Athens the moſt illuſtrious city of Greece; but if you join with thoſe who would diſſuade us from a battle, you can expect no other conſequences, than ſuch as are moſt contrary to theſe hopes." Callimachus, whoſe voice was deciſive, according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately[m]. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns; but Ariſtides giving up his day to Miltiades, the reſt followed his example. That excellent perſon accepted this compliment for the good of his country, but he would not engage till his proper day of command came about, leſt through ſome latent ſparks of jealouſy and envy, any of the generals ſhould be remiſs in doing their duty. But when the day came, he, without waiting for any farther ſuccours, diſpoſed the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his forces in the wings. Callimachus, as polemarch, commanded on the right; the Platæans were poſted on the left; and the ſacrifices being offered, they began inſtantly to advance, with inexpreſſible ardor, towards their enemies. The Perſian army, which was ranged in battalia near a mile diſtant, when they beheld the Athenians running towards them, imputed their attack to folly and ignorance of military diſcipline, and were convinced of this opinion, when they obſerved that they had neither horſe nor pikemen. However, they ſoon found their error when the charge began; for the Athenians and Platæans fought with ſuch obſtinate valour on the right and left, that the Barbarians were forced to fly on both ſides. The

Confederates agree to give battle.

The two armies engage.

[m] Idem ibid. cap. 109.

Perſians

Perſians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian center was weak, charged with ſuch force, that they broke it. This diſaſter thoſe on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to remedy it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Perſian army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own center, they encloſed the hitherto victorious Perſians, and cut them in pieces. This ſlaughter ended the engagement; for the remains of the army fled to their fleet, whither the Athenians purſued them. When the Perſians hurried on board with the booty they had acquired in Eretria, and ſought to eſcape by ſea that ill fate which attended them on ſhore, the Athenians ſet ſome of the ſhips on fire, and boarded ſuch as lay neareſt the ſhore; in which bold attempt, though they had ſome ſucceſs, yet the Perſians at laſt got under ſail, and bore away for Athens [n]. It was reported in thoſe times, that the Alcmæonidæ encouraged the Perſians to make a ſecond attempt, by holding up, as they approached the ſhore, a ſhield for a ſignal: however it was, the Perſian fleet endeavoured to double the cape of Sunium, with a view to ſurpriſe the city of Athens before the army could return. But Miltiades, ſeeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving Ariſtides with a thouſand men to guard the priſoners and the ſpoil, marched at the head of the other nine thouſand with ſuch diligence, that they arrived at the temple of Hercules in Cynoſarges, a ſmall diſtance from the city, before the Barbarians were in a condition to attack it. When the Perſian admiral had notice of this march, he ſailed from the port of Phalerum for Aſia; and thus ended a very unfortunate expedition [o].

The Perſians defeated with great ſlaughter.

The battle of Marathon makes deſervedly a great figure in hiſtory; becauſe never before had ſo ſmall a body of forces overcome ſo vaſt an army. Herodotus tells us, that ſix thouſand three hundred of the Perſians were ſlain on the Spot, and of the Athenians one hundred ninety-two. Certain it is, the Athenians behaved with amazing intrepidity, and ſeveral individuals amongſt them diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner. Callimachus, the polemarch, after having done all that a brave and wiſe officer could do, loſt his life in the field; Staſileus, the ſon of Thraſylus, one of the ten commanders, was alſo killed; Cynegyrus, the ſon of Euphorion, laid hold

Battle of Marathon, why ſo remarkable.

[n] Herodot. ubi ſupra. cap. 101, 102, 112, 117. Plutarch. in Vit. Ariſt. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Miltiad. Valer. Max. &c. [o] Plutarch. in Vit. Ariſt.

of the prow of one of the Perſian ſhips with both his hands, and having them ſtruck off by an ax, died of his wounds; this is the account of Herodotus [p]. Juſtin ſays, that Cynegyrus having performed wonders in the fight, purſued the Perſians to the ſhore, and laid hold of a ſhip, ready to ſail, with his right hand; when that was cut off, he ſeized it with his left, of which being likewiſe deprived, he caught hold of it with his teeth. As to the numbers of the Perſians it is very differently reported. Juſtin ſays, that they were ſix hundred thouſand; Cornelius Nepos makes them ten times the number of the Athenians, that is one hundred thouſand, which is probably not far from the truth [q].

Amongſt the many eminent perſons who were preſent in this famous engagement, was Hippias, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, who hoped, through the power of the Perſians, to be reſtored to the principality of Athens. He conducted the Barbarians into the plains of Marathon, as we have ſaid above. As to what became of him in the battle, both Herodotus and Thucydides are ſilent. Juſtin [r], and ſome later authors, ſay that he was killed there; if he was, the Athenians loſt in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving miſchief againſt them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and acting.

Ariſtides' integrity.

Ariſtides, who remained on the field of battle, while Miltiades marched back to Athens, diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity; for though there was much gold and ſilver in the Perſian camp; and the tents and ſhips they had taken were full of riches of all ſorts, yet he neither took any thing himſelf, nor omitted, to the utmoſt of his power, the neceſſary precautions to prevent other people's ſeizing the ſpoil. Yet ſome there were who found means to enrich themſelves by private plunder, particularly Callias the torch-bearer, Ariſtides' couſin-german (S). For this man, having long hair, and a fillet about his head, one of the Perſians took him for a king, and falling down at

[p] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 9. [q] In vita Miltiad. [r] Ubi ſupra.

(S) Torch-bearers, ſtyled in Greek, daduchi, were perſons dedicated to the ſervice of the gods, and admitted even into the moſt ſacred myſteries. On this account Pauſanias ſpeaks of it as a great happineſs to a woman, that ſhe had ſeen her brother, her huſband, and her ſon, ſucceſſively enjoy this office (1).

(1) In Atticis.

his

his feet, diſcovered to him a vaſt quantity of gold hid in a well; Callias not only ſeized it, and applied it to his private uſe, but moſt inhumanly put to death the poor man who ſhewed it him, to prevent his diſcovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemiſhed his own reputation, but tranſmitted infamy to his poſterity, who, notwithſtanding their eminence in the ſtate, were ſtyled by the comic poets laccopluti, i. e. *enriched by the well* [s], an example which merits conſideration, perhaps, as much as any other recorded in hiſtory. The Athenians, in token of their reſpect towards thoſe brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inſcriptions, containing their names, and the names of their tribes and families. At ſome diſtance they raiſed other monuments for the Platæans, Bœotians, and ſlaves, who were ſlain here. They likewiſe cauſed this battle to be painted in the Pœcilian portico, where the Platæan auxiliaries were repreſented, as well as the Athenian ſoldiers, and at the head of theſe their ten captains, Miltiades holding the firſt place [t]; and this was all the reward they beſtowed upon thoſe heroes.

Honours paid by the Athenians to thoſe who were killed.

It cannot ſeem ſtrange that the Athenians were highly elated with this victory. In the firſt tranſports of their joy they granted all the Platæans the freedom of their city; as for Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles, who had exceedingly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, they were, for the preſent, treated with all the marks of gratitude and reſpect they could have wiſhed, though, afterwards, they were all ſlighted, proſecuted, and condemned. While Miltiades was thus high in favour, he propoſed, in a general aſſembly of the people, that he ſhould be entruſted with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips, well manned and provided, promiſing them that he would put them in poſſeſſion of great riches, and make the expedition, in other reſpects, very advantageous. The Athenians readily embraced this project, and fitted out ſuch a fleet as he deſired, of which Miltiades taking the command, ſailed to Paros. The reaſon, he pretended, for invading this iſland was, that the inhabitants had aſſiſted the Perſians with ſhips in the expedition of Marathon; but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that one Lyſagoras, a Parian, had done him ill offices with Hydarnes, the Perſian. When he arrived on the iſland he ſent heralds to the capital, requiring a hundred

All the Platæans made free of Athens.

Miltiades' unſucceſsful expedition againſt the iſland of Paros.

[s] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [t] Corn. Nep. in Vita Miltiad.

talents

talents to be paid him, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to beſiege the city, and, in caſe he reduced it, to give it up to the plunder of his ſoldiers. The Parians, however, were not to be terrified; they even refuſed to deliberate on his propoſition; and prepared themſelves for an obſtinate defence. Miltiades cauſed the place to be inveſted, and carried on the ſiege with great vigour, till one Timo, a Parian woman, who was a prieſteſs, pretended to inform him how he ſhould take the city. In conſequence of what this woman told him, he repaired to the temple of Ceres the law-giver, and not being able to open its gates, climbed to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down: being ſeized with a ſudden tremor, and reſolving to return, he re-aſcended the wall, but his foot ſlipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or diſlocated his knee-pan; however, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, after having lain twenty-ſix days before the town, and to return wounded to Athens [y].

Is accuſed to the general aſſembly.

An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur. Xanthippus, the father of the famous Pericles, accuſed him to the general aſſembly of having deceived the Athenians; and demanded that they ſhould paſs upon him ſentence of death. The unhappy Miltiades was in no condition to defend himſelf. Nature had already paſſed that judgment which his enemies ſought; his wound, perhaps through lowneſs of ſpirits, had induced a mortification, ſo that he could not be moved out of his bed: his brother, Tiſagoras, ſpoke for him; he repreſented to the Athenians that this Miltiades, who had failed in his laſt expedition, had ſaved Athens at Marathon, and had conquered for them the iſland of Lemnos; he, therefore, entreated them to remember his paſt ſervices, as well as his preſent error, and pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating on the preſent queſtion. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deſerved capital puniſhment; but, at the ſame time, fined him fifty talents, the whole expence of the Parian expedition; and becauſe he was unable to pay this great ſum, they ſent him to goal, where he died: his ſon Cimon paid the fine, but not till after his father had died in priſon. The ſon was alſo ſent thither on the ſame account, and remained confined, till Callias furniſhed him with the money to pay his fine [z].

Is fined, and dies in goal.

[y] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 133. [z] Herodot. ubi ſupra, cap. 134. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

Such

Such was the gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades and his family (T).

The

(T) The hiſtory of the family of Miltiades, and their becoming princes, is related by Herodotus. He ſays, that the Thracian Dolonces, inhabiting a part of Cherſoneſus, and having ſuffered much in a war againſt the Abſynthians, ſent to enquire of the oracle at Delphi whom they ſhould elect king: to which they received for anſwer, that they ſhould invite him to lead a colony into their country, who ſhould firſt invite them into his houſe, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the Delonces, paſſing by the ſacred way, through the territories of the Phocæans and Bœotians, and receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of Athens. In that time Piſiſtratus had, indeed, the ſupreme power; but Miltiades, the ſon of Cypſelus, was not without authority in Athens, being of an illuſtrious family, anciently deſcended from Æacus and Ægina, and afterwards eſtabliſhed among the Athenians, by Philæus, the ſon of Ajax, the firſt of that race who ſettled there. This Miltiades, ſitting before his gates, and ſeeing the Delonces paſſing by, cloathed and armed in a different manner from the Athenians, called out to them, and, upon their coming to him, deſired they would be his gueſts, and accept the entertainment of his houſe. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hoſpitably entertained, acquainted him with the oracle, and requeſted him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. Miltiades hearkened to their propoſition, and complied with more readineſs, becauſe he grew impatient of the government of Piſiſtratus, and deſired an opportunity to withdraw. In theſe ſentiments he went to Delphi to conſult the oracle, whether he ſhould yield to the requeſt of the Dolonces, and received an encouraging anſwer from the Pythian. Upon which Miltiades, the ſon of Cypſelus, who had formerly been victorious in the Olympian chariot-race, taking with him all ſuch Athenians as were willing to join in his expedition, ſailed with the Dolonces, and arriving in their country, was inveſted with the ſovereign power. The firſt thing he did was to build a wall upon the iſthmus of Cherſoneſus, from the city of Cardia to that of Pontya, in order to prevent the Abſynthians from infeſting the country for the future with their incurſions. This iſthmus is thirty ſix ſtadia in breadth; and the whole length of Cherſoneſus, beginning in that place, is four hundred and twenty ſtadia. When Miltiades had built this wall on the neck of Cherſoneſus, and by that means excluded the Abſynthians, he, in the next place, made war upon the Lampſacinians, and, falling into an ambuſcade, was taken alive by the enemy. Crœſus, king of Lydia, being informed of this event, threatened the people of Lampſacus with his diſpleaſure,

Conteſts between Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

The people of Athens being now releaſed from all apprehenſions of foreign war, fell, as uſual, into diſſenſions among

pleaſure, in caſe they did not releaſe Miltiades; which they taking into conſideration, and being afraid to diſoblige ſo great a monarch, reſtored Miltiades to freedom. Thus having eſcaped by the means of Crœſus, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to Steſagoras the ſon of Cimon, his brother by the ſame mother. The Cherſoneſians honour him with ſacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accuſtomed manner, having inſtituted gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes on that occaſion, in which no Lampſacinian was permitted to contend for the prize. During the war, which ſtill continued againſt the people of Lampſacus, Steſagoras likewiſe died without children, being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who pretending to be a deſerter, was indeed a moſt cruel enemy. After whoſe death the Piſiſtratidæ ſent Miltiades the ſon of Cimon, and brother of Steſagoras, to Cherſoneſus with one ſhip, to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in Athens, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father Cimon, who was aſſaſſinated by their order. Arriving in Cherſoneſus, he kept himſelf retired, under colour of honouring the memory of his brother Steſagoras; which the Cherſoneſians hearing, the principal perſons of every city aſſembled together, and coming to his houſe with intention to condole with him, were all ſeized and impriſoned. By this means Miltiades made himſelf maſter of Cherſoneſus, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married Hegeſypla daughter to Olorus king of Thrace. But he had not long been in poſſeſſion, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced; for, in the third year of his government, he left the country, not daring to wait the coming of the Scythian Nomades, who having been irritated by the expedition of Darius, had aſſembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of Cherſoneſus. Nevertheleſs, upon the departure of the Scythians, he was again reſtored by the Dolones; and in the third year after this, hearing that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, he put all his riches on board five ſhips, and ſailed for Athens (3). The reader may poſſibly think this note very long, but there was a neceſſity for it, ſince ſo eminent an author as Cornelius Nepos hath rendered the hiſtory of this great man unintelligible, by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiſcuouſly the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting Lemnos into the hands of the Athenians, it happened thus: the inhabitants of that iſland

(3) Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 34—38.

having

among themſelves; they were divided on the old ſubject, whether all things ſhould be in the power of the people; or whether the ſtate ſhould be governed by the nobility. Ariſtides, was at the head of one party, and Themiſtocles was chief of the other. Ariſtides was the ſon of Lyſimachus, of the tribe of Antiochis, and ward of Alopece. Themiſtocles was the ſon of Neocles, of the tribe of Leontes, by his mother's ſide a ſtranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family: Plutarch tells us that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, not only in ſerious matters, but even in their ſports and plays; nor could it be well otherwiſe; for, Ariſtides is ſaid by him to have been firm and ſteady in his behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared juſt, and incapable of uſing the leaſt falſhood, flattery, or deceit, even in jeſt; whereas Themiſtocles was of an impetuous nature, full of ſpirit, ſubtle, daring, complaiſant, and one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he ſpent even his times of recreation in ſtudy, and diverted himſelf with compoſing orations, in which he either excuſed or accuſed ſome of his companions, whence his ſchoolmaſter pronounced thus of him; "Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary perſon, but will at ſome time or other become either a mighty bleſſing, or an outrageous curſe to thy country." As they grew up they differed ſtill more *Their characters.*

having had long differences with the Athenians, and being admoniſhed by the Delphian oracle to compromiſe them, they ſent to Athens to know upon what terms it might be done; the Athenians offered them no other than the abſolute ſurrender of their country; to which the Lemnian deputies anſwered, that they would obey when a ſhip from the Athenian dominions ſhould come with a north wind in one day into a haven of Lemnos, which, becauſe Attica was ſituated to the ſouth of Lemnos, they conceived impoſſible; but Miltiades being poſſeſſed of the Cherſoneſus, and ſailing from a port in the Helleſpont, arrived in one day at Lemnos, driven thither by a ſtrong north wind; upon which he immediately demanded that the iſland ſhould be given up to him, which, partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the Athenian territories (4). As to the impriſonment of his ſon as well as himſelf, and the manner in which his fine was at laſt diſcharged, Cornelius Nepos expreſſly aſſerts it as delivered in our text; whereas the account given of it by Plutarch is neither clear nor conſiſtent.

(4) Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 137, & ſeq.

in

in their ſentiments and conduct; Ariſtides ſtudied the laws of Lycurgus, and by the reaſoning of that great man, became a favourer of ariſtocracy. Themiſtocles, rather out of ſpleen to him, than from any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cauſe of the people; and thus childiſh quarrels ripening into a ſtrong averſion in the breaſts of two private men, created great diſorders in a potent ſtate, and ſhook the conſtitution of Athens.

They both loved their country;

How much ſoever the diſſenſions between Ariſtides and Themiſtocles might injure the Athenian ſtate; and how ready ſoever they might be to oppoſe each other, even in points where they were conſcious that what they oppoſed was right, yet it muſt be owned that they loved their country, and were often aſhamed and ſorry for their conduct. Ariſtides was the honeſter man of the two, and therefore the moſt frank (U). We have before ſhewn, that not only men of rank in Athens, but all Athenian citizens, had ſeats in their courts of judicature. As thoſe rivals differed in every thing, ſo they were oppoſite in their notions of what a man's duty was in ſuch a ſtation. Ariſtides conceived that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and paſſion; it was a common ſaying with Themiſtocles, "God forbid that I ſhould ever ſit on a tribunal where my friends ſhould not have more favour than ſtrangers." Ariſtides's conduct was certainly the more laudable. He piqued himſelf ſo much upon conforming to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the ſurname of Juſt, and was looked upon as the moſt worthy and virtuous of the Athenians. Themiſtocles, inſtead of repining, rejoiced at this character; for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an eaſy thing to deſtroy a rival arrived at ſo high a reputation [y].

but oppoſite in their notions.

The oſtraciſm.

The oſtraciſm was already introduced into the Athenian ſtate, though it is not certain by whom; ſome ſay by Piſiſtratus, or rather by his ſons; others by Cliſthenes; but

[y] Plut. in Vit. Themiſt. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Ariſt.

(U) When Themiſtocles had one day propoſed to the aſſembly of the people ſomething to their advantage, Ariſtides made a long oration againſt it, which ſo far miſled the people, that they rejected what Themiſtocles had propoſed. Ariſtides was ſo much affected with what he had done, that when he left the aſſembly he could not help ſaying, "The Athenians can never be perfectly ſafe till they have ſent Themiſtocles and me to goal (5).

(5) Plutarch. in Vit. Themiſt.

this

this circumſtance not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention to oſtraciſm till we came to a particular inſtance. By this men eminent to ſuch a degree as to threaten the ſtate with danger, were baniſhed for ten years. Plutarch ſays this exile was not a puniſhment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, uſed as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people, for thoſe apprehenſions with which they were ſo often affected. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the oſtraciſm was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or ſhell, on which having written the name of the perſon he would have baniſhed, he carried it to a certain place of the forum, which was incloſed with rails; then the magiſtrates counted the number of the ſhells; for if they were leſs than ſix thouſand, the vote did not take place; but if they ſurpaſſed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whoſe name was found on the greateſt number of ſhells was of courſe exiled for ten years, with leave to make what uſe he thought proper of his eſtate (W). *How inflicted.*

It

(W) The oſtraciſm makes ſo great a figure in all the Greek hiſtory, and occurs ſo often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit we ſhould give the reader a particular account of it. It derived its name from oſtracon, which ſignifies a *tile*, becauſe at firſt the names of perſons baniſhed in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen veſſels (6). Diodorus Siculus ſays, ſuch as were ejected from their country by the oſtraciſm were not allowed to return in five years (7); but in this he is miſtaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (8), and the time allowed him, on whom this puniſhment fell, to quit the Athenian territories was ten days (9). The fundamental rule of telling the groſs number of the ſhells, and rendering the oſtraciſm void, if they did not amount to ſix thouſand, was a great point in favour of eminent perſons, ſince in a city where there were not above eighteen or twenty thouſand free citizens, it muſt have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter into ſuch a deſign. It may ſeem ſtrange that the author of ſo extraordinary a law as this ſhould not be known; and yet it is certain that about no hiſtorical point authors differ more. Ælian aſcribes it to Clyſthenes before mentioned (1); Diodorus Siculus ſays it took place under the Piſiſtratidæ (2), and many are of that opinion beſides him. For Plutarch reports that Hipparchus was baniſhed under their ad-

(6) Suidas Heſychius. (7) Biblioth. lib. xi. (8) Pollux, Plutarch. in Vit. Ariſt. (9) Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. ad Equit. (1) Var. Hiſt. lib. xiii. cap. 14. (2) Biblioth. lib. xi.

miniſtration

Themiſtocles raiſes the popular reſentment againſt Ariſtides.

It may ſeem ſtrange that Themiſtocles could raiſe the popular reſentment againſt a man celebrated for peaceable virtues; yet he effected this aim, by cauſing it to be whiſpered about, that Ariſtides having aſſumed the name of Juſt, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had inſenſibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; "For what (ſaid the agents of Themiſtocles) conſtitutes a tyrant but giving laws?" On a ſudden, and when it was leaſt expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the forum, and demanded the oſtraciſm. One of the clowns, from a borough in Attica, who could neither read nor write, brought his ſhell to Ariſtides, and ſaid, "Write me Ariſtides upon this." Ariſtides, ſurpriſed, aſked him if he knew any ill of that Athenian, or if he had done him hurt. "Me hurt! (ſaid the fellow) no, I don't ſo much as know him, but I am weary and ſick at heart on hearing him every where called the Juſt." Ariſtides, therefore, took the ſhell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a ſtrong proof of his firmneſs of mind; but he gave yet a greater. When the magiſtrates ſignified to him that the oſtraciſm fell upon him, he retired modeſtly out of the forum; and, as he went out, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and ſaid, "I beſeech the gods, that the Athenians may never ſee that day which ſhall force them to remember Ariſtides[z]."

Inſtances of Ariſtides's firmneſs of mind.

The war revived between the Æginates and Athenians.

The war againſt the inhabitants of Ægina revived after the battle of Marathon, and was carried on by both parties with great animoſity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of Nicodromus's faction, and put many of them to death, with ſuch circumſtances, as not

[z] Plutarch. & Corn. Nepos in Vit. Ariſt. & Themiſt.

miniſtration (3). Heraclides fixes this general aſſertion to Hippias, whom he expreſly declares the author of this ſevere practice (4). Photius in his extracts from Ptolemy Hephæſtion aſcribes it to Achilles the ſon of Lyſon (5); but Suidas, and Euſebius both ſet it far higher than the days of the common wealth, viz. under the reign of Theſeus. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no diſpute, that it ended in the baniſhment of Hyperbolus. This practice Ariſtotle ſeems to aſcribe to all the democracies of his time (6), and we are aſſured by various authors, that the Argives, Mileſians, Megarenſians, and Syracuſians, had the ſame law, though under different titles, amongſt them.

(3) In vit. Niciæ. (4) De Reſp. (5) Biblioth. lib. vi. (6) Polit. lib. iii. cap. 13.

only

only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneaſy. The Athenians had revenged the death of their confederates in ſeveral expeditions; but the inhabitants of Ægina had, in their turn, done the ſubjects of Athens conſiderable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at ſea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ſhips better, than thoſe of their neighbours. Themiſtocles conſidering this circumſtance, continually exhorted the Athenians to obſerve and weigh it in their minds. He alſo gave them to underſtand, that in his opinion the Perſian war was ſo far from being ended, that it was but begun; becauſe it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that Xerxes, who ſucceeded his father in his empire, would not alſo ſucceed him in his hatred to the Grecians, from whom the honour of his empire had ſuffered ſo much. Having often inſiſted on theſe topics, he had at laſt the boldneſs to move, that the money produced by the ſilver mines, which hitherto the Athenians had divided amongſt themſelves, ſhould be applied to building ſhips, with which propoſal, being thoroughly poſſeſſed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundred gallies were immediately put upon the ſtocks. This ſudden increaſe of the Athenian fleet, with their addicting themſelves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preſerving not only Athens, but all Greece, in the enjoyment of its liberties, as Themiſtocles rightly foreſaw it would [a].

The Athenians, at the perſuaſion of Themiſtocles, build a fleet.

About three years after the baniſhment of Ariſtides, the Athenians found that Themiſtocles had ſpoke the truth, when he affirmed that the Perſian war, inſtead of being ended, was but juſt begun; for Xerxes, after having made prodigious preparations for the total conqueſt of Greece, ſent meſſengers, with a Greek interpreter, to its ſeveral republics, to demand earth and water. Themiſtocles deſiring to make the breach ſtill wider between theſe two nations, engaged the Athenians to ſeize the interpreter, and put him to death, for preſuming to publiſh the decrees of the king of Perſia in the language of the Greeks. This act of ſeverity was followed by another; one Arthmius, of Zele, a town in Troas, had ſettled at Athens, and enjoyed a half freedom. This man having received large ſums of money from the king of Perſia, endeavoured to corrupt ſome of the principal perſons of the city; for which practices Themiſtocles procured him to be ba-

The Greeks prepare to reſiſt the Perſians.

They put to death the Perſian herald.

[a] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 143. Plut. in Them.

niſhed Attica by ſound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Laſtly, with the aſſiſtance of Chileus, the Arcadian, he engaged the ſeveral ſtates of Greece to end their quarrels, and provide for their mutual defence [b].

Themiſtocles choſen general againſt the Perſians.

When it came to be debated who ſhould be appointed general of the Athenians, in caſe the Perſians ſhould invade them, one Epicydes, a great orator, but a man otherwiſe incapable of the charge, influenced the people ſo much by his ſpeeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. Themiſtocles, ſeeing the danger of his country, and knowing the man to be covetous, ſtrained his own circumſtances, and bought him off. By engaging him to deſiſt, he made way for his own election; for there was nobody then left capable of contending with him; he was therefore preſently elected [c].

Adviſes the Athenians to meet the enemy.

When the news came to Athens, that the Perſians were upon the point of invading Greece by the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; and that to this end they were tranſporting their forces by ſea, Themiſtocles adviſed his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and meet their enemies, yet at a diſtance. To this expedient they would by no means conſent. He then put himſelf at the head of their army, and having joined the Lacedæmonians, marched towards Tempe. But when advice came that the ſtreights of Thermopylæ were forced, and not only Theſſaly, but Bœotia had ſubmitted to the Perſians, the army returned without having been in action [d].

The Athenians conſult the Delphian Apollo.

The Athenians, in this diſtreſs, ſent meſſengers to the Delphic Apollo. Theſe having performed the uſual ceremonies, ſat down in the ſanctuary, and there received from Ariſtonice, who was at that time prieſteſs, the following anſwer:

The oracle's anſwer.

Fly to the fartheſt regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and ſhun th' impending ill.
Fly from your houſes, and deſert your walls;
For total ruin ſhall ſubvert that place.
An angry Mars, in Aſia born, ſhall come,
And all your ſtately piles, and temples burn.
I ſee the ſacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs cover'd with ſweat and blood.
Depart, and be prepar'd to bear your fate [e].

[b] Æſchin. cont. Cteſiph. Plut. in Vit. Themiſt. [c] Plutarch. in Vit. Themiſt. [d] Idem ib. [e] Herodot. ubi ſup. cap. 140.

The

The Athenian deputies were amazed at this anſwer; they therefore humbled themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive-branches in their hands, beſeeching a better anſwer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The prieſteſs feeling herſelf a ſecond time inſpired, delivered at length what follows:

Pallas in vain has uſed her utmoſt art,
To pacify the wrath of angry Jove,
So that my preſent anſwer muſt again
Of almoſt adamantine hardneſs be.
Yet, for Minerva's ſake, the god will give
A ſafe protection, under walls of wood,
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of Cecrops, or Citheron's ſacred hills.
Theſe, theſe alone impregnable ſhall prove;
But never ſtay to fight the dreadful troops
Of horſe and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you ſee them, ſave yourſelves by flight,
For Salamis divine ſhall loſe her ſons;
Tho' Ceres be brought home, or left abroad [f].

The people divided about the meaning of the oracle.

The Athenian deputies having written down this anſwer, brought it away, and produced it to the general aſſembly at Athens, where the people were divided about its true ſenſe and meaning: many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be underſtood, becauſe, as we obſerved before, it was paliſadoed; but others imagined, that it could intend nothing but ſhips, and therefore adviſed their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet. The maintainers of the former opinion urged againſt ſuch as ſupported the latter, that the two laſt lines of the oracle were directly againſt them; and that they portended the deſtruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themiſtocles, however, declared for truſting in the fleet, and, in anſwer to what was urged from the laſt lines of the oracle, alleged, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the deſtruction of the Athenians, it would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that as the unfortunate in that oracle were ſtyled the ſons of women, it could mean no other than the Perſians, who were ſcandalouſly effeminate. All diſcreet people concurred in their ſentiments, that Themiſtocles had moſt judici-

How interpreted by Themiſtocles.

[f] Herodot. ibid. cap. 141.

ouſly interpreted the oracle, and that the Athenians could only hope for freedom by following his advice [g].

Themiſtocles gains the people over to his opinion.

The majority, however, were much averſe to this expedient; the leaving their country and eſtates bore hard upon them; their forſaking their houſes and employments ſtill harder; their leaving the tombs of their anceſtors, and the temples of their gods, hardeſt of all. But Themiſtocles had many arguments in ſtore for them; he made the very notions which ſhould naturally have reſtrained them, contribute to drive them away; for having gained over the prieſts who attended in the temple of Minerva, he cauſed them to report that the dragon refuſed to eat; that the offerings ſet before him were found untouched; that at laſt it diſappeared, ſo that without doubt the goddeſs had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the ſea. By degrees the populace were ſo intoxicated with theſe pious frauds, that they made no manner of queſtion but that the Perſians would be defeated; and that Salamis would be the place. They therefore decreed, that the city ſhould be recommended to the protection of Minerva, that all ſuch as were of age to bear arms ſhould embark on board the fleet, and that all poſſible care ſhould be taken for the preſervation of children, women, and ſlaves. One Cyrſilus, an orator, vehemently oppoſed the decree; he urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpleſs infants: but the Athenians, conceiving that the falling in with his propoſition would betray a mean deſire of preſerving life, though at the expence of liberty, ſtoned him in the midſt of his diſcourſe; and the women, to ſhew how little they reliſhed ſuch arguments, and how far they were from deſiring that the cauſe of Greece ſhould ſuffer for them, ſtoned his wife. Thus Themiſtocles not only perſuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their ſafety, but even infuſed into them the ſame ſpirit with which he himſelf acted [h].

An orator who oppoſed him ſtoned.

The Athenians quit their city.

When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourſe to the council of areopagus, who, from funds to us unknown, diſtributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this ſum not being ſufficient, Themiſtocles, with his uſual preſence of mind, deviſed an expedient for furniſhing the reſt of the money. He pretended, that in the preſent hurry ſomebody had ſtolen

[g] Idem. ibid. cap. 143, 144.

[h] Plutarch in Vit. Ariſtid.

from

from the ſtatue of Minerva her ſhield, whereon the head of Meduſa was engraven; and having authority granted him to ſearch for it, under colour of this order, he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the uſe of the public. The people, in this great diſtreſs, began to lament the loſs of Ariſtides, and to expreſs their apprehenſions, leſt he, to revenge himſelf of the ingratitude of his country, ſhould go over to the Perſians. Themiſtocles, thereupon, propoſed a decree, that all who were baniſhed might return, in order to aſſiſt the Greeks with their counſels and perſons; thus he, who had been baniſhed by the artifices of Themiſtocles, was recalled by his virtue. Ariſtides, on his return, behaved with more than ordinary civility to Themiſtocles; and did not ſuffer any averſion to that general's perſon, to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs [1] (X).

Themiſtocles's ſtratagem to get money.

Ariſtides recalled.

Although

[1] Idem ibid.

(X) When the Greeks reſolved to defend the paſs of Thermopylæ by land, they ſent a fleet to hinder the paſſage of the Perſian navy through the ſtreights of Eubœa, which fleet rendezvouſed at Artemiſium. We have taken no notice of this in the text, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elſewhere; but as the Athenians ſent a ſquadron of ſhips, and on board them Themiſtocles, to this place, we are obliged to take ſome notice of his conduct here. The Euboeans, not being able to prevail with Eurybiades to remain on their coaſt, till they could carry off their wives and children, addreſſed themſelves to Themiſtocles, and made him a preſent of thirty talents. He took the money; and with five talents he bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus, the Corinthian, being the only commander who inſiſted on weighing anchor, Themiſtocles went on board him, and told him, in few words, "Adiamanthus, you ſhall not abandon us; for I will give you a greater preſent for doing your duty, than the king of the Medes would ſend you for deſerting the allies." Which promiſe he performed, by ſending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the Euboeans requeſted, and ſaved twenty-two talents. In the ſucceeding engagements Themiſtocles, and all the Athenians behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applauſe of all Greece. At length, when it was thought neceſſary to retire from Artemiſium, Themiſtocles cauſed certain ſtones to be ſet up in all the ports, with inſcriptions, intreating the Ionians either to deſert the Barbarians, and join the Greeks, who were fighting for their liberty, or at leaſt to act but faintly in the cauſe of their maſter, remembering that they were originally Greeks themſelves, and that this very

The command of the fleet given to Eurybiades, a Spartan.

Although the Athenian fleet was ſuperior to that ſent by any of the confederates, to all the reſt of the fleet perhaps; yet ſuch was the power of the Lacedæmonians, that the command was committed to Eurybiades, a Spartan, a man either unſkilful, or wanting ſufficient fortitude for ſuch an undertaking; for he, when danger approached, propoſed to ſhape his courſe for the gulf of Corinth, in order to join the land army; which meaſure, when Themiſtocles vehemently oppoſed, Eurybiades was pleaſed to ſay, "Such as riſe up before the reſt at the Olympic games are laſhed. To which the Athenian wiſely anſwered, "But they that are left behind are never crowned." Eurybiades, at this reply, lifting up his batoon as if he would have ſtruck him, Themiſtocles cried out, "Ay, ſtrike if you will, but hear me;" upon which Eurybiades laid down his ſtaff, and patiently attended to his diſcourſe. One of the Lacedæmonians, however, who had not ſo much ſenſe as the admiral, replied to Themiſtocles's oration, that it did not become ſuch as had neither houſe nor home of their own to endeavour to prejudice others, by hindering them from returning to their habitations. Themiſtocles taking fire at this inſinuation, ſaid, "We have, indeed, baſe fellow, left our houſes, and our walls, not thinking it fit to become ſlaves, for the ſake of thoſe things that have neither life nor ſoul; and yet our city is the greateſt of all Greece, as conſiſting of two hundred gallies, which are here to defend you, if you pleaſe; but if you run away, as you did before, the Greeks will ſoon perceive that the Athenians can find for themſelves as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as that they have left." In a word, he took ſuch pains to demonſtrate to this aſſembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madneſs to think of fighting in any other place but where they were, that the wiſeſt of the Grecian captains concurred with his deſign.

The courage of the Athenians on this occaſion can never be enough commended, ſince the chief cauſe of

quarrel began on account of the aſſiſtance given by the Greeks to them. This ſtep he took with a double intent, firſt to influence the Ionians to act as he deſired; ſecondly, to give the Perſian monarch a jealouſy of them, that he might be the leſs inclined to truſt thoſe in whoſe power it was to do him moſt ſervice, ſince the Ionians were by far the beſt ſeamen in his fleet (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 22.

that

that fear which ſpread itſelf among the reſt of the Greeks, was the deſtruction of the city of Athens. We have already given ſo full an account of this matter in the Perſian hiſtory, that there is no neceſſity of repeating it here.

The detail of the battle of Salamis is unneceſſary in this place, ſince the reader has met with it before in our account of the Perſian affairs. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that the Athenians reaped the higheſt honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occaſion, though Herodotus is for beſtowing the palm on the inhabitants of Ægina. We have more than once noted, that till Themiſtocles perſuaded the Athenians to apply themſelves to maritime affairs, the people of this little iſle were lords of the ſea. It is not, therefore, to be wondered, that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a ſea-fight, of which the Perſian emperor was a ſpectator in perſon, and on the event of which their own liberty, and that of all their confederates depended. The Athenians, after the Perſian fleet was once broke, drove their ſcattered ſhips towards the coaſt of Attica. The ſquadron of Ægina ſtretching out to ſea, gained the wind of the flying Perſians, and ſunk many of thoſe veſſels which outſailed the Athenians. Thus the ſkill and conduct of theſe two nations preſerved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies, but likewiſe obliged the Perſians to account it a great happineſs, that after this extraordinary defeat, they preſerved any part of that navy, which had ſo lately darkened the coaſts, and ſtruck a panic through all Greece.

Yr. of Fl. 1868. Ante Chr. 480.

The battle of Salamis.

The morning after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks perceiving the enemy's land-forces ſtill encamped in the ſame place, conjectured that their fleet was retired into the Phalerum, one of the ports of Athens; but they were miſtaken, for Xerxes had given orders that they ſhould ſail with the utmoſt diligence to the Helleſpont, while he himſelf, with his land-forces, pretended to throw up an artificial iſthmus, in order to unite the iſland of Salamis to the continent of Attica. The Greeks, in the mean time, were for purſuing the Perſian fleet, in hopes of taking ſtraggling ſhips, in order to encreaſe their booty; but advancing to Andros without diſcovering any of the enemy's ſhips, they there called a council of war, in which Themiſtocles gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould ſhape their courſe by the way of the iſlands, and make all the ſail they could for the Helleſpont, in order to deſtroy

Themiſtocles, after the battle, is for ſailing to the Helleſpont, and there deſtroying Xerxes's bridge.

the bridge which Xerxes had thrown over it, thereby cutting off that monarch's communication with Aſia. Plutarch ſays that he communicated his ſentiments to Ariſtides [k], who oppoſed the plan; but Herodotus, with greater probability, aſcribes this oppoſition to Eurybiades [l]. That Themiſtocles communicated his ſentiments to Ariſtides is probable; but that he informed Eurybiades of them is morally certain, becauſe he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he, and not Ariſtides, oppoſed the carrying them into execution, becauſe he thought that ſhutting Xerxes into Europe with ſuch a powerful army, would compel him to repair his former omiſſions, and exert himſelf with vigour againſt the Greeks.

But his advice is rejected.

He forms another ſcheme.

When Themiſtocles perceived that this reaſoning prevailed, and that the Grecian chiefs were likely to acquieſce, he formed another ſcheme, which was put in execution. He ſent a truſty meſſenger to Xerxes, to inform him that the Greeks intended to break down his bridge over the Helleſpont; wherefore he adviſed him to march back with the utmoſt ſpeed, promiſing to delay, as much as he could, the intended project of his countrymen. Herodotus ſays, that he actually adviſed the Athenians to give over the purſuit, in order to return to their country, and rebuild their houſes; an advice into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wiſh for a quiet retreat, after having ſo long endured ſo violent a tempeſt; but at the ſame time our author intimates, that Themiſtocles had in view the ſafety of the Perſians, and not the intereſt of the Athenians, a view which he attributes to his foreſight of his own misfortunes, and his willingneſs to ſecure an aſylum, when the envy of his countrymen ſhould doom him to baniſhment. What the intentions of Themiſtocles were in particular ſituations is not eaſy to determine; that he generally meant its good, is univerſally allowed; and that this advice ſuited his ſcheme of making Xerxes of his own accord abandon the war in Greece, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard, therefore, to tarniſh his glory by ſuch inſinuations, and we had better ſuppoſe that he did not foreſee his own diſgrace, than by magnifying his prudence, diminiſh the reputation he acquired as a true patriot [m].

Which is by ſome miſinterpreted.

When the fleet was returned to Salamis, and the booty was divided amongſt all who had ſerved on board, the

[k] Plutarch ibid. [l] Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 74. [m] Herodot. ubi ſupra. cap. 75, 112. Plutarch in Vit. Themiſt.

Greeks

Greeks reſolved to ſail to the iſthmus, in order to confer the cuſtomary honours on him, who by the free votes of their chiefs had deſerved beſt: theſe being aſſembled in the temple of Neptune, and directed to write down his name who deſerved beſt, and alſo his who deſerved next, each chief put down his own in the firſt place, and the name of Themiſtocles in the ſecond, a circumſtance that truly evinced him the moſt worthy of the Greeks. From thence he went to Lacedæmon, where he was received with the greateſt honour and reſpect: the Spartans, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after having decreed the prize of valour to Eurybiades, aſſigned that of prudence to Themiſtocles, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they preſented him alſo with the moſt magnificent chariot in Sparta, and when he returned to Athens he was eſcorted by five hundred horſe, an honour never paid to any other ſtranger [a]. *Honours paid him by the Lacedæmonians.*

On his arrival at Athens, there were not wanting ſome who endeavoured to inſinuate, that his receiving ſuch high honours from the Lacedæmonians was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated theſe clamours with contempt, and contented himſelf with exhorting the people not to entertain any doubts of their confederates, but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired, and the reſpect paid them by all the ſtates of Greece. About this time ſome of the families of the Athenians returned from Salamis to Træzene, where they had taken refuge while the Perſians ravaged Attica; the former belonged to the Athenians, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children committed to their charge; they appointed them a maintainance out of their public funds, and paid alſo the beſt ſchool-maſters they could find for taking care of their youth; ſuch a high regard had the generoſity of the Athenians, in abandoning all for the ſake of liberty, drawn from every ſtate in Greece. The Perſians themſelves were no leſs ready in preferring them to the other Greek ſtates. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had left to command the army deſtined for carrying on the war, choſe to treat with the Athenians, rather than to fight with them; to this end he made uſe of Alexander, king of Macedon, a perſon well known, and highly reſpected at Athens. Him, as a tributary and ally *The Perſians attempt to treat with the Athenians.*

[a] Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 23, & 124.

of

Propoſals of peace made by Alexander, king of Macedon, in the Perſian king's name.

of the Perſian king, he ſent to make propoſals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his maſter. When he arrived, the Athenians entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a foreſight that the Lacedæmonians would not be long, after hearing this news, before they ſent ambaſſadors; and this was accordingly the caſe. The people being aſſembled, were harangued by Alexander, who offered, in the name of Xerxes, to leave them in poſſeſſion of their own territories, laws, and liberties; provided they would abandon the intereſts of the Greeks, and enter into an alliance with the Perſians. In order to induce them to embrace this offer, he deſcanted upon the vaſt power of Xerxes, which it would be impoſſible for them to reſiſt, in caſe they ſhould expoſe themſelves to his reſentment.

The Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors exhort the Athenians to reject the propoſals.

The Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors ſpoke in their turn. They ſaid they were commiſſioned to exhort the Athenians not to liſten to the propoſals of the Barbarians, becauſe it was a thing unreaſonable on many accounts; firſt, becauſe the original quarrel was between the Perſians and the Athenians, into which the reſt of the Greeks had been drawn, merely through their reſpect to their countrymen: ſecondly, that the Athenians were always wont to be the foremoſt in the cauſe of liberty, which it would not become them now to deſert: thirdly, that there were no grounds to believe the Perſians would obſerve any terms with a people they ſo much hated, when occaſion would ſerve; that the Spartans were exceedingly grieved for their misfortune, and as a mark of their regard would, in conjunction with their allies, take care of their wives and children during the continuance of the war; and give them what other aſſiſtance was in their power.

The Athenians anſwer to Alexander and to the Lacedæmonians.

The Athenians having deliberated on this propoſition, anſwered firſt that of Alexander. They ſaid they were well acquainted with the great power of the king; but that they were alſo well aſſured of the juſtice of their own cauſe; that as long as the ſun and moon endured, they would never deſert the cauſe of Greece, nor forget the injuries done them by the Perſians. To the Lacedæmonians they anſwered, they were ſorry they ſhould conceive ſo meanly of them, as to think they would ever prefer intereſt to glory; that they would continue firm to their confederates without being a burden to them; but that as Mardonius would, in all likelihood, be ready for action in the ſpring, they hoped the Lacedæmonians would think it more

more reaſonable to meet him with united forces in Bœotia, than to ſuffer him to ravage Attica again [o].

Athens a ſecond time deſtroyed.

What the Athenians foreſaw came exactly to paſs; Mardonius, according to the orders of his maſter, marched directly into Attica, and began to waſte and plunder the country, levelling even the ruins of ancient buildings, and throwing to the ground ſuch as the Athenians had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to Athens, which its inhabitants were forced a ſecond time to abandon, the Spartans ſending help ſo ſlowly, that the enemy arrived long before their confederates; ſo that the Athenians were conſtrained to retire with their families to Salamis, and to ſend the army which they had raiſed under the command of Ariſtides, to join that of the Spartans and other ſtates of Greece, which, under the conduct of Pauſaniàs, tutor of king Leonidas, was preparing to reſiſt the Perſians. This army advanced into Bœotia, where they engaged in the famous battle of Platæa, in which they made a far greater ſlaughter of the Perſians than they had ever made before. It would be foreign to our preſent purpoſe to ſay any thing more of this battle here, becauſe it was not decided in the territory of Athens, and the Lacedæmonians had the ſupreme command. It will be neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that Ariſtides, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with ſuch bravery and reſolution, as procured him the praiſe of all the Greeks who were their contemporaries. The ſame day that the battle of Platæa was fought in Greece, the Perſians were alſo defeated at Mycale, in Ionia. The Grecian fleet conſiſted of two hundred and fifty gallies, under the command of Leutychides, the Lacedæmonian, and Xanthippus, the Athenian.

Yr. of Fl. 1869. Ante Chr. 479.

Gallant behaviour of the Athenians on this occaſion.

It is univerſally allowed, that the Athenians behaved better than any of the reſt of the Grecians in this engagement, of whom, Herodotus ſays, that Harmolycus, the ſon of Euthoinus, a famous wreſtler, deſerved the firſt place. When they had defeated the Perſian navy, the Greeks had the boldneſs to land and attack the forces on ſhore, whom having alſo routed, they plundered all the country, and carried off an immenſe booty. Having performed this exploit, they ſailed to Samos, where it was debated in their council, whether they ſhould tranſport the Ionians into Greece, and leave Ionia to the Barbarians; ſince

[o] Herodot. lib ix. cap. 20, 22, 24. Plutarch in Vit. Ariſtid. & Themiſt. Juſtin. lib. ii.

it

it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, for the Athenians, or indeed for the reſt of the confederates, to aſſiſt them at all times. It was likewiſe propoſed, in caſe they ſhould be tranſported to Greece, to give them the territories of ſuch Greek ſtates as had in this war ſided with the Perſians: but, after all, the Athenians changed their minds, and ſhewed a viſible reluctance, when this deſign ſhould have been put in execution. They were apprehenſive that if the Ionians were tranſported into Greece, they would rival them in point of trade, or at leaſt throw off that obedience and reſpect, which hitherto they had paid to Athens as their mother city and conſtant protectreſs. They were likewiſe uneaſy at the Peloponneſians interfering in matters relating to their colonies; and as the Athenians formed at this time the ſtate of the greateſt conſequence in Greece, their confederates thought it neceſſary to ſatisfy them by their particular condeſcenſion in this point: they therefore promiſed the Ionians ſuch aſſiſtance as they ſhould have occaſion for from time to time, and then the fleet left their coaſt. The Lacedæmonians ſailed back to Laconia, but the Athenians, under the command of Xanthippus, reſolved to make ſome farther attempts before they quitted theſe ſeas [P].

The Athenians oppoſe the tranſporting the Ionians into Greece, and why.

Seſtos beſieged by the Athenians.

This reſolution being taken, they croſſed over to the Cherſoneſus, and beſieged Seſtos. It was a ſtrong place, and had a numerous garriſon, under the command of Artayctes, a Perſian, whom Herodotus repreſents as a man of very diſſolute morals. The ſiege was long and troubleſome, and autumn drawing on, the Athenians were very deſirous of returning home; but their general Xanthippus declared that he would not depart till he had either taken Seſtos, or ſhould be recalled by a decree of the Athenian people, becauſe Artayctes had been guilty of ſacrilege, in rifling the ſepulchre of Proteſilaus, and taking thence a vaſt ſum of money. At laſt the garriſon, being preſſed with hunger, and having no hopes of relief, reſolved to make their eſcape in two parties, the one led by Oibazus, the other by Artayctes. Oibazus and his party were overtaken by the Thracians, who killed moſt of them, and took him and the reſt of his family priſoners: they afterwards ſacrificed him to Pliſtorus, a Thracian god, and put the reſt of their captives to the ſword. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were maſters of the place, ſent out

The garriſon make their eſcape; but are overtaken and killed.

[P] Herodot. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Juſtin. &c.

detachments

detachments to ſcour the country; and one of theſe coming up with Artayctes and his troops near the river Ægos, engaged, routed them, and made him and his ſon priſoners. When the Athenians had performed theſe exploits, they returned with their fleet to Greece, carrying, beſides other riches, all the materials of the bridges, in order to be conſecrated in their temples [q].

The Athenians return, and begin to rebuild their city.

The victories of Platæa and Mycale ſecured the freedom of Greece, and particularly eaſed the Athenians of their apprehenſions; they therefore brought back all their families into Attica, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmoſt expedition, but alſo with ſome degree of magnificence [r]. The people were more elate than ever. Conſcious of the great ſhare they had in driving the Barbarians back into Aſia, they reſolved to preſerve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had ſo warmly contended againſt ſtrangers. Themiſtocles, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in theſe expectations; and Ariſtides, having thoroughly conſidered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to grant them freely what they ſo much deſired, than to hazard new diſturbances by exciting different factions. He therefore propoſed that every citizen ſhould have an equal right to the government, and that the archons ſhould be choſen from the body of the people, without preference or diſtinction; with this conſtitution the commons were ſatisfied, and the men of figure were alſo contented [s].

The democracy eſtabliſhed.

Themiſtocles propoſes the fortifying of Athens.

Themiſtocles propoſed alſo, at this time, that Athens ſhould be inſtantly fortified in the beſt manner poſſible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately ſuſtained by the ſudden invaſions of the Perſians. He had other views than this, but they were not then ripe for diſcovery; he therefore contented himſelf with moving that which was firſt to be put in execution.

The Lacedæmonians remonſtrate againſt it.

The Lacedæmonians, as ſoon as they received the tidings of theſe reſolves, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in Greece, and were of conſequence very jealous of a rival. They therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, who declared to the aſſembly, that the Spartans having nothing in view but the general good of Greece, could not avoid remonſtrating againſt the proceedings of the Athenians in fortifying their

[q] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sicul. lib xi. [r] Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. cap. 5. [s] Plutarch. in Vit. Ariſtid.

city,

city, ſince it was clear to them, that this meaſure muſt prove very diſadvantageous to their confederates; becauſe if the Perſians ſhould again make an irruption into Attica, with the ſame ſucceſs as before, and poſſeſs themſelves of a fortified city, they would make uſe of it as a bridle on Greece, and ſecure it with ſuch a garriſon as would render it impregnable. Theſe arguments ſeeming to have no great weight with thoſe to whom they were urged, the Spartan ambaſſadors proceeded to exert an authority, which had been admitted in other Grecian cities, that is, they abſolutely forbad the Athenians to raiſe their walls any higher. The people, much offended at this preſumption, and at the ſame time doubtful how it might be remedied, liſtened readily to Themiſtocles's advice, which was to the following effect: he ſaid, that conſidering their own imbecility, and the power of Sparta, they were to make uſe rather of prudence than proweſs: that to free themſelves from the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors, who were but a kind of ſpies, they ſhould promiſe not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embaſſy of their own they ſhould give ſatisfaction to Lacedæmon and the reſt of their allies. He then offered to go at the head of that embaſſy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy concluſion [t].

And forbid the Athenians to proceed in the work.

The Lacedæmonians deceived by Themiſtocles.

Being accordingly named, with ſome other Athenians, ambaſſador to Sparta, he ſet out before the reſt, having intimated to the ſenate, that it would be for the intereſt of the ſtate, to delay as long as poſſible ſending the reſt of the ambaſſadors to Sparta. When he arrived at Lacedæmon, he put off from time to time receiving audience, on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his colleagues. Theſe, in the mean time, exhorted the Athenians to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this advice they readily followed; ſparing neither houſes nor ſepulchres for materials, while women, children, ſtrangers, ſervants, and citizens were employed night and day; ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the walls were almoſt finiſhed. The Lacedæmonians having received advice of this work, and the colleagues of Themiſtocles being arrived, they ſummoned them before the ephori, who began immediately to exclaim againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the Athenians, in thus violating their promiſe. Themiſtocles denied the charge; he ſaid his colleagues aſſured him of the contrary; that it did not become a great ſtate

[t] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

to

to depend on flying rumours, but that the Lacedæmonians ought to ſend deputies back with the Athenian ambaſſadors, to take cognizance of the affair, while he remained as a hoſtage, to be anſwerable for the event. This propoſal being agreed to, Themiſtocles engaged his aſſociates to adviſe the Athenians to commit the Spartan ambaſſadors to ſafe cuſtody, till he ſhould be releaſed. He then publicly avowed the whole tranſaction, took the ſcheme upon himſelf, and ſaid, "That all things are lawful for our country." The Spartans ſeeing no remedy, concealed their reſentment, and ſent him home in ſafety [n].

Next year, which was the laſt of the ſeventy-fifth Olympiad, Adimanthus being archon, Themiſtocles explained to his citizens the ſchemes he had formed for raiſing their power and encreaſing their wealth. He obſerved, that the port Phalerum was very narrow and inconvenient; he therefore adviſed them to make the Pyræum the port of Athens, from whence, he ſaid, great advantages would accrue to the ſtate, but that it was not proper for him to diſcloſe them to the aſſembly, or to lay down publicly the methods by which his deſign might be carried into execution. He entreated them, therefore, to chuſe two perſons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The aſſembly made choice of Ariſtides and Xanthippus, to whom Themiſtocles freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the Pyræum the moſt capacious haven in Greece, and to unite the city to it by long walls; for he did not conceive it expedient that the port ſhould be made part of the city, becauſe, knowing that ſailors are generally diſſolute, he was afraid their mixing with the citizens would produce a corruption of manners. He obſerved, that the Ionians were originally from the ſame ſtock with themſelves; and that of conſequence, if Athens were miſtreſs of the ſea, they would attach themſelves to her rather than to Lacedæmon, which would be the caſe of the iſlanders alſo, who, having no idea of a land-force, would ſue for protection to that ſtate whoſe naval power was greateſt: he concluded with ſhewing the eaſineſs with which his ſcheme might be put in practice, if his intentions were kept ſecret, and the danger there would be of its coming to nothing, if the Spartans once conceived an idea of what was intended. Ariſtides and Xanthippus,

The Pyræum, by the advice of Themiſtocles, made the port of Athens.

[n] Plut. in Vit. Themiſt. Corn. Nepos. in Vit. Themiſt. Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

thus

thus inſtructed, aſſured the people, that the project of Themiſtocles was of the utmoſt advantage to the ſtate, and yet might be performed with the greateſt eaſe. This declaration, inſtead of ſatisfying the aſſembly, inſpired them with new ſuſpicions; they, therefore directed Themiſtocles to apply himſelf to the ſenate, and, if they approved his deſign, they empowered them to furniſh him with what he wanted; accordingly Themiſtocles addreſſed himſelf to that venerable body, and they entered unanimouſly into all his meaſures. In the firſt place, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to Sparta, to inſinuate there how fit it would be for the Greeks to have ſome great port, where a fleet might alſo continue in ſafety, in order to watch the deſigns of the Perſians. Having thus prepared the Lacedæmonians not to take offence at their firſt preparations, for enlarging and eſtabliſhing the harbour of Pyræum, Themiſtocles took ſuch care, that every thing was finiſhed, and the place in a poſture of defence, before it was well known at Sparta what the Athenians were about[w].

The ſovereignty of the ſea transferred to Athens.

The Greeks continuing the war againſt the Perſians, Ariſtides, and Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, were ſent commanders of the Athenian forces, Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian having the command in chief. Pauſanias, elate with the ſucceſs he had at Platæa, and full alſo of new deſigns, having engaged in a treaſonable correſpondence with the Perſian king, treated all the captains under his command with pride and inſolence. He never ſpoke to them but in very harſh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themſelves or their ſoldiers, till the Spartans were all ſerved. As for the private men, under colour of preſerving diſcipline, he treated them as if they had been all ſlaves, making them, for the ſmalleſt offences, ſtand with an anchor bound to their ſhoulders, ſo that it almoſt ſunk them into the earth. On the other hand, the juſtice of Ariſtides, the candour and generoſity of Cimon, attracted the hearts both of officers and ſoldiers: they ſaw that the Athenians were far more powerful at ſea than the Lacedæmonians, and that the authority of the latter was founded only on their pride: they, therefore, applied themſelves firſt to Ariſtides, to deſire that he would interpoſe with Pauſanias, in order to prevent him from behaving ſo roughly; but when that Lacedæmonian turned diſdainfully, and ſaid he was not at leiſure to hear him, they unanimouſly beſought the Athenian commanders to

Ariſtides and Cimon won the hearts of all.

[w] Plutarch. in Vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

take

take them under their protection, promiſing, for the future, to acknowlege Athens as the firſt city of Greece. Ariſtides, upon this propoſition, told them, that he ſaw clearly, not only the fitneſs, but the neceſſity of what they propoſed; but as he would never hazard either the ſafety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not ſucceed, ſo he would never comply with their requeſt, till, by ſome public act, they put their ſincerity out of queſtion, and fixed the concurrence of all the troops beyond a poſſibility of retracting. Upon this declaration Uliades, the Samian, and Antagoras of Chios, ran foul of Pauſanias's galley, as ſhe rode at the head of the fleet before Byzantium; and, upon his threatening to make them know that they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only ſlighted his menaces, but alſo told him in anſwer, that the beſt thing he could do was to retire, and thank fortune for her favours at Platæa; for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action, reſtrained the Greeks from reſenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the Lacedæmonians loſt that pre-eminence which they hitherto had maintained, and the ſupreme command was tranſferred to the Athenians [x].

They all concur in acknowleging Athens the firſt city of Greece.

The conduct of Ariſtides derived great honour and advantage to his country: the ſtates of Greece ſaw clearly, that it was neceſſary for them to be always on their guard againſt the Perſians, and they had already learned that war was not to be made without money; they, therefore, inferred, that a ſtanding fund would be convenient for the maintenance of that force, which it was neceſſary to ſupport; but then the ſettling the proportions of this fund, according to the abilities of the ſeveral ſtates, ſeemed to be a difficult taſk. Under this dilemma all Greece caſt their eyes on Ariſtides; and demanded him of the Athenians, as the only perſon that could be entruſted with ſuch a plenitude of power. He executed his commiſſion in ſuch a manner, that his taxation was unanimouſly ſtyled, "The happy lot of Greece," all its ſtates being perfectly well ſatisfied with the ſums he allotted them to pay. The groſs amount of his tax was four hundred and ſixty talents.

Ariſtides taxes all Greece by common conſent.

Greeks all ſatisfied with his conduct.

When he had finiſhed this buſineſs, he obliged all the people of Greece to ſwear to the obſervation of the articles of their grand alliance, himſelf taking the oath in the name of the Athenians, throwing, at the ſame time,

Obliges the Greeks to ſwear to the articles of common alliance.

[x] Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. cap. 6. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Ariſtid.

pieces of red-hot iron into the ſea, and pronouncing curſes againſt all ſuch as ſhould violate any article of the alliance thus contracted. Afterwards, indeed, when neceſſity compelled the Athenians to act a little againſt the letter of that treaty, Ariſtides adviſed them to transfer the curſes on him, adding, that he would willingly bear the puniſhments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the ſtate. Themiſtocles ſaw, with great concern, the honours heaped upon his rival; and, in order to leſſen his reputation, obſerved, in a public aſſembly, that the praiſes beſtowed on Ariſtides, were not praiſes worthy of a man, but of a money-cheſt, which ſafely keeps what is depoſited there. But this ſarcaſm did not avenge him of an obſervation which Ariſtides had made on a former ſpeech of his, wherein he declared, that he thought it the greateſt excellency in a general to penetrate the deſigns of his enemy. Ariſtides replied, that it was, indeed, a moſt neceſſary qualification; but that there was another equally illuſtrious, which was, "to have clean hands, and not be a ſlave to money." Thus, when the Athenians were free from foreign wars, and from any contention with their confederates, they were continually embroiled by domeſtic quarrels; the diſſenſions of eminent men never failing to raiſe diſturbances among their fellow-citizens[y].

Themiſtocles jealous of his glory.

The Lacedæmonians, though at firſt they made a ſhew of ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the Greeks, who tranſferred the pre-eminence, with reſpect to maritime affairs, from Sparta to Athens, yet, in a ſhort time, they began to look on this change as a great diminution of their authority. They were the more concerned at it, becauſe it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware that they enjoyed not half an empire; yet their anger being moderated by the wiſdom of ſome of their citizens, they laid aſide all thoughts of war; and the Athenians, who had proviſionally built ſome ſtout gallies, reaped ſome advantage from their menaces. There ſeems reaſon to believe that the Lacedæmonians acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after this tranſaction, they accuſed Themiſtocles to his countrymen of having conſpired, with their king Pauſanias, to betray the cauſe of Greece. When this came to a hearing, it did, indeed, appear that Pauſanias had diſcovered his intrigues to Themiſtocles; but it appeared, likewiſe, that Themiſtocles did all in his

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Vit. Ariſtid.

power

power to divert him from them; ſo that he was acquitted of this accuſation with honour. But the minds of the people being once inflamed againſt him, there were found many individuals, who, as well to gratify their own private reſentment, as to make their court to the Spartans, did not ſcruple to calumniate Themiſtocles.

Why hated by the Lacedæmonians.

We have already mentioned ſome of the reaſons which induced the people of Lacedæmon to hate this great man; there remains one more which deſerves the reader's notice. A little after the battle of Platæa, it was propoſed, in the council of the Amphictyons, that all ſuch cities, as had not fought againſt the Perſians, ſhould loſe their right of ſending deputies to that aſſembly. This motion Themiſtocles oppoſed; for he foreſaw, that if the cities of Thebes, Argos, and many others, ſhould loſe their right of ſending repreſentatives to this aſſembly, the Lacedæmonians would rule the whole; wherefore he repreſented to the members, that there were but one-and-thirty cities, and moſt of theſe very ſmall, which had concurred in the war againſt the Perſians; and that if the deputies of thoſe only had places in their council, it would undoubtedly happen that this auguſt ſenate would be entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to Greece. Theſe ſuggeſtions having deſtroyed the Lacedæmonian ſcheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of Themiſtocles, and ſought to bring him into diſgrace with the Athenians. Timocreon, the Rhodian, a famous poet in thoſe times, wrote libels againſt Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, and Cimon promoted exceedingly that ſpirit of jealouſy which began to ſpring up againſt him. Themiſtocles himſelf gave them a handle, by erecting near his own houſe a temple, which he dedicated to Diana, "the giver of the beſt counſel;" intimating that he had given the beſt counſel both for the ſafety of Athens and Greece. The end of theſe diſputes was, that the Athenians, by the oſtraciſm, baniſhed Themiſtocles.

He takes ſhelter with the king of the Moloſſians.

The Lacedæmonians, not ſatisfied with this puniſhment, accuſed him of having been concerned in Pauſanias's conſpiracy; a charge which obliged that great man to fly from one place to another, and at laſt to take ſhelter in the court of Admetus, king of the Moloſſians; but the Spartans ſending ambaſſadors thither, to threaten that king with the reſentment of a Greek confederacy, he furniſhed Themiſtocles with money to make his eſcape into

Is well received in Perſia.

Aſia. There learning not only the Perſian manners, but the language alſo, he raiſed himſelf to greater favour with Artaxerxes than any of the native Perſians enjoyed; ſo that in time the king beſtowed on him a Perſian wife, a large eſtate, and great privileges, which deſcended to his poſterity; inſomuch that Plutarch affirms he knew one of them, whoſe name was alſo Themiſtocles, who lived at Magneſia, in full poſſeſſion of them, above five hundred years after the ingratitude of the Athenians ſent this excellent perſon to receive his bread from ſtrangers, and to make known to Perſia thoſe virtues, which Greece was no longer worthy to poſſeſs [z] (Y).

The

[z] Corn. Nepos in Vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. cap. 12. Plut. in Vit. Themiſt.

(Y) As far as the affairs of Themiſtocles were mingled with thoſe of the ſtate of Athens, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now, when they are no longer connected, we think it neceſſary to throw together ſome memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear that Themiſtocles, when baniſhed, had any deſign either to revenge himſelf on Athens, or to take refuge in the court of the king of Perſia The Greeks themſelves, or rather the Lacedæmonians, forced him upon this meaſure; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to baniſh him, ſo by their procurement, after he was baniſhed, he was never ſuffered to remain in quiet. His journey into Perſia was very dangerous, the great king having promiſed, by proclamation, two hundred talents for apprehending him. Nicogenes the Eolian found means to convey him to court in ſafety; for having put him into a cloſe litter, he cauſed the ſervants who attended him to give out, that they carried a young Grecian lady out of Ionia to a nobleman attending on the king's perſon. Thus he arrived ſafely at the court of Artaxerxes, where he addreſſed himſelf to Artabanus, and informed him, that he was a Grecian, who deſired to be admitted to an audience of the king; which Artabanus having promiſed, demanded whom they ſhould ſay he was; "for you ſeem, ſaid he, to be no ordinary perſon." Themiſtocles anſwered, "No man muſt be informed of this before the king." When admitted to the royal preſence, and commanded to declare who he was, he ſpoke thus: "I am Themiſtocles the Athenian, baniſhed and perſecuted by the Greeks; I fly to thee for refuge, mighty monarch: the evils I have done to the Perſians are eaſily to be forgiven, in conſideration of the many atchievements performed for them, when I hindered the Grecians from purſuing the Medes, after the fatal battle of Salamis and Platæa; when having freed my country, and placed the Greeks in

The popular party in Athens carried all things before them, after Themiſtocles was baniſhed; and ſuch a number

in ſafety, my ambition led me on to greater enterprizes; in which being ſucceſsful, I gratified the far-extended Perſian empire, and performed ſervices acceptable to the greateſt prince on earth: ſince which, all things having conſpired to augment my preſent calamities, ſuitable to ſuch a condition, I come hither to receive mercy from a gracious, reconciled emperor, who hath laid aſide his anger, and is no longer mindful of former evils; humbly imploring you, that, taking the Greeks for witneſſes of the ſervices I have done for Perſia, you will make uſe of this occaſion to ſhew the world the nobleneſs of your virtue, rather than the greatneſs of your reſentment. Hereby you will preſerve an humble ſuppliant; if otherwiſe, you deſtroy a ſervant of the Perſians, and a public enemy of the Greeks." Thucydides mentions a letter ſent by Themiſtocles to Artaxerxes, differing very little from this ſpeech, attributed to him by Plutarch. Cornelius Nepos hath copied this letter from Thucydides; and all agree that the Perſian monarch received him with great kindneſs. Plutarch ſays, that he was ſo well pleaſed with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his ſleep, "I have Themiſtocles the Athenian." Next morning the king ſent for him again; and, as ſoon as the firſt compliments were over, ſaid, "I am in your debt two hundred talents, for ſo much I promiſed to him who brought Themiſtocles." He likewiſe promiſed him greater favours, and deſired he would ſpeak his mind freely of the affairs of Greece. Themiſtocles anſwered by his interpreter, "That diſcourſe, like a Perſian carpet, had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advantage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was ſcarce to be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece." He therefore deſired that he might have time to learn the Perſian language, which would enable him to diſcloſe his own ideas, without the help of another. This anſwer of Themiſtocles is a noble proof of his extenſive genius; it was entirely in the oriental taſte, the ſentiment great, and the figure expreſſive: he delivered himſelf like a native Perſian the firſt day that he appeared in the court of Perſia. The king readily granted him a year for the purpoſe he intended. At the end of that ſpace, he appeared frequently at court; Themiſtocles being in a ſhort time ſo great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb; and the Perſian kings were uſed to promiſe any Greek, whom they ſought to bring over to their intereſt, "that he ſhould live with them as Themiſtocles did with Artaxerxes." He was alſo in high favour with the queen-mother, became a convert to the Per-

ber of falſe witneſſes aroſe, that thoſe who were moſt concerned in that affair, were in danger of repenting the part they had acted. Ariſtides alone, when things came to extremity, ſhewed himſelf more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to Themiſtocles. He refuſed to join with Alcmæon and Cimon in proſecuting him capitally; and was ſo far from inſulting him in his misfortunes, that he ſpoke of him with greater reſpect than ever. The war with Perſia was not yet terminated. The Greeks found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, eſpecially the Athenians, who, by means of their great force at ſea, were continually enriching themſelves, at the expence of ſome of the Perſian emperor's vaſſals or ſubjects. They therefore deviſed various reaſons for ſending fleets to ſea, though the real intent was to aggrandize and enrich themſelves, by the ſkill and valour of their troops, and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad, they equipped a navy, for the relief of ſuch of the Grecian cities in Aſia as were under ſubjection to the great king. This expedition was pleaſing to the Athenians, and no leſs grateful to the Greeks in general, ſince it ſeemed to

Ariſtides favours Themiſtocles in his misfortunes.

The Athenians equip a fleet, and with what view.

ſian religion, and was inſtructed by the magi. He had three cities beſtowed upon him, which, alluding to their ſituation, the king of Perſia ſaid in pleaſantry, that they ſhould ſerve to provide him bread, wine, and meat. Theſe cities were Magneſia, Myon, and Lampſacus: the firſt brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents; and the laſt had in its neighbourhood the nobleſt vineyards in the Eaſt. Themiſtocles fixed his reſidence at Magneſia, where he lived with all the ſplendor of a Perſian grandee; inſomuch that he ſaid one day at table to his children, "We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been undone." Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble Athenian died. Plutarch ſays, that being preſſed by the king of Perſia to undertake an expedition againſt Greece, he made a ſolemn ſacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and ſo put an end to his life. Thucydides, who was contemporary with Themiſtocles, ſpeaks very doubtfully of this buſineſs: "He died, ſays he, of a diſtemper; but ſome report that he poiſoned himſelf, ſeeing it impoſſible to accompliſh what he had promiſed the king." He was ſixty-ſix years old at his death; he was honoured with a ſtately tomb at Magneſia, but his bones, by his own command, were privately carried back into Attica, and buried there.

be for the advantage of others, though they had, in truth, no leſs regard to their own [a].

Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, by the daughter of the king of Thrace, was unanimouſly choſen admiral and commander in chief on this occaſion: he will make a great figure in the ſucceeding part of this hiſtory; and therefore it is neceſſary that we ſhould give the reader his character. Cimon's abilities were great and ſolid, yet leſs eminent than his virtues: his father had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the firmneſs of his courage, Themiſtocles by by the ſtrength of his judgment, Ariſtides by his probity: Cimon was equal to them all; his diſtinguiſhing perfection was an openneſs of temper which raiſed him above deceit, the only ſtain on Themiſtocles's character; and an inflexible honeſty, in which he excelled his own father. It was this Cimon whom the Athenians put in chains for his father's fine, and for whoſe releaſe his ſiſter gave up her charms to Callias, who was remarkable only for his wealth. In his youth Cimon did not promiſe much; he was little inclined to learning, but much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were alſo thought blemiſhes in a young nobleman: but of a ſudden he gave his fellow-citizens to underſtand, that the greateſt virtues are not the ſooneſt ſeen; for when, on the firſt news of the Perſian invaſion, Themiſtocles adviſed the Athenians to quit their city, and go on board their gallies, and was thereupon univerſally decried, Cimon went immediately to the temple of Minerva, and offered up a bridle, to ſignify that horſemen were no longer of uſe, but that they ought to truſt to their ſhips; after which offering, he went chearfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. Ariſtides obſerving the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to buſineſs, that his candour might balance the craft of Themiſtocles, in which he ſucceeded very happily; for Cimon alone, of all the Athenian generals, was always beloved, and never ſuſpected [b].

Cimon eſtabliſhes the Athenian greatneſs.

His character.

In this expedition he took the city of Eion from the Perſians; but with little advantage to the Athenians, becauſe Butes, who commanded in that city for the Perſian king, ſet fire to the place, and burnt himſelf, his garriſon, and all the riches that were there; however, Cimon ſettled colonies in that neighbourhood, after revenging himſelf on

His ſucceſs againſt the Perſians.

[a] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos. in Vit. ejuſd.

[b] Plutarch. in Vit. Cimonis.

Yr. of Fl. 1880. Ante Chr. 468.

the Thracians, who had aſſiſted the Perſians in Ionia with proviſions. He afterwards reduced the iſland of Scyros, from whence he brought the bones of Theſeus, which were honourably interred at Athens. After theſe exploits he returned to Athens, and having increaſed his fleet to three hundred ſail, he ſteered for the coaſt of Caria; and having performed great actions, he ſailed for Cyprus, where he was informed the Perſian fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, their land-army being encamped not far off. He attacked firſt their fleet and then their army; and in one day gained two important victories, one at ſea, the other at land, equal to thoſe of Salamis and Platæa [c]. Plutarch ſays, that he afterward made himſelf maſter of eighty Phœnician veſſels, which lay in a port of Cyprus, and were intended to ſtrengthen that navy which Cimon had deſtroyed. However it was, he gained ſuch an immenſe booty, that the Athenians were enabled to build the ſouth wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of thoſe far-extended walls which united the port to the city. Theſe being built in a marſhy ground, they were firſt of all forced to ſink great ſtones, that they might have a proper foundation for the ſtructure. It likewiſe defrayed the expence of various other works for the accommodation of the citizens; beſides what Cimon himſelf undertook out of his proportion of the ſpoils, he adorned the forum with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks, and pleaſant fountains.

Immenſe booty gained by Cimon, and how employed.

Cimon's magnificence in his private capacity.

The wealth of Cimon, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, ſo it likewiſe put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he ſo much affected; he therefore demoliſhed the incloſures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleaſed; he likewiſe kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the pooreſt Athenians eat of them freely. When he went abroad, he was conſtantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dreſſed, whoſe pockets were well furniſhed with money. When by chance he met any ancient citizen in a tattered ſuit, he made ſome of his domeſtics change cloaths with him; or if the quality of the perſon rendered that kindneſs improper, he took a ſum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the diſtreſſed per-

[c] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

ſon

ſon privately. Thus, as one of the ancients ſaid of him very juſtly, he gained riches that he might uſe them, and uſed them ſo as to get credit Yet he was far from doing theſe things from a deſire of becoming popular; on the contrary, he ſided always with the nobility, and oppoſed openly ſuch as ſought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches which his victories poured into Athens, brought with them their conſtant attendant, corruption; but though the tide was ſtrong, yet Ariſtides, in the midſt of a voluntary poverty, and Cimon, who lived with the greateſt magnificence, eſcaped it, being never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money [d].

Cimon reduces Cherſoneſus.

The affairs of Athens were now in ſuch a proſperous condition, that the citizens would not ſuffer any thing to be tranſacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The Perſians having invaded the Cherſoneſus, and, by the help of the Thracians, made themſelves entirely maſters of it, Cimon was ſent thither with great expedition; he had with him but four ſhips, ſo that the Barbarians and their allies looked upon this as a very raſh attempt; however, Cimon attacking them ſuddenly, took thirteen of their gallies, and afterwards reduced all Cherſoneſus, under the Athenian power; after which atchievement, he went againſt the Thaſians, who, revolting from the Athenians, had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers Nyſſus and Strymon. Before we enter into the event of this war, it may not be improper to obſerve, that Cimon put the Athenians into a method of becoming irreſiſtible at ſea, and of preſerving their neighbours, not at their own expence, but at the expence of thoſe they awed. Many of the Greek ſtates, who by the treaty concluded with Ariſtides were bound to furniſh men and gallies, as well as to pay the tax for their ſupport, when they ſaw themſelves out of danger from the Barbarians, were unwilling to furniſh their quota of men and ſhips; this refuſal moſt of the Athenian generals diſliking, would have compelled them by high fines to conform: but Cimon took a contrary courſe; he permitted ſuch as were deſirous of ſtaying at home to remain there, and took a certain ſum in lieu of a galley completely manned. By theſe means he inured the Athenians, whom he took on board his gallies, both to hardſhip and diſcipline, while the allies, who choſe to excuſe themſelves,

The Athenians by his means become the moſt powerful at ſea.

[d] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

were

were enervated through idleneſs, and ſunk into tributaries.

Poſſeſt the gold mines of Thrace.

The people of Thaſus attempted to ſhake off the Athenian yoke, but were at laſt obliged to ſubmit, and yield the gold mines, about which this war was commenced, to the Athenians, who ſent a great colony to Amphipolis, a city of Thrace, which for ſome time made a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the Edones, great part of them were deſtroyed.

In the laſt year of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad, the Lacedæmonians finding themſelves extremely harraſſed by their Helotes, who had revolted from them, and were ſupported by the Meſſenians and ſome other of their neighbours, ſent to demand aid from Athens. This demand produced great diſputes. Ephialtes, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, oppoſed the motion for ſending, as the Spartans deſired, an army to their aſſiſtance. Cimon, who favoured the nobility, and who was a friend to the Lacedæmonians, by whoſe intereſt he had been ſupported againſt Themiſtocles, earneſtly preſſed the Athenians to ſhew their virtue and magnanimity, by ſuccouring their companion, who was the other eye of Greece. Ephialtes ſought to bring the people into his opinion, by ſhewing that Sparta had always been, and from the nature of her conſtitution, would always be an enemy to Athens, and therefore ought not to be ſuccoured againſt the enemies her pride had excited. The Athenians, however, liſtened rather to Cimon than to his adverſary, and, full of a generous concern for Greece, ſent that fortunate general, at the head of a great army, to the aſſiſtance of Lacedæmon; which ſervice he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour.

Cimon ſent to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians.

The Athenians diſobliged by the Lacedæmonians.

Some time after, the Lacedæmonians being engaged in the ſiege of Ithome, ſent again to the Athenians for ſuccour, and were again relieved, Cimon marching with a numerous body of troops to their aſſiſtance; but the Spartans, finding that the other confederates had ſent troops ſufficient to enable them to make an end of the war ſucceſsfully, diſmiſſed the Athenian ſuccours, as being either afraid of them, or more unwilling to be obliged to them than to the other ſtates. This affront grievouſly offended the people of Athens, who thenceforward not only hated the Lacedæmonians, but all their own citizens who were reputed to be friends to that ſtate *.

* Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos Vit. ejuſd. Thucyd. lib. i.

The

The Athenians engaged themſelves in two new wars, one againſt the inhabitants of Ægina, who having been always free, bore very ill thoſe acts of ſovereignity which the Athenians exerciſed over them, as well as the reſt of their allies: the ſecond was againſt the great king in Egypt, which now revolted from him, and ſet one Inarus on the throne. The fleet which the Athenians ſent thither performed wonders; for they enabled the Egyptians to defeat the Perſians in the field, and to ſubdue two diſtricts of the great city of Memphis; but the third, which was called the White-wall, they could not reduce, the Perſians who retreated thither having carried with them a vaſt quantity of proviſions and ammunition, which enabled them to ſupport a ſiege of three years.

The Athenians make war on Ægina, and ſend a fleet into Egypt.

Their great buſineſs abroad did not ſo much engroſs the time of the people of Athens, but that they continued much divided at home; the popular party were continually making efforts againſt thoſe ſmall remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility; they had at their head two very great men, Pericles and Ephialtes; the former of theſe was the ſon of Xanthippus the famous Athenian captain, who won the battle of Mycale, by Agariſte the niece of the celebrated Clyſthenes, who had ſo great a hand in expelling the Piſiſtratidæ. He ſtudied under Damon and Anaxagoras; from the former he learned politics, and from the latter natural philoſophy, and the art of ſpeaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence ſuperior to that of any of his contemporaries; but he was obliged to conceal theſe ſhining qualifications, becauſe the Athenians imagined that he reſembled Piſiſtratus very much in his face, and ſtill more in his eloquence, which was ſo nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the ſurname of Olympus. Therefore, although he was of a great family, had a good eſtate, and many relations, who filled the firſt poſts of the commonwealth, yet he not only declined ſtanding for public employments, but even ſpeaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himſelf the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when Ariſtides was dead (Z), Themiſtocles in baniſhment, and Cimon, generally ſpeaking, employed in foreign affairs, Pe-

State of factions in Athens at this time.

Pericles, his birth, education, conduct, &c.

(Z) Ariſtides lived but four years after Themiſtocles was baniſhed; and died ſo poor, notwithſtanding the great offices he had filled, that his children were maintained at the public expence.

ricles

ricles applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to public buſineſs, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of Athens had acted; for, inſtead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himſelf wholly to the lower ſort of people, though contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which by no means inclined him to a plauſible inſinuating behaviour. The reaſon was, that there appeared no other method, by which he could poſſibly attain to that eminence and ſuperiority which he affected. Cimon, by the greatneſs of his birth, the luſtre of his actions, and the largeneſs of his eſtate, had placed himſelf at the head of the nobility, and was by them conſidered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generoſity and condeſcenſion. The multitude therefore were the ſole reſource of Pericles, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foreſaw exactly the dangers he muſt be expoſed to in conſequence of his making court to to them. To avoid theſe, he practiſed a behaviour equally ſingular and extraordinary; he left off all company; he neither received nor paid viſits; and but once in all his adminiſtration was preſent at a feaſt, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the prytaneum or aſſembly; he preſerved an unſhaken gravity in his look, his geſtures, and his ſpeech, and always prayed before he delivered an oration, that nothing might ſlip from him diſpleaſing to the people. With theſe abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unleſs he could be as liberal as Cimon, to whom, though his will was equal, yet his fortune was inferior; but he overcame this difficulty by making free with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done in after ages, obliging the people at their own expence. He increaſed the ſalaries of thoſe Athenian citizens who ſat in courts of juſtice, and the conſideration given to the poorer citizens for attending at aſſemblies, and to enable them to pay for ſeats in the theatres [f].

Pericles an enemy to the court of areopagus.

As Pericles never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of conſequence be choſen a member of the court of areopagus, whence it happened that he diſliked their authority, becauſe he knew they could not be pleaſed with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general aſſembly, where, by dint of his eloquence, he bore the greateſt ſway. But fearing to draw upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of the moſt venerable

[f] Plutarch. in Vit. Periclis.

council

council among the Athenians, he encouraged Ephialtes, his intimate friend, to ſtir up the people againſt the areopagites, and to make them believe that this tribunal was the greateſt curb upon them, and the only bar to that extenſive liberty which their friends wiſhed to put into the hands of the commons of Athens [z]; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatneſs in that of the people, but at the expence of the ancient conſtitution, and of the ſafety of the ſtate.

Proſecution commenced againſt Cimon.

When affairs were in this ſituation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the deſtruction of Cimon. To this effect, a proſecution was commenced againſt him for treaſon againſt the ſtate; this treaſon was pretended to conſiſt in receiving preſents or other gratifications from the Macedonians; by means of which he was prevailed on to omit the opportunity he had to enlarge his conqueſts, after he had taken from the Perſians the gold mines of Thrace. Cimon made a defence ſuitable to his character; he ſaid that he had proſecuted to the utmoſt of his power the war againſt the Thracians, and other enemies to the ſtate of Athens; but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into Macedonia, becauſe he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind; and becauſe he was ſtruck with reſpect for a nation modeſt in their carriage, juſt in their dealings, and ſtrictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the Athenians: that if his countrymen looked upon this conduct as a crime, he muſt ſubmit to their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his behaviour was wrong. Elpinice, his ſiſter, engaged herſelf warmly in his behalf, ſoliciting all ſuch as ſhe thought might either influence the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongſt the reſt ſhe addreſſed herſelf to Pericles, who was one of the perſons appointed by the people to accuſe Cimon at his trial. Pericles heard all ſhe had to ſay patiently, and then anſwered with a ſmile, "You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in ſuch affairs as theſe." Pericles was noted for gallantry; and, in all probability, he let fall this expreſſion to take off all ſuſpicion that Elpinice had made any impreſſion upon him; for it was obſerved that when the trial came on, Pericles ſpoke but once, and then not only treated Cimon with great reſpect, but touched the buſineſs of which he was accuſed ſo lightly, that he ſeemed to have no opinion

Pericles defends him.

[z] Plutarch. ubi ſupra, & in Vit. Cimonis. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

of

of his guilt; and when he had done ſpeaking he withdrew; the conſequence of this demeanor was, that Cimon eſcaped capital puniſhment, though he was baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehenſions from the people [h].

Cimon baniſhed.

The power of the areopagus curtailed.

The diſpoſition of the Athenians appearing now to be extremely favourable to thoſe who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, Ephialtes ſeized the opportunity to humble the court of areopagus, by procuring a decree, whereby moſt of the cauſes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elſewhere; and this the wiſeſt of the Athenians have looked upon as the firſt ſtep to their ruin; for it gave the people ſuch a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable: however, Ephialtes did not triumph long; for in a little time, he was aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets by Ariſtodicus, a Tanagrian, as Ariſtotle reports, induced to this action by the nobility; though Idomenes of Lampſacus, an author quoted by Plutarch, aſcribes his murder to Pericles, who, when he had ſerved his purpoſes, thought it beſt to have him taken out of the way [i].

Advantages gained by the Athenians over the Corinthians, Epidaurians, and people of Ægina.

A war breaking out between the Corinthians and Epidaurians on the one ſide, and the Athenians on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which victories the Athenians conceiving that the inhabitants of Ægina had aſſiſted their enemies, ſent Leocrates their admiral, at the head of a great fleet, to puniſh that iſland which had always been troubleſome to the Athenians. The inhabitants of Ægina, truſting to their ſkill in maritime affairs, ventured with a ſmall fleet, conſiſting for the moſt part of new-built ſhips, to hazard a battle with the Athenians; in which however they ſuffered greatly for their raſhneſs, being totally defeated with the loſs of ſeventy ſhips, ſo that they were conſtrained to ſubmit to the victors, and to purchaſe peace at the expence of their honour and independence [k].

The other ſtates jealous of their greatneſs.

The ſtates of Peloponneſus, looking with jealous eyes on the growing greatneſs of Athens, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when ſhe was engaged in troubleſome affairs, and ſeemed to be leaſt able to reſiſt them. The Corinthians attacked the Megarians, whom they knew to be the allies of Athens, while the Atheni-

[h] Plutarch. in Vit. Cim. & Peric. Corn. Nepos. [i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Periclis. [k] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283.

ans

ans upon ſome freſh provocation were laying ſiege to Ægina; but this warlike people, far from being frighted at the number of their enemies, ſent Myronides their general, at the head of a conſiderable army, to the aſſiſtance of their allies, without deſiſting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. Myronides behaved ſo well, that after ſeveral engagements the Corinthians were glad to return; ſo that this attempt to check the Athenian power, ſerved, as many others had done, only to increaſe it [1].

Yr. of Fl. 1890. Ante Chr. 458.

The Athenians make an unjuſt war on the Lacedæmonians.

The Lacedæmonians having ſent a great army, compoſed of their own troops, and thoſe of their allies, to the aſſiſtance of the Dorians againſt the Phocians, the Athenians reſolved to attack them in their return, having long wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging thoſe inſults which they had received, or apprehended they had received from the Spartans. The Athenians, therefore, with their confederates the Argives and Theſſalonians, equipped a fleet of fifty ſail. With theſe they proceeded to the Iſthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of the paſſes, ſo that it was impoſſible for the Lacedæmonians to return home without encountering them. The Spartan army, commanded by Nicomedes, conſiſted of eleven thouſand five hundred men; he did not however riſk a battle raſhly, but turned aſide to Tanagra, a city of Bœotia, where ſuch of the Athenians as inclined to an ariſtocracy entered into ſome correſpondence with him. But before their deſigns ripened, the Athenian army marched with great expedition to Tanagra; ſo that a battle became inevitable. When the Athenians were diſpoſing themſelves in battalia, Cimon preſented himſelf on a ſudden, completely armed, and went to take poſt among the troops of his own tribe. But thoſe of the popular faction, forgetting all reſpect to their country, and regarding nothing but their private reſentments, raiſed a great clamour, alleging that he came with no other view than to put himſelf at the head of his own party, in order to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians; they therefore inſiſted that the general ſhould not receive him, his time of baniſhment being not near expired. Cimon being informed of this objection, voluntarily retired; but, before he withdrew, he addreſſed himſelf to Euthippus, and the reſt of his friends, who were charged with being in a conſpiracy with him, earneſtly beſeeching them to behave in ſuch a

Will not allow Cimon to fight among their troops.

[1] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283.

manner

manner as might wipe off the aſperſion, and convince the Athenians that they had not amongſt them either braver or honeſter men than Cimon and his friends. Euthippus and his companions made him no other anſwer than deſiring him to leave them his armour, ſince their generals would not permit him to ſerve at their head; and he complied with their requeſt.

The Athenians defeated at Tanagra.

The battle proved long and doubtful, for the Theſſalian horſe deſerting the Athenians at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however, the troops of Athens and their confederates fought obſtinately, particularly the little body commanded by Euthippus, which, drawing cloſe together, and having Cimon's armour in the midſt of them, charged amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all ſlain. In the end, however, the Athenians were routed with a very great loſs. This unfortunate battle was followed ſhortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of Attica, the Theſſalians marched ſuddenly in the night to attack it. The Athenian eſcort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of Tanagra, received the Theſſalians as friends. But they ſuddenly falling upon them, the Athenian guard ſtood on their defence, and made a very gallant reſiſtance, till their own army came in to their aid, who quickly routed the Theſſalians with great ſlaughter; yet theſe in the end being ſuſtained by the Lacedæmonians, the engagement became again doubtful, till both armies being ſufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they mutually retreated, and concluded a ſhort truce, that, after ſuch rude encounters, both ſides might have time to recruit their forces [m].

A ſecond battle.

Thebes reſtored by the Lacedæmonians to her ancient luſtre.

The Thebans, who, on account of their having joined Xerxes in his war againſt Greece, had loſt the government of Bœotia, applied themſelves now to the Lacedæmonians, entreating them to aſſiſt them in the recovery of it, and promiſing to be for ever their faithful allies againſt the Athenians. The Spartans, conceiving this to be a very ſeaſonable propoſal, readily complied with it, and entered into a ſtrict league with the Thebans. By their aſſiſtance Thebes was reſtored to her ancient luſtre, rendered the head of Bœotia, and one of the firſt cities in Greece. The Athenians, however, were ſo much diſpleaſed at the conduct of the Spartans, that they reſolved to ſend an army into Bœotia, to overturn all they had

[m] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283. Plut. in Vita Cimonis.

been

been doing. Myronides, the ſon of Callias, was choſen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day when he would march againſt the ememy; when that day came, many, whoſe names were in the muſter-roll, did not attend; Myronides, however, began his march, and when many perſuaded him to wait a little, that ſuch as had been negligent might have time to come in, he anſwered, that it did not become a general to wait for ſuch people, ſince it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy as they did towards their friends; whereas, the troops he had with him, in their early appearance in the field, had given ſuch a teſtimony of their courage, as ſeemed to preſage victory. The Thebans, and their allies, compoſing a numerous and well-diſciplined army, marched, without ſcruple, to meet Myronides and his handful of Athenians; but the event did not anſwer their expectation; for, after a long and obſtinate engagement, Myronides prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed ſurpriſing, as Diodorus Siculus long ago remarked, that ancient authors have paſſed over ſo ſlightly this victory of the Athenians, which, in ſome ſenſe, was more glorious to them than either that of Marathon or Platæa. In both theſe they fought againſt Barbarians, and were aſſiſted by their allies: in this they engaged without aſſiſtance, and yet triumphed over a ſuperior army, compoſed of the braveſt of the Greeks. The firſt uſe which the Athenian general made of his victory was, to march to Tanagra, where the Athenians had been ſo roughly handled a few months before; this city he took by ſtorm, and, to make even the defeats of his country terrible to its enemies, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all Bœotia; defeated an army, which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat; fell afterwards upon the Locrians; then penetrated into Theſſaly, where, having chaſtiſed the inhabitants for their treachery to the Athenians, he returned home laden with riches and glory [n].

The Athenians ſend an army againſt the Bœotians;

and gain a complete victory over them.

The next year Tolmides, the Athenian admiral, piqued at the great actions of of Myronides, prompted the people to give him power to invade Laconia, a thing hitherto unattempted. That they might the more readily come into his project, Tolmides aſked but for a thouſand men, which were readily granted him: but he, well knowing that this was too ſmall a number, found means to quadruple

Tolmides, the Athenian admiral, invades Laconia;

[n] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 285. Thucyd. lib. i.

it without breaking the decree; for, pretending he would chuſe the thouſand men out of the ſtrongeſt and braveſt of the youths of Athens, he privately ſolicited all ſuch to give in their names voluntarily, ſuggeſting that it would be diſhonourable to be compelled by his choice. When he had thus drawn three thouſand to give in their names, he then choſe another thouſand by virtue of the decree; and with this body of four thouſand men on board his fleet, which conſiſted of fifty ſail of ſtout gallies, he proceeded on the expedition. Arriving at Methon, in Laconia, he took it; but the Spartans ſending a ſpeedy ſuccour, he was forced to relinquiſh his conqueſt. However, he had better fortune at Gythium, another ſea-port belonging to the Lacedæmonians, which he took and burnt, with all the ſhipping and naval proviſions that were in it; and likewiſe waſted all the adjacent country; he then ſailed for Zacynthus, which he reduced, together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He proceeded to Naupactus, which he took by capitulation, and having ejected the Lacedæmonians, ſettled there a colony of Meſſenians, whom the Athenians had taken under their protection: thus ended this expedition, no leſs to the honour of the Athenians, than thoſe undertaken in former years againſt the Spartans and their allies *.

and reduces ſeveral places.

Pericles invades Peloponneſus with great ſucceſs.

Soon after this campaign, Pericles was ſent with his ſhips, and a thouſand ſoldiers, to invade Peloponneſus: this he did with great ſucceſs, burning, ſpoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; for the fame of the Athenians half diſcomfited their enemies, and the reputation of ſo great a general took away almoſt the power of reſiſtance. On his return to Athens, he found the people out of humour, becauſe Cimon remained ſtill in baniſhment: the death of his friends in the battle of Tanagra, fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been baniſhed, and therefore we need not wonder that all Athens looked upon it as an act of juſtice, due from their ſtate, to recall him. Pericles conceiving what would be the conſequence of their compaſſion, immediately drew up an act for his reſtoration: this Cimon took ſo kindly, that never thwarted him after he came home.

The Athenians gain great advantages over the Perſians;

Cimon rightly judging that it would be impoſſible for the Athenians to remain quiet, equipped two hundred gallies, with intent to make a freſh attempt upon Cyprus,

* Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi.

that,

that, by gaining new booty from the Barbarians, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the Perſian king, than to be harraſſing the Lacedæmonians, or oppreſſing their allies. Plutarch ſuggeſts, that he had in view no leſs a conqueſt than that of the whole Perſian empire; part of his fleet he detached to aſſiſt the Athenians in Egypt, with the reſt he remained in the neighbourhood of Cyprus, or, as Diodorus Siculus ſays, made himſelf maſter of Citium and Malus; after which ſucceſs he defeated the Phœnician fleet, obtained a victory over the Perſian army, commanded by Megabyzus, which lay encamped in Cilicia, and, re-embarking his forces, returned to Cyprus, where he beſieged the capital city. But the Perſian monarch finding no reſpite from the Athenians, and no hopes of ſubduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, ſent orders to Artabazus and Megabyzus, his commanders, to enter into a treaty of peace; which they accordingly propoſed to the Athenians, and theſe, having named on their ſide Callias, the ſon of Hipponicus, their plenipotentiary, the treaty was ſoon finiſhed. The principal articles were, that all the Greek cities in Aſia ſhould be free, and governed by their own laws; that the Perſians ſhould ſend no army within three days journey of the ſea; and that no Perſian ſhip of war ſhould ſail between Thaſelis and Cyene, the former a city of Pamphylia, the latter of Lycia. Articles moſt glorious for the Greeks, and not a little acceptable to the Perſians, ſince the Athenians, on their ſide, undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire.

Who conclude a peace with them, and upon what terms.

During this treaty, and, as it were, in the arms of victory, Cimon died at Citium, whether of ſickneſs, or of a wound he had received at the ſiege, authors were not agreed in the time of Plutarch. His death was as honourable as his life, and his laſt act the moſt glorious of it all; for when he found himſelf about to expire, he ſent for the principal commanders, adviſed them to embark the men, to conceal his deceaſe, and to ſail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the laſt great captain of Athens; the reſt were ſoldiers and heroes too, but not patriots like Cimon; for they, flattering the humours of their countrymen, frequently led them to fight againſt their brethren, and moſt cruelly employed the wiſdom, power, and wealth of Greece, againſt herſelf; whereas Cimon curbed the vanity of his countrymen; he told them it was lawful to make war, and to

Cimon dies.

A true lover of his country.

ſpoil the Perſians, who had deſtroyed their city, and carried away all they had; but he diſſuaded them, at all times, from acting tyrannically towards the Greeks, and vehemently inveighed againſt that propenſity they had to ſacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On ſuch occaſions he often ſaid, "The Lacedæmonians would not do this." His inflexible virtue, at laſt, provoked his countrymen to baniſh him, to his immortal glory, and their ſhame[p].

The Megareans enter into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians.

The affairs of Athens began to be ſuddenly diſturbed after the death of Cimon; for being alike deteſted by their enemies and their allies, the leaſt unlucky accident furniſhed a handle for new revolts or invaſions. The Megarians were the firſt in this buſineſs: their little ſtate, which lay in an angle of Attica, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion of Athens, and had brought them into ſeveral quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it ſeems, thoſe of Megara, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the Athenians, or elſe conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, diſclaimed all dependence on Athens, and entered into a ſtrict league with her conſtant and avowed enemy Lacedæmon. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and, for a time, blocked up the Megarians in their city. The Lacedæmonians quickly reſented this proceeding, and hearing that Pericles was employed another way, they made an irruption into Attica, and did abundance of miſchief; upon which Pericles, who had marched againſt Eubœa, was recalled to oppoſe the Lacedæmonians. Upon his return he did not, as many expected, immediately attack their army; but, conſidering that it was led by a very young man, Pliſtonax, then king of Sparta, who had with him one Chandrides for a tutor, he ſent the latter a conſiderable ſum of money, and procured the retreat of the Lacedæmonian army without blows. When Pericles came to ſettle his accounts, he charged ten talents, laid out on a proper occaſion. At another time the Athenians would not have bore with ſuch an article in a public account, but Pericles had ſuch aſcendancy over them, and they were ſo thoroughly ſenſible how this money had been applied, that they paſſed his accounts without queſtion, and ordered him to proſecute the expedition againſt Eubœa, in which he had been before employed[q].

Which gives riſe to a war between the latter and the Athenians.

Pericles puts an end to the war without bloodſhed.

[p] Plut. in Vita Cimon. Corn. Nep. in Vita Cimon. [q] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 293. Plut. in Vita Periclis.

While

While Pericles remained at home in the winter, Tolmides, who had performed ſuch great exploits for the Athenians, reſolved to make an expedition into Bœotia with a ſmall body of troops, and in a very advanced ſeaſon of the year; a great number of the braveſt Athenians readily engaged to ſerve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet Pericles conſtantly oppoſed the ſcheme, preſſing Tolmides to wait a little, and, in his conduct, to join prudence with valour. But he ſeeming to be offended at this advice, and not greatly to reliſh another's meddling in his affairs, Pericles told him calmly, "If you will not liſten to my advice, yet certainly it will not be amiſs if you wait Time's leiſure; who, let me tell you, ſir, is the the wiſeſt of all counſellors." This ſaying being divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to Pericles; for Tolmides, after performing certain ſplendid actions in Bœotia, was attacked by the confederate army, compoſed of the quotas ſent from all the little ſtates of that country, his army routed at Cheronea, and himſelf ſlain. This defeat greatly humbled the Athenians, for, in order to redeem their priſoners, they were conſtrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of Bœotia; and, while this treaty was on the carpet, many other little ſtates declared againſt the Athenians[r].

Tolmides is killed, and his army routed.

Pericles, notwithſtanding all theſe checks, marched with an army into Eubœa, from whence a new revolt of the Megarians occaſioned him to be recalled; but in a ſhort time he re-entered that iſland, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Heſtica; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the reſt of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of Athenians in their ſtead. A ſhort time after, the reſt of Eubœa ſubmitted; and the Lacedæmonians finding it no longer for their intereſt to carry on the war, a negociation was propoſed, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, Callias and Chares being plenipotentiaries for the Athenians.

Yr. of Fl. 1902. Ante Chr. 446.

Pericles reduces Eubœa.

About this time, Pſammeticus, king of Libya, or, as Plutarch rightly calls him, of Egypt, ſent by way of preſent to the Athenian people forty-thouſand buſhels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for Pericles, from reſentment to Cimon's family, who had children by an Arcadian woman, had preferred a law, by which Athenians of the half blood were disfranchiſed; this law, on account of the diviſion of the corn before

Inſtance of Pericles's ſeverity.

[r] Thucyd. lib. i.

mentioned, was proſecuted with ſuch ſeverity and effect, that no leſs than five thouſand perſons, who till then had been conſidered as freemen, were ſold as ſlaves; a moſt exorbitant ſtroke of arbitrary power, puniſhed afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all Pericles's children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the Athenians to cancel this law out of pity to him, its author.

Yr. of Fl. 1904. Ante Chr. 444.

Next year, that is, in the beginning of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, the Sybarites, a people of Italy, being a ſecond time driven from their city by the Crotonians, ſent ambaſſadors into Greece, and humbly beſought the Lacedæmonians and Athenians to reſtore them, and to ſend a colony to ſhare with them the new city they reſolved to build. The Lacedæmonians rejected their requeſt; but the Athenians, who delighted in ſuch applications, readily agreed; and not only diſpatched ten ſhips, with a conſiderable body of men on board, under the command of Lampo and Xenocrates; but alſo cauſed a proclamation to be made throughout all Peloponneſus, that ſuch as were willing to ſettle in Italy, might go thither under the protection of their fleet. Abundance of people accepting the propoſition, the Sybarites, by the aſſiſtance of theſe newcomers, re-eſtabliſhed themſelves in their country, and built a new city, which they called Thurium, from whence themſelves were afterwards ſtyled Thurians.

The Sybarites expelled.

Reinſtated. Thurium built.

At the cloſe of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, according to the computation of Diodorus Siculus, and ſix years after the concluſion of the peace between Athens and Sparta, as Thucydides relates, a war broke out between the Samians and Mileſians about the city of Priene, ſeated under Mount Micale, in Ionia. How this war came to affect the Athenians is not very clear; Diodorus ſays, the Samians, who were victors, conceiving that the Athenians favoured their enemies, revolted from them: Thucydides affirms, that the vanquiſhed complained to the people of Athens, who were alſo ſolicited by ſome Samian malecontents to ſend a ſufficient force thither, in order to change the government, and eſtabliſh a democracy. Plutarch intimates, that the Athenians having directed both parties to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to their deciſion, the Samians refuſed; and thus the war was commenced. There is yet another reaſon aſſigned, which ſeems at leaſt as well founded as any of the reſt; and it is this: Pericles engaged the Athenians in this war, to gratify his miſtreſs Aſpaſia, a Mileſian, one of the handſomeſt women in her time, who had

War between the Athenians and Samians.

had ſuch an aſcendency over Pericles, that for her ſake he ſacrificed his family and his peace (A). However it was, war was decreed againſt the Samians, and Pericles was ſent againſt them with a fleet of forty ſail; he preſently brought them into ſubjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing firſt, that the government ſhould be democratical for the future, and that fifty hoſtages of principal perſons ſhould be delivered to him, with as many children. Plutarch ſays, that all imaginable methods were tried to ſoften Pericles upon this occaſion; the hoſtages offered him a talent a-head, by way of ranſom; thoſe who diſliked the democracy, proffered him a large ſum if he would leave the government as he found it; and Piſſuthnes, the governor of Sardis for the Perſian king, thinking an ariſtocratic government in Samos more advantageous to his maſter, would have given ten thouſand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the Athenians; but Pericles having no reſpect to money, carried away the hoſtages to Lemnos, and eſtabliſhed the democracy in Samos, as he had been directed by his conſtituents. But as governments, founded in force, ſeldom laſt long, the Samians fell into great diſſenſions as ſoon as Pericles was gone. Some, who had retired to Piſſuthnes, having procured for him an aid of ſeven hundred men, returned to their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, thoſe of the oppoſite party were ejected, and the Athenian garriſon expelled: they procured alſo their hoſtages to be privately ſent away from Lemnos, and having drawn the Byzantines to their party, declared themſelves enemies to Athens. That city, unuſed to bear inſults, immediately equipped ſixty gallies, and ſent them under Pericles to ſubdue the Samians a ſecond time.

The Samians brought under ſubjection by Pericles.

Who eſtabliſhes a democracy in that iſland.

The Samians drive out the Athenian garriſon.

(A) Aſpaſia is one of the moſt celebrated ladies of antiquity, equally eminent for her beauty, talents, and diſſolute life. In eloquence ſhe ſurpaſſed all her contemporaries; her converſation was ſo eloquent, entertaining, and inſtructive, that perſons of the firſt diſtinction, male and female, reſorted to her houſe as to an academy: ſhe even numbered Socrates among her hearers and admirers. She captivated Pericles in ſuch a manner, that he diſmiſſed his own wife, in order to eſpouſe her; and, by her univerſal knowlege, irreſiſtible elocution, and intriguing genius, in a great meaſure influenced the adminiſtration of Athens (1).

(1) Plut. in Vit. Pericl. Athen. lib. xiii. p. 560. Cicer. in Bruto.

Pericles defeats the Samians at ſea.

When Pericles was at ſea with his fleet, he found it neceſſary to detach ſixteen ſhips, as well to gain intelligence of the Phœnician fleet, as to haſten the auxiliary ſquadrons he expected from Chios and Leſbos; with the forty-four remaining veſſels he engaged the Samians and their allies, though their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, and defeated them. Being afterwards ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of forty ſhips from Athens, and twenty-five from Chios and Leſbos, he beſieged Samos by land and ſea.

Beſieges their city.

Receiving intelligence that the Phœnician fleet was coming to its relief, he ſailed with ſixty ſhips to meet them at ſea. In his abſence the beſieged fell upon upon the remainder of the Athenian ſhips, under the command of Teſagoras, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained maſters of the ſea, during which ſpace of time they furniſhed themſelves with whatever they wanted. Plutarch cenſures Pericles's conduct on this occaſion, and attributes the loſs, which the Athenians ſuſtained, to his leaving the ſiege; but there ſeems to be no foundation for this charge, becauſe fighting the Phœnician fleet at ſea, rather than in the neighbourhood of Samos, was certainly his intereſt. On his return to the ſiege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourſcore ſhips, he ſtraitened the Samians more than ever; and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept ſeven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refreſh themſelves. At length, after nine months ſiege, the Samians ſurrendered at diſcretion. Pericles demoliſhed their walls, ſeized their ſhips, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hoſtages for the remainder [s].

The Samians gain ſome advantages.

But in the end their city is taken, and diſmantled by Pericles.

When Pericles returned, he was appointed to pronounce the public oration, in commemoration of ſuch as fell in the war, a taſk which he performed with ſuch eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit, the women gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands.

Pericles applauded by the women of Athens.

The war between the Corcyrians and Corinthians commenced a little after this period, and drew by degrees the Athenians into thoſe engagements, which at laſt proved the ruin of their ſtate. An inteſtine war breaking out in the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia, founded by the Corcyrians, one party called in the Illy-

What gave riſe to the war between the Corcyrians and Corinthians.

[s] Thucydid. lib. i. de Bello Pelopon. Plut. in Vit. Pericles Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 302.

rians

rians to their aſſiſtance, and the other finding themſelves ſtraitened, applied themſelves for aid to the people of Corcyra. Theſe neglecting the buſineſs of the people of Epidamnum, ſent to Corinth for ſuccours, owning her for their foundreſs, becauſe the Corcyrians were a colony from Corinth. The Corinthians, out of pity to the Epidamnians, and ſpleen to the Corcyrians, ſent a great fleet to the aſſiſtance of the former, which eſtabliſhed that party which had applied to Corinth; this being reſented by the Corcyrians, they ſent a fleet to Epidamnum, to ſupport the exiles, who, on its arrival at that port, acted offenſively, the chief commanders having inſtructions to propoſe an accommodation, to which the Corinthians would by no means accede. Next year the Corcyrians defeated the Corinthians and their allies at ſea, and took Epidamnum by ſtorm; they then waſted the dominion of the confederates of the Corinthians, who were greatly exaſperated at this indignity. At Corinth, therefore, they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and preſſed their confederates to join them, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had loſt, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to inſult her mother city. When the Corcyrians received advice of theſe proceedings, they inſtantly diſpatched ambaſſadors to carry their complaints to Athens, and the Corinthians, on the receipt of this news, diſpatched theirs likewiſe; both on the ſame errand, and with equal hopes [t].

Both recur to the Athenians.

There could be nothing more glorious for the Athenians than ſuch an application, which ſeemed to acknowlege the legality of that dominion which this ſtate had always affected. Thucydides, therefore, who begins his hiſtory with the ſtory of this war, hath given us the harangues, as well of the Corinthian as of the Corcyrian ambaſſadors, to which we muſt refer our readers. At firſt the Athenian people approved the cauſe of the Corinthians; but they ſoon changed their minds, and took part with the Corcyrians, yet they did not make a league, offenſive and defenſive, with that ſtate, becauſe by ſuch a ſtep Athens would immediately have broken with Corinth, and all her allies; they contented themſelves with making a defenſive alliance only with the Corcyrians, whereby both parties reciprocally promiſed to aſſiſt each other in caſe either ſhould be attacked. It does not ap-

Who enter into a defenſive alliance with the Corcyrians.

[t] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii.

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pear that the Athenians entered much into the merits of this cauſe: the reaſons aſſigned by Thucydides, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are theſe: firſt, Corcyra was a very great maritime power; ſecondly, this iſland lay very convenient for aſſiſting Athens in her deſigns on Italy and Sicily; when the Corinthian fleet, therefore, was ready to ſail, the Athenians, according to their treaty, ſent ten gallies to Corcyra, under the command of Lacedæmonius, the ſon of Cimon, with whom were joined Diotenes, and Proteus, as colleagues. Plutarch ſays, that Pericles, by ſending this ſmall ſquadron under Lacedæmonius, intended to affront him, or at leaſt to put it out of his power to perform any great action, whereby to revive the ancient ſplendor of his family, againſt which that great politician had always a pique. But there ſeems to be very little colour for this ſuppoſition. Thucydides ſays, that the Athenians, who were indeed under the direction of Pericles's counſels, did not intend the Corcyrians any real aſſiſtance, but ſent this ſmall ſquadron to look on while the Corinthians and Corcyrians weakened and waſted each other.

The Corinthians and Corcyrians engage.

The Corinthians, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, made for the coaſt of Corcyra with a fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſail, under the command of Xenoclides, aſſiſted by four other Corinthians admirals, each ſquadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The Corcyrians prepared, as well as they could, for the reception of this great armada; they put to ſea a fleet of one hundred and ten gallies, which, by the Athenian ſhips, was augmented to one hundred and twenty. As ſoon as the navies were in ſight of each other, they prepared for an engagement. The Corcyrians gave the right wing to their allies, the Athenians, ranging their own fleet in three ſquadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The Corinthians gave their right wing to the Megarians, and other of their allies, diſpoſed the reſt of them in the centre, and placed their own gallies in the left, that they might engage the Athenians. The action was very warm for ſome time; the Corcyrian right wing broke the left of the Corinthian fleet, and forcing ſome of the ſhips on ſhore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of priſoners; on the other hand, the Corinthian ſhips in their left wing defeated the right wing of the Corcyrians, whom the Athenians, according to their inſtructions, aided but faintly; at laſt the Corinthians charging them briſkly, the

Athenians

Athenians were obliged to defend themſelves, and fought ſo well, that the Corinthians were glad to retire, towing away their diſabled veſſels.

Next day the Corinthians reſolved to attack the Corcyrians again, who prepared on their ſide to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the Corinthians on a ſudden retired, a circumſtance for which the Corcyrians knew not how to account, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty ſail from Athens put it out of doubt, that the Corinthians ſeeing them, and fearing there might be more behind, had wiſely choſen to withdraw. The Athenian and Corcyrian fleets joining, braved the Corinthians in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, becauſe all the ſhips from Athens were clean, and the Athenians, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to Peloponneſus (B).

The Athenians aſſiſt the Corcyrians.

The Corcyrian war was followed by the revolt of Potidea, a town in Macedonia, founded by the Corinthians, but joined in alliance to Athens. As ſoon as the Corcyrian war broke out, the Athenians ſent orders to the citizens of Potidea, immediately to demoliſh a part of the wall of their city, to ſend back the magiſtrates whom they had received from Corinth, and to give hoſtages for their own behaviour. Perdiccas, king of Macedon, jealous of the Athenians, took this opportunity to perſuade the Potideans to revolt, and they followed his advice; though they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, to entreat the revocation

The revolt of Potidea.

(B) Both ſides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at Sybotis: the Corinthians, becauſe they had carried away part of the broken veſſels, made a thouſand priſoners, and ſunk ſeventy of the Corcyrian ſhips; the Corcyrians, becauſe, by the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, they had ſunk thirty of the Corinthian veſſels, taken ſome ſpoils, and forced them to retire. This was the greateſt ſea-fight, which to this time had happened among the Greeks, there being no leſs than two hundred and ſeventy veſſels engaged. The Corinthians complained loudly againſt the Athenians, as if they had broken the peace; the Athenians alleged, they had only aſſiſted their allies; and thus theſe ſtates began to hate each other. As for the priſoners made by the Corinthians, they ſold eight hundred for ſlaves, the reſt they uſed kindly, in hopes of making uſe of them for facilitating a peace (1).

(1) Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. Plut. in Vit. Pericles.

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of the orders ſent them; but in the mean time they diſpatched deputies to Sparta, to join with the Corinthians and Megarians, in their complaints againſt the Athenians. Theſe laſt, in the mean time, ſent a fleet againſt Macedonia, and ſome time after another, with a body of land troops on board, under the command of Callias, a man of great quality and courage. The Corinthians on their ſide detached Ariſteus, with a conſiderable force, to the aſſiſtance of the Potideans. Not to detain the reader with a detail of the little circumſtances of this war, which may be found in the accurate hiſtory of Thucydides, we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that an engagement happened before Potidea, in which the Athenians were victors, but with the loſs of their general Callias. Phormio, who ſucceeded him in his command, inveſted the city, and blocked up its port with his fleet; but the Potideans, dreading to fall into the hands of the Athenians, made an obſtinate defence, while in the mean time they warmly ſolicited the Corinthians to perform their promiſes, and to engage the reſt of the ſtates of Peloponneſus in their quarrel [u].

The Potideans defeated by Callias the Athenian general.

Diſſenſions at Athens.

While affairs abroad were in this condition, the Athenians were very far from being quiet at home; Pericles had attained ſuch a ſuperiority as had never been ſeen in Athens ſince the days of Piſiſtratus; the laſt competitor with him for the favour of the people was Thucydides, a man noble by birth, and of ſuitable qualifications; he endeavoured to prevent thoſe alterations in government which the popular party endeavoured to accompliſh, and more eſpecially oppoſed Pericles, who perceiving that one of them muſt give way, put the matter to the teſt by procuring an oſtraciſm, wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that Thucydides was exiled by the people. From this time forward Pericles altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his diſpoſal, and took upon himſelf the whole management of the Athenian affairs.

Thucydides exiled.

The Athenians jealous of the power of Pericles.

When things began to have this ominous appearance, and the Athenians apprehended a war in which they ſhould be obliged to contend, not for ſpoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands, houſes, and whatſoever was dear to them, they were diſpleaſed with Pericles, and received for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them

[u] Thucyd. lib. i. Diod. lib. xii.

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to utter. For example, when Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent ſtatuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the ſtatue of Minerva; many reaſons induced ſuch as diſliked Pericles to abet this proſecution, among the reſt theſe two; firſt, they conceived that they ſhould try the minds of the people by this ſtep, and diſcover if they were at preſent diſpoſed to bear with the proſecution of Pericles; ſecondly, they thought to revenge themſelves on the ſtatuary, for having inſerted a picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon in the ſhield of the goddeſs. But this buſineſs had an iſſue little expected; for Phidias having declared that by Pericles's direction the gold was ſo laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be juſt. However, Phidias either died in priſon or was baniſhed: Plutarch ſays that he was poiſoned by the procurement of Pericles's enemies, who afterwards ſought to charge it upon him [w].

His friends proſecuted.

Phidias dies in priſon, or baniſhment.

Hermippus next accuſed Aſpaſia of impiety or irreligion, as alſo of being a procureſs to Pericles, and as ſuch ſeducing the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens. Diopithes preferred a pſephium or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, i. e. the areopagus, againſt ſuch perſons as diſputed the religion of their country, or taught ſuch doctrines, under colour of natural philoſophy, in relation to celeſtial bodies, as were inconſiſtent therewith. This was known to ſtrike at Anaxagoras, the preceptor of Pericles, and even at Pericles himſelf. The people aſſented, and Anaxagoras was judicially accuſed. To complete Pericles's troubles, Dracontides moved, that Pericles might bring in his accounts; and that the final deciſion of his cauſe ſhould be committed to judges, who ſhould write their ſuffrages upon billets taken from the altars [x]. Our great orator found means to diſengage himſelf from all theſe ſnares: he appeared in perſon for Aſpaſia, pleaded her cauſe as an advocate, but in the midſt of his pleadings let fall a ſhower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, becauſe he had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the ſight of his grief,

Aſpaſia accuſed of impiety and irreligion.

Anaxagoras accuſed.

Pericles pleads in perſon for Aſpaſia.

[w] Diod. lib. xii. cap. 7. Plutarch. in Vit. Pericl. [x] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Anax.

engaged,

Aspasia acquitted.

engaged the judges to acquit her. As for Anaxagoras (C), he was afraid to trust his eloquence with the defence of him, whose wisdom was his only crime; and therefore wisely sent him out of Attica, with this mark of respect, however, that he attended him in person. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the least pain about it; for being a very exact œconomist, he was able to shew two things from it, first, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and secondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as Thucydides observes, was the very basis of his greatness, that he was universally known to be strictly just to the public, above corruption, and, through the innocence of his actions, in respect to pecuniary affairs, superior to all the calumnies that could be raised against him [y].

Pericles's integrity.

y Thucyd. ubi supra. Plutarch. ubi supra.

(C) Suidas is positive, that he was cast into prison for introducing a new opinion, concerning the divine nature, and banished, notwithstanding Pericles undertook to plead his cause. The whole tenor of Anaxagoras's philosophy was, according to the religious notions of the Athenians, impious. For he taught, that matter was composed of infinite similar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were disposed in the frame we see them, by an infinite self-moving mind; whence he acquired, from the novelty of his doctrine, the surname of Nous, i. e. *the mind*. He lived after his banishment at Lampsacus, and was so little affected with his fate, that when a person told him one day, "You are deprived of the Athenians;" he answered, "You are mistaken, friend, they are deprived of me." As to his notion of the sun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning mass, many times bigger than Peloponnesus, and that its revolution was occasioned by the repulse of the northern air; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the sun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her surface. He asserted likewise that the stars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, because they were all contrary to the religion of the Athenians. His scholars were the greatest men of Greece, but all suspected of irreligion. We shall mention only a few, Archelaus, the philosopher; Euripides, the tragic poet; Socrates, the famous moralist, who heard both him and Aspasia (2).

(2) Diogen. in Vit. Anaxag. Plutarch. in Vit. Periclis. Id. de Superstit.

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The Spartans having heard all the little ſtates of Greece had to ſay againſt the Athenians, and laſt of all the Corinthians, ambaſſadors were ſent to Athens, to demand reparation for the injuries, or to denounce war in caſe of refuſal. Thucydides, of all ancient authors the moſt to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded, in the firſt place, the expulſion of thoſe Athenians who were ſtyled execrable on account of the old buſineſs of Cylon, and his aſſociates, becauſe by his mother's ſide Pericles was allied to they family of Megacles; the next inſiſted that the ſiege of Potidea ſhould be raiſed; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina ſhould be left free; and laſtly, that the decree made againſt the Megarians, by which they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, ſhould be revoked, and the Grecian ſtates ſet at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens. It is certain, that Pericles perſuaded the Athenians to reject theſe terms; but authors are not agreed upon what motives he acted.

Reparation required of the Athenians by the Spartans.

Their terms rejected.

The harangue attributed to him by Thucydides, and which we have no reaſon to doubt is to the ſame effect with that which he delivered, offers the following argument to the conſideration of the Athenians: that whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, as to the complaints of the allies, the true ground of this reſentment was the proſperity of the Athenian republic, which they always hated, and now ſought an opportunity of humbling; that it muſt be the fault of the Athenians themſelves, if they ſucceeded in this ſcheme, becauſe, for many reaſons accurately and judiciouſly ſtated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expenſive war than the Peloponneſians. He therefore adviſed it ſhould be propoſed, as the moſt equitable ſatisfaction that could be given, that they would reverſe their decree againſt Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egreſs and regreſs in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all thoſe ſtates free, who were ſo at the making of the laſt peace with Sparta, provided the Spartans would alſo leave all ſtates free who were under their dominion; and that future diſputes ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration. In caſe theſe offers ſhould not prevail, he counſelled them to hazard a war, telling them that they ought not to think they ran ſuch a hazard for a trifle, or retain a ſcruple in their minds, as if they were eaſily moved to it, becauſe on this depended their ſafety, and the reputation of their conſtancy and reſolution; whereas if they yielded in this, the next demand

The cauſes and beginning of the Peloponneſian war.

mand of the Lacedæmonians would be of a higher nature; for having once discovered that the Athenians might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude, that they durst deny them nothing; whereas a resolute denial in this instance would teach them to treat Athens for the future on terms of equality. He enforced these reasons, by shewing that their ancestors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all cases preferred their glory to their ease, and their liberty to their possessions (D).

Such were the causes of the famous Peloponnesian war, so minutely recorded by the historian Thucydides.

Platæa surprised by the Thebans.

Things being in this situation, the Thebans conceiving that Platæa, which had been always remarkable for her fidelity to the Athenians, would cause uneasiness to their state, resolved to surprise it. With this view, they sent Eurymachus, at the head of three hundred men, to assist such of the Platæans as they had drawn over to their party, in making themselves masters of the town. In this design they succeeded very happily; the Platæans, who had promised to open their gates, kept their word exactly, and the Thebans in an instant took possession of the place. The townsmen in general, perceiving at last the small number of the Thebans, unanimously rose and fell upon them, killing great numbers, and in the end forcing the rest, with Eurymachus, their chief, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Another party from Thebes came to assist their companions, but arrived too late; the Platæans, foreseeing that they would waste their country, offered to release their prisoners, if they would forbear to spoil their lands; but threatened, at the same time, that if they committed any waste, they would put their friends

(D) Diodorus informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumstances, reminding them, that the treasure brought from Delos amounted to ten thousand talents; and that, though four thousand had been expended on the gate of their citadel, yet that six thousand still remained; that they were also entitled to the subsidies paid by the confederate states; that the statues of the gods, the Persian spoil, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immense sums; that private men were possessed of great fortunes; and that, considering their trade by sea, they had a certain annual increase of wealth; they had an army on foot of twelve thousand men, and in their colonies and garrisons seventeen thousand; that their fleet consisted of three hundred sail, which might easily be increased; whereas the Poloponnesians had none of these advantages.

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to death. The Thebans accordingly withdrew; but the Platæans nevertheleſs put their priſoners to death, alleging, that they never promiſed to releaſe them, but in caſe of peace: their number was one hundred and eighty, including Eurymachus, their leader. The Athenians, as ſoon as they had notice of this attempt of the Thebans, cauſed all the Bœotians in their territory to be arreſted; and when they underſtood how the Platæans had delivered themſelves, they ſent a great convoy of proviſions to that city, with a numerous body of troops to eſcort their wives and children to Athens. *The league broken on both ſides.*

The league being now broken on both ſides, each party prepared for war; both ſent ambaſſadors to the Perſians, both ſought to rouſe their allies. Moſt of the ſtates of Greece were inclined to the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves, on this occaſion, the deliverers of Greece: they likewiſe hated the Athenians, either becauſe they already oppreſſed them, or becauſe they apprehended that in time they would. With the Spartans joined all the Peloponneſians, except the Argives, and part of the Achæans; without Peloponneſus, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambracotes, Leucadians, and Anactorians, declared themſelves on their ſide. On the other hand, the Athenians numbered among their allies the Chians, Leſbians, Platæans, Meſſenians, Acarnanians, Corcyrians, Zacynthians, Carians, Dorians, Thracians, the iſlands for the moſt part, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melus and Thera, with Eubœa and Samos. The Lacedæmonians aſſembled their army at the Iſthmus; but Archidamus, the Spartan king, and commander in chief, diſpatched a herald to Athens, before he would enter Attica: this herald was ſent back without an anſwer, an indignity which put an end to all overtures for peace; the Lacedæmonians reſolving immediately to commence hoſtilities offenſively, and the Athenians preparing to defend themſelves [z]. *Both prepare for war.* *The allies of both.*

Pericles, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, ſo his wiſdom ſeems to have been the only reſource they had. He was aware that Archidamus, being his friend, might forbid the plundering his eſtates; of which apprehenſion he immediately gave advice to the people, and, to cut off all ground of ſuſpicion, declared, that in ſuch a caſe he made a preſent of his lands to the public. He then adviſed, that, without thinking how to Yr. of Fl. 1917. Ante Chr. 431. *The Peloponneſian war.*

[z] Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. init. Diodor. lib. xii.

defend their country ſeats, they ſhould turn all their care to the city, employ themſelves in equipping their ſhips, and ſettle a thorough reſolution, not to be intimidated with the firſt evils of war. The Athenians came readily into all that he propoſed, and appointed him, with nine more, generals of all their forces. To ſay the truth, the Lacedæmonians themſelves aſſiſted his riſe; for their ambaſſadors continually attacking him, the Athenians apprehended from thence, that he of all others muſt have the greateſt regard for their intereſt. However, when the Peloponneſian army advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the largeſt boroughs in Attica, and at a very ſmall diſtance from Athens, the Athenians began to grow diſcontented, and to clamour exceedingly againſt Pericles, for not ſo much as attempting to drive them away. In this omiſſion, however, he ſhewed his judgement; for that army conſiſting of no leſs than ſixty thouſand men, the Athenians were unable to ſet on foot any force capable of oppoſing it with ſucceſs: wherefore, when urgently preſſed for an engagement, Pericles very prudently replied, "Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a ſhort time; but men once loſt, cannot eaſily be recovered." By degrees the madneſs of the people grew ſtill more violent, ſo that he was perſecuted with libels from every quarter; and even his own friends preſſed him to alter his conduct, and to attempt ſomething for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midſt of this ſtorm; purſued the plan he had laid down, notwithſtanding the clamour raiſed againſt him; and gave a happy turn to affairs, by the dint of his own magnanimity [a].

The Peloponneſians invade Attica.

Pericles' prudent conduct.

He ſent, however, a fleet of a hundred gallies, with fourteen hundred land forces on board; which fleet being joined by fifty veſſels from Corcyra, coaſting the Peloponneſian ſhore, did infinite miſchief; ſo that its inhabitants had no reaſon to boaſt of their expedition into Attica, ſince they left their own country to feel thoſe miſeries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another Athenian fleet infeſted the Locrians; and becauſe Ægina had been a principal occaſion of the preſent war, when the fleet returned from Peloponneſus, it drove out all the inhabitants of that iſland, which was re-peopled from Athens. They likewiſe reduced Cephalenia, and ſeveral towns in Acarnania and Leucas; while, in the mean time,

The coaſt of Peloponneſus, and the territories of the Locrians, ravaged by the Athenian fleet.

[a] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

Pericles

Pericles gratified those who were shut up in the city with distributions of public money, a law for the division of lands, and whatever else he could think of, to amuse and divert them. In the autumn, when the Peloponnesians were retired, Pericles, at the head of a great army, entered the Megarian territory, and did all the mischief which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reason of this invasion was, because on their account the Lacedæmonians pretended to have made war. Thus in the end of this first year the Athenians settled accounts, as it were, with the Peloponnesians, and repaid them those insults and ravages, which they had committed in Attica at the beginning of it [b].

Dreadful plague at Athens.

The spring of the next year was doubly fatal to Athens; nature afflicted her at home, and the Peloponnesians, under the command of Archidamus, wasted all her territory abroad; but the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the curious reader may perceive from consulting Thucydides [c], who was himself infected. Pericles, in the midst of these distresses, retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuse it into his countrymen; though he held them to the observance of the same rule which he had prescribed before, and would not suffer them to stir without the city, either to escape the plague, or infest the enemy. He caused, however, a great fleet to be equipped, and drew together fifty vessels of the allies of Athens, on board of which, and of a hundred Athenian gallies, he embarked three hundred horse, and four thousand foot, with which he sailed to Epidaurus. The Peloponnesians, hearing how great a force he commanded, withdrew their troops out of Attica, after they had wasted it for forty days. Pericles, however, made but faint efforts, the plague raging among his soldiers and seamen. On his return, the fleet, under the command of Agnon and Cleopompus, were sent against Chalcis and Potidea; but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing; so that, after a short stay, they returned from thence, bringing back to Athens about fifteen hundred men out of four thousand, the rest being lost through pestilence and war. These evils drove the Athenians to madness and despair. In vain Pericles made use of all his eloquence to appease them; they sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon to desire a peace, which the

The Athenians sue for a peace.

[b] Thucyd. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. & vide Hippocrat. lib. iii. Epidem. sect. 3.

[c] Lib. ii. prope init.

Spartans were too proud to grant. After this fruitless negociation, Pericles harangued the assembly, and, with the utmost force of reason, sought to combat their apprehensions and fears. When he had done speaking, they confessed he was in the right, in advising them to begin the war; yet, distracted with the evils it had occasioned, they dismissed and fined him; yet, with an inconstancy natural to the people, they soon recalled him, and vested him with almost absolute authority.

First dismiss, and then recall Pericles.

But the storms in his own family did not end so easily; his son Xanthippus quitted his house, because his father would not allow him more money than his estate would bear; but to conceal the true cause, the profligate youth gave out that his father conversed criminally with his wife. During this quarrel, Xanthippus died of the plague; his death was soon followed by that of the sister of Pericles. He afterwards lost the greater part of his relations, and, finally, his second son Paralus. At his funeral, Pericles lost his heroism quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corpse, he burst out into a flood of tears; after which, being conveyed home, he kept his house, and abandoned himself to despair. It was then that the Athenians invited him to accept of those honours of which they had stripped him. At the persuasion of Alcibiades, and others of his friends, he came abroad, and shewed himself to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his request cancelled that very unjust law, which they had made at his desire, for bastardizing all children of the half blood. In consequence of this repeal, he enrolled a son of his, by Aspasia, a freeman of Athens, by the name of Pericles.

Havock made by the plague in the family of Pericles.

Events of the second year of this war.

In the summer of this year, a Peloponnesian navy, of a hundred gallies, wasted the island of Zacynthus. Towards the end of the summer, they sent ambassadors to the king of Persia, to entreat his assistance against his ancient enemies the Athenians: these ambassadors had it also in commission to make application to Sytacles, king of Thrace; but his son Sadocus being a citizen of Athens, seized them, and delivered them to the Athenians, who put them to death, to teach the Lacedæmonians more mercy than they had shewn in killing such as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to Athens. In the winter the Athenians sent Melesander, with a fleet of twenty ships, to Caria and Lycia, where he was slain. About this time Potidea, which had held out from the beginning of the war, being reduced to the utmost

utmoſt extremity, yielded to the Athenians; who permitted the men to depart each with one garment, and each woman with two. This city was re-peopled afterwards by a colony from Athens [d].

Platæa beſieged by the king of Sparta.

In the ſpring of the third year, Archidamus, king of Sparta, with a great army, beſieged Platæa. The Platæans alleged that Pauſanias, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predeceſſors had ſolemnly eſtabliſhed; but Archidamus inſiſted that they ſhould forſake the party of the Athenians, give up their city, and all that they had, during the war, on a promiſe of having all things reſtored whenever peace ſhould be made. The Platæans were ſo far from accepting theſe terms, that they reſolved to endure every ſpecies of misfortune rather than deſert Athens. Archidamus waſted their country, but not with impunity; for thoſe of Platæa made continual ſallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then cauſed the city to be ſet on fire, and great part of it was reduced to aſhes, yet this calamity had no effect: in the end, therefore, he was conſtrained to turn his ſiege into a blockade. Having thrown up an entrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a ſufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to Peloponneſus.

Pericles. dies.

In Thrace and Acarnania the Athenians fought with variety of fortune, and, under the command of Phormio, gained two ſmall victories at ſea. But the great event of this year was the death of Pericles, which happened in the end of the ſummer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any other perſon; for it hurried off others ſuddenly, but it deſtroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the conſtitution of his body, and the noble faculties of his mind. Plutarch ſays, that when he drew near his end, he ſhewed ſome of his friends an amulet or charm, which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he muſt be very ſick indeed, when he ſuffered ſuch a remedy to be applied. In his laſt moments, ſome of his friends, ſitting by his bed-ſide, and conceiving him to have loſt his ſenſes, amuſed themſelves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: of a ſudden he raiſed himſelf on his bed, and turning to them, ſaid, "I wonder you ſhould commend thoſe things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing elſe,

[d] Thucyd. Diodor. & Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 137.

and which have happened to others alſo; and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation, than all the reſt, that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account." Thus Pericles died as he lived, as much ſuperior to the greateſt men of Athens, as they to the vulgar; and after his death, it appeared, that the ſame grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preſervation; only it muſt be allowed, that he gave way to the corruption of the people, that he might govern them; and that while he exalted the Athenian ſtate, and adorned its capital, he deſpoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious ſpirit of dominion, inſtead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by Ariſtides and Cimon[e] (E).

In

[e] Thucyd. lib. ii. Plut. in Vita Periclis.

(E) Pericles was very learned, eſpecially in the uſeful ſciences; and there is a ſtory related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it muſt have been within a year or two of his death at fartheſt, which ſhews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from moſt of his countrymen: juſt as he was going on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipſe of the ſun happened, which ſtruck all the ſeamen with aſtoniſhment, and terrified his own pilot ſo much, that he was incapable of performing his duty. Pericles perceiving this, inſtantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, aſked him if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it? He anſwered, No. "Why then, ſaid Pericles, what difference can you make between one darkneſs and the other, except that what ſhades the ſun is bigger than my cloak:" which brought the pilot and his crew to their ſenſes again. How much he owed to Anaxagoras appears from this, and, indeed, from almoſt every great circumſtance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he ſuffered that wiſe man to be in ſuch diſtreſs, that, throwing himſelf on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a reſolution of ſtarving to death. When Pericles was told of this, he ran to him in all haſte; yet, inſtead of lamenting his diſtreſs, he bewailed his own loſs, in caſe he ſhould be deprived of ſo wiſe a counſellor; to which Anaxagoras, opening his cloak, anſwered with a low voice: "Thoſe, Pericles, who have need of a lamp, ſupply it with oil." Whereupon the ſtateſman took him home, and uſed him better for the future. It was at his motion that the Athenians ſeized the treaſure of all Greece at Delos, and applied a great part of it to the

In the ſummer following the Peloponneſians, under the command of Archidamus, invaded Attica the third time, deſtroying the ripe corn, and waſting, with implacable malice, whatever belonged to the Athenians, though without profit to themſelves. In the mean time the whole iſle of Leſbos, the city and diſtrict of Methymna only excepted, revolted from the Athenians, who thereupon ſent a fleet of forty gallies, under the command of Clippides, and two other generals; their orders were to appear before the city of Mitylene, to demand that the citizens ſhould pull down their walls, and deliver up their ſhips; and, in caſe of refuſal, they were then to act offenſively. The Mitylenians endeavoured to amuſe the Athenians, and to that end procured a truce till they ſent ambaſſa-

Archidamus invades Attica.

The Mitylenians revolt from the Athenians.

the adorning of their own city; which when complained of as a breach of truſt, Pericles thus defended it: "It was given, ſaid he, to defend Greece from the Barbarians, which the Athenians having done, have a juſt title to the money; for money, ſaid he, is not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the the conditions; and as the Athenians were always ready to carry on the war, it was but juſt that ſomething ſhould be done for their peace, and to give life and ſpirit to tradeſmen, which was effected by theſe public buildings." This reaſoning drew over to his party, merchants, ſeamen, labourers, and artiſts of all kinds; as for ſuch as were not obliged this way, he provided largeſſes for them, and penſions from the public ſtock; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other Athenians had made themſelves eminent, Pericles had made himſelf a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be moſt dangerous, he cauſed them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered thoſe dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home: in a word, he made Athens the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Greek ſtates; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had ſought to depreſs; and, in the midſt of all the Athenian greatneſs, when her commons were moſt vain, and moſt unruly, he directed all things at his will; was but once, and then but for a ſmall time in diſgrace, recalled afterwards with honour by the people, and remained in poſſeſſion of his authority to his death. But, in the midſt of this great fortune, his hands were clean, he did all things for Athens, and nothing for himſelf, leaving his paternal eſtate rather diminiſhed than improved (z).

(z) Plut. in Vita Periclis. Thucyd. lib. i. & ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. xii. Juſtin. lib. iii. cap. 7. Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 11. & mult. al.

dors to Athens; but, in the mean time, they diſpatched other ambaſſadors to intreat aid of the Lacedæmonians, who directed them to make their ſolemn application at the Olympic games, to the ſeveral ſtates of Greece. This advice they followed, and were admitted into the alliance formed againſt Athens. The Spartans meditated another inroad into Attica, and actually advanced as far as the Iſthmus; but their allies not ſending their quotas as they had promiſed, they retired, having received advice that an Athenian fleet had appeared upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus. Yet the Peloponneſians, in purſuance of their promiſe to the Mitylenians, ſent a fleet of forty gallies to their aſſiſtance; but they were able to effect little, becauſe the Athenians had ſent a hundred gallies to that coaſt. Hitherto they purſued the maxims of Pericles, and cultivated a naval force; but as this coſt immenſe ſums of money, they made new demands upon their allies, and raiſed that tax which Ariſtides had impoſed, with the conſent of the Greeks, by which they were enabled to maintain a fleet of two hundred and fifty gallies.

Mitylene beſieged by the Athenians.

The Mitylenians, and the reſt of the Leſbians, incenſed at thoſe of Methymna, for remaining ſtedfaſt in their duty to the Athenians, made incurſions into their country; whereupon the Athenians inveſted the city of Mitylene, and obliged them to defend their own territories, inſtead of offending their neighbours. Platæa was all this time blocked up, its little garriſon conſiſting of four hundred natives, and eighty Athenians, having thus long withſtood the whole power of Peloponneſus; but, having no hope of aſſiſtance from Athens, and being very much ſtreightened for proviſions, they reſolved to force a paſſage through the enemy's lines; which deſign, when they came to execute, many flagged: three hundred, however, perſiſted in their intention, and fell with ſuch fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a paſſage, and marched to Athens, the reſt were compelled to retire into the city. Thus ended the fourth year of the Peloponneſian war[f],

Mitylene taken.

In the beginning of the next year, the Peloponneſians ſent forty ſhips to the relief of Mitylene; and, at the ſame time, entered with a great army into Attica, for the fifth time, under the command of Cleomenes. The Athenians were exceedingly diſtreſſed by theſe cruel ravagers; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in

[f] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

Leſbos,

Leſbos. Paches, who commanded before Mitylene, obliged it to ſurrender before the Poloponneſian fleet, ſent to ſuccour it, could arrive; he likewiſe chaſed that fleet, and returning to Leſbos, ſent the Lacedæmonian miniſter, whom he found in Mitylene, together with a deputation from the inhabitants of that place, to Athens, where the Lacedæmonian was immediately put to death. In a general aſſembly of the people, it was reſolved, at the motion of Cleon, that orders ſhould be ſent to Paches, to put all the Mitylenians, who were at man's eſtate, to death, and to ſell the women and children for ſlaves. Next day, however, they reconſidered this decree, which Cleon ſtill ſupported with all his eloquence; but Diodorus, an orator of a milder diſpoſition, having ſhewn how injurious it would be to the Athenian glory, to deal ſo ſeverely with perſons who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, it was carried by a ſmall majority to reverſe the decree. A clean ſhip was immediately diſpatched to Leſbos, to countermand the orders that had been ſent to Paches the day before; and inſtructions were given to the commander to make all the ſail he could, that he might arrive before the other ſhip; but he was diſtanced, notwithſtanding all his endeavours. He arrived, however, time enough to ſave the Mitylenians from utter deſtruction; for Paches being a man of great humanity, took a day to conſider the orders he had received, and in that ſpace the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The Athenians, however, did not wholly pardon the Mitylenians; on the contrary, they put a thouſand of the principal rebels to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls of the city, ſeized the ſhips, divided the lands among themſelves, and let them to the Mitylenians at very high rents.

Decree ordering all the Mitylenians to be put to death, or ſold for ſlaves.

The decree revoked.

The inhabitants treated with ſeverity.

The ſame ſummer they made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Minoas, they ſeized likewiſe the port of Niſæa, and fortified it; which acquiſitions were of great importance to them. The Platæans, driven to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered; and, by the judgment of the Lacedæmonians, were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty-five Athenians, put to death, and their women ſold for ſlaves. Such was the end of one of the braveſt and moſt generous people of Greece. Their city was ſome time afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the Thebans, who left only an inn, to ſhew where it ſtood. The fame, however, of its ancient inhabitants moved Alexander the Great to rebuild it in the ſequel.

The Athenians take the iſland of Minoas.

The Platæans ſurrender.

In

The famous sedition of Corcyra.

In the course of this year happened the famous sedition in Corcyra, from whence future seditions, when their effects rendered them terrible, were styled Corcyrian. We have already observed, that the war waged by this state against the Corinthians, induced the Peloponnesian war; and in speaking thereof, we have shewn that a great number of Corcyrians were carried away prisoners into Peloponnesus, where the chief of them were well treated, though the rest were sold for slaves. The reason of this conduct of the Corinthians was a design they had formed, of engaging these Corcyrians, to influence their countrymen to side with them and their allies; with this intent, they behaved with all the lenity and tenderness imaginable, instilling into them by degrees an aversion to democratic government. When it was found that the Corcyrian prisoners had thoroughly imbibed these principles, they were told, that on condition they would use their interest at home in favour of the allies, and to the prejudice of Athens, they might obtain their freedom. The Corcyrians promised largely, returned home, and, which may seem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promised. From these endeavours sprung the sedition before mentioned. At first, such as were for an aristocracy, prevailed, and, by means of their power, destroyed those who inclined to a democratic government: they were assisted by the Peloponnesians; but the Athenians sending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the assistance of the distressed party, the Peloponnesians were forced to withdraw. In consequence of this, the democratic party in Corcyra, revenged the injuries they had received from the now depressed faction; nor would they suffer any notions of religion to restrain their hands, but dragged away suppliants from the altars to execution, on the maxims of all faction, that it was for the public good. Almost all the states in Greece felt in their turns the like commotions, which were always excited by agents from Sparta and Athens, the former pretending to settle aristocracies every where, and the latter exerting her utmost power to establish the democratic form of government.

Athens engages in a new war.

In the midst of these momentous affairs, the Athenians were engaged in a new war, which proved, in the end, more fatal to them than all the rest. The inhabitants of Sicily were divided into two factions, the one styled the Doric, which had the state of Syracuse at its head; the other

ther the Ionic, which owned the Leontines for their chiefs: the latter conceiving themſelves too weak without foreign aid, applied to Athens, and ſent Gorgias, a great orator, to entreat their aſſiſtance. Never was any miniſter better ſuited to his negociation than this man to treat with the Athenians; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and ſo ſoothed the ears of the people by his ſpeeches, that they ran headlong into a war, which they were at this period unable to maintain. Pericles had cautioned them againſt ſuch engagements at the beginning of the war; he told them that they might be ſucceſsful, if they meddled with nothing elſe; and that their ſucceſs would fix their empire, and ſecure Athens in as high a ſtate as ſhe could expect, or ought to deſire. But the people, giddy with ſucceſs, and hoping at once to graſp the empire of Greece, with the dominion of Sicily, reſolved to aſſiſt the the Leontines, and diſpatched a fleet under the command of Lachetes and Chabrias (F).

Events of the ſixth year of this war.

At the beginning of the next ſummer, the Poloponneſians, under the command of Agis, the ſon of Archidamus, king of Sparta, invaded Attica, or rather aſſembled an army in order to invade it; for the many earthquakes which happened at this time throughout Greece, alarmed them ſo much, that they ſoon returned. The war was carried on in Sicily with various ſucceſs; Carcades, one of their generals, being ſlain, the ſole command devolved upon Paches, who diſcharged his truſt with great reputation. At Athens the people ordered new ſhips to be fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among theſe Demoſthenes gained great reputation, and made himſelf very agreeable to their allies. The Athenians, however, received ſome check from the Ætolians;

(F) The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midſt of all theſe great deſigns, cutting off this year four thouſand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people. Diodorus ſays, ten thouſand; he likewiſe accquaints us with what he ſuppoſes to have been the cauſe of this diſtemper; he aſcribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, and a very hot ſummer following, during which the Eteſian gales, or evening breezes, were wanting. The Athenians, however, aſcribed it to the pollution of the iſle of Delos, by the burying dead bodies there; which they therefore cauſed to be removed, and ſought to appeaſe Apollo by various ſacrifices (1).

(1) Thucyd. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

but

but in the winter they thrice overthrew the Ambraciots, and conſtrained them to conclude a peace with the Acarnanians, the allies of Athens. Eurymedon and Sophocles, who commanded in Sicily, gained, as the winter advanced, ſome advantages over the Syracuſans; and in this year it was remarked, that Mount Ætna made a greater eruption than had appeared for fifty years; thus ended the ſixth year of the war [s].

Demoſthenes infeſts the coaſt of Peloponneſus.

In the ſucceeding ſpring, Agis, the ſon of Archidamus, invaded Attica with a great army; the Athenians, however, fitted out a great fleet, ſending forty ſhips to Sicily, and gave inſtructions to their commanders to keep a ſtrict eye on Corcyra, the inhabitants of which were under great apprehenſions leſt their exiles ſhould make any attempt, or the Peloponneſians make a deſcent in their neighbourhood. Demoſthenes was ſent with another fleet to infeſt the coaſts of Peloponneſus: he was one of the greateſt generals of his time, and gave evident proofs of his talents in this expedition; for, as the fleet paſſed Laconia, he took notice of the promontory of Pylus, which was united to the land by a narrow iſthmus, having before it a barren iſland, about two miles in circumference, in which however there was a very ſafe port, ſecured againſt all winds, either by the head-land, or by the iſle. Obſerving theſe advantages, he conceived that a garriſon left here would engage the attention of the Peloponneſians; he propoſed therefore to his colleagues, that they ſhould immediately ſeize, and fortify it with the utmoſt expedition; but they deſiring rather to fulfil their inſtructions, than to do extraordinary ſervice, which, probably might not be approved, refuſed to follow his advice, and inſiſted upon ſailing to Corcyra. A ſtorm ariſing, obliged the fleet to put into the haven, where Demoſthenes revived his perſuaſions to ſeize and fortify ſo convenient a poſt, but in vain; his colleagues were of a contrary opinion, ſo that he was forced to give way: the ſoldiers, however, declared unanimouſly that they would not quit the place, but immediately began to fortify it, and in ſix days finiſhed a ſtrong wall; and then the reſt of the admirals ſailing for Corcyra, left Demoſthenes with five ſhips to guard his new-raiſed fortifications.

Pylus beſieged by the Spartans.

As ſoon as the news of this event was carried to the Peloponneſian army, it was immediately reſolved to return back and beſiege Pylus. When they arrived before the

[s] Thucyd. lib. iii. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii.

place

place, they took poſſeſſion of the harbour, and cauſed a choſen body of Spartans to take poſſeſſion at the ſame time of the iſland Sphacteria: theſe precautions taken, they attacked the Athenian retrenchments with great vigour; Demoſthenes and his garriſon made a brave defence, and a fleet of forty Athenian ſhips arriving very ſeaſonably, offered battle to the Peloponneſian fleet; but this being declined, becauſe the Lacedæmonians were determined to attack Pylus, the Athenians boldly ſailed into the harbour, ſunk moſt of the veſſels, and took the reſt; after which they beſieged the Spartans in the iſle, a circumſtance which threw the affairs of the Peloponneſians into the greateſt diſorder. The Lacedæmonians ſent for their magiſtrates to the camp, which was their cuſtom in all great dangers; and they perceiving that no ſafety could be obtained for the Spartans in Sphacteria, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the Athenian army, while a negociation was carried on at Athens. The articles of this truce were, that the Peloponneſians ſhould deliver up all their ſhips, on condition to have them punctually reſtored, in caſe the treaty did not take effect; that neither the Athenians nor they ſhould undertake any thing till this negociation was ended; that a certain quantity of proviſions ſhould be carried daily to the iſland, but that no ſhip ſhould attempt to paſs thither clandeſtinely; that the truce ſhould end at the return of the ambaſſadors; and that if, in the mean time, it were broken in any of its articles, the whole ſhould be utterly void. The Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors addreſſed the Athenians with great gravity and wiſdom; they ſhewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their requeſt; and, in proof of this allegation, they urged an argument worthy of the Spartans: "You have now, ſay they, an advantage, which, whether it be owing to your wiſdom, or fortune, may be diſputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occaſion, to make a juſt and honourable peace, you will ſhew that your nation do not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas, if you do not make peace, you will riſque that reputation, and even thoſe advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer." The Athenians in general were inclined to put an end to this troubleſome war; but Cleon, one of their demagogues, a warm and obſtinate man, prevailed upon them to inſiſt on very unreaſonable conditions, and treated the ambaſſadors in ſuch a manner, that finding nothing could be done with honour,

The Spartan fleet deſtroyed.

A truce concluded.

Propoſals for a peace rejected by the Athenians.

nour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp, put an end to the truce. The Peloponneſians then demanded their ſhips; but the Athenians pretending that the truce had been infringed, refuſed to deliver them, and thereby kept the poſſeſſion of ſixty good veſſels, to which they had but a very indifferent title.

Hoſtilities renewed.

Hoſtilities being recommenced on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians attacked the Athenian retrenchments at Pylus, while the Athenians renewed their aſſaults on the Lacedæmonians at Sphacteria; the latter, though under all the diſcouragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, inſomuch that the buſineſs went on very ſlowly; a delay which gave the people of Athens much uneaſineſs. They began to wiſh they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at Cleon; who, to excuſe himſelf ſaid, that it would be eaſy for the general of the forces they were now ſending, to attack the Spartans in the iſle, and put an end to this diſpute at once. Nicias, who had been appointed to this command, immediately obſerved, that if Cleon believed he could perform great actions, he ought to go thither in perſon; the latter conceiving this hint to be meant only to try him, ſaid he was ready to go with all his heart; and he no ſooner pronounced theſe words, than Nicias declared he had relinquiſhed his charge. Cleon, thus caught in his own ſnare, pleaded that he was no general; but Nicias anſwered, he might then become one. Cleon then advancing, ſaid, "I am ſo little afraid of the enemy, that I will deſire but a very ſmall body of troops; and yet, in conjunction with thoſe at Pylus, I will undertake, in twenty days, either to vanquiſh the Spartans you are in ſuch pain about, or periſh in the attempt:" a declaration which excited the laughter of the people. They decreed him, however, the troops he deſired; and he ſet ſail on this expedition, in which he conducted himſelf with great prudence and fortitude; for he firſt ſent ſent a herald to the enemy's camp, ſignifying, that if the Lacedæmonians in the iſle would ſurrender at diſcretion, a new negociation might be commenced; but this demand being looked upon as diſhonourable to the Lacedæmonian ſtate, was rejected. He afterwards, in conjunction with Demoſthenes, made a deſcent upon the iſland, and partly by conduct, and partly by valour, reduced the Spartans to the laſt extremity.

Cleon appointed to command againſt the Lacedæmonians at Sphacteria.

Cleon perceiving it was now in their power to cut theſe brave men to pieces, reſtrained his Athenians, and ſent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at diſcretion;

tion; whereupon the Lacedæmonian commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two superiors being killed, demanded a conference with the Athenian generals, in which he desired leave to send for orders to the Peloponnesian camp; but that request was refused: at length the terms offered were accepted, and the prisoners were put on board the ships, in order to be conveyed to Athens. They had sustained a siege of twenty-two days, and an engagement, wherein they lost one hundred and twenty-eight persons out of four hundred and twenty; so that two hundred and ninety-two yielded. Cleon, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promise, producing the prisoners within the time prefixed. This event elated the people, who in their next assembly decreed, that these prisoners should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the Peloponnesians should in the mean time invade Attica, in which case they resolved to put them to death. They sent a colony of Messenians, who had been cruelly expelled their own country by the Spartans, to repossess Pylus, and their neighbourhood was so disagreeable to the Lacedæmonians, that they quickly resolved to send ambassadors again to Athens, in order, if it was possible, to put an end to the war. The people of Athens were too much exalted with their success, to treat the Lacedæmonians, either with justice or candour; and the ambassadors of that steady nation, disdaining to be amused with frivolous pretences, returned without effect.

He reduces the place.

This summer the Athenians fought the Corinthians near the Isthmus. They sent likewise a fleet to Sicily, which fleet had instructions to put in at Corcyra, and to assist the government there against the faction which was in the interest of the Lacedæmonians: this service they effectually performed; for they gave the Corcyrians such assistance, that the exiles fell into their power; they imprisoned, and afterwards, by twenty at a time, executed them, with all the circumstances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent. When there were only sixty remaining, they besought the Athenians to put them to death, and not deliver them up to their countrymen. The Corcyrians thereupon surrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which cruelty driving the unhappy men into despair, they strangled and otherwise destroyed themselves with their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miserable sedition, which for so many years rent this little island, and

Lacedæmonian faction at Corcyra cruelly murdered.

and made the Corcyrians endure greater evil from themſelves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The Athenians were this year ſucceſsful in ſome other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall omit, and refer our readers to an account of them in Thucydides.

An ambaſſador from the king of Perſia to the Lacedæmonians intercepted by the Athenians, and diſmiſſed.

In the winter, a Perſian ambaſſador, whoſe name was Artaphernes, being ſent to Lacedæmon, was intercepted in Thrace, and brought priſoner to Athens. His letters and inſtructions were read; but when it was diſcovered that they did not concern the Athenians, he was diſmiſſed, and other ambaſſadors from Athens were ſent with him to Epheſus; when they arrived, they were informed that Artaxerxes, the Perſian monarch, was dead; by which event their commiſſion being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year, the Athenians apprehended that the inhabitants of Chios had an intention to deſert them; they therefore ſent a fleet thither, with orders that they ſhould demoliſh their new walls; a method they commonly practiſed on ſuch occaſions. Theſe were the principal events of the ſeventh year of the war [h].

In the beginning of the eighth year there happened an eclipſe of the ſun, according to Thucydides, which was followed by an earthquake [i]. The firſt matter of conſequence the Athenians reſolved on, was the reduction of the iſle of Cythera, ſeated on the coaſt of Laconia, which lay extremely convenient for them. Nicias was choſen to command in this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of Pericles, had been eminent in the ſtate, and enjoyed a great degree of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary; for though he had much knowlege in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of treſpaſſing in the leaſt on his inſtructions, and timorous to the laſt degree of offending the people. Pericles, eſpecially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he ſo much excelled all others in eloquence, that to ſpeak, and to perſuade, were the ſame things with him; and the people, being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he deſired. Nicias was of a different diſpoſition, and therefore ſought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchaſe it, another way: he had an immenſe eſtate, and he laid out a great part of

Nicias appointed to reduce the iſland of Cythera.

His character.

[h] Thucyd lib. iv. [i] Idem ibid.

it

it in beſtowing largeſſes, exhibiting plays, ſhews, and whatever elſe might pleaſe the people, who likewiſe pitied the timidity of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propoſe to them. We have already mentioned his diſpute with Cleon, as to the buſineſs of Pylus; this man was his conſtant opponent in every thing, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and intereſts. Cleon was continually the author of warm and violent counſels, blood-thirſty, and a vehement enemy of the Lacedæmonians; whereas Nicias was gentle in his manners, adviſed moderate meaſures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and, though in all other reſpects he was timid, yet he never diſſembled that he was well inclined to the Lacedæmonians, and wiſhed his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that ſtate and their own, by obſtinately continuing the war. The people, having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition to Cythera, and furniſhed him with a ſtrong fleet and a good army.

Nicias executed his commiſſion punctually and ſucceſsfully; he gained them a very commodious poſt, and brought the Lacedæmonians very ill neighbours. The Athenians afterwards took Thyrea, on the confines of Laconia: this place the Lacedæmonians had given to the inhabitants of the iſle of Ægina, when they were expelled by the Athenians; theſe, with the Cytheræans were ſent to Athens to ſubmit to the judgement of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and inveterate enemies of their ſtate and nation; the latter they diſperſed, for the moſt part, through the iſlands under their obedience; and on ſuch as they left in their own country they impoſed a very heavy tribute. In Sicily, one Hermocrates of Syracuſe, perſuading all the inhabitants of that iſland to adjuſt their differences among themſelves, the Athenian generals were conſtrained to re-embark their forces and return home. There were three of them, Pythodemus, Sophocles, and Eurymidon; they gave the people a diſtinct account of the reaſons which induced them to quit the iſland, and inſiſted particularly, that the Sicilians, being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them into other meaſures. But the Athenians, who ſeldom conſidered any thing where ſucceſs was wanting, baniſhed two of their generals, and ſubjected the third to a very heavy fine.

Cythera and Thyrea taken by the Athenians.

Great diſturbances in Megara.

The Athenians laid ſiege to Megara, under the conduct of Hippocrates and Demoſthenes; but Barſidas, the Lacedæmonian, coming to relieve the place, engaged the Athenians: the conflict ended in a drawn battle, but nevertheleſs, the Lacedæmonian party prevailing in Megara, thoſe who ſided with the Athenians were, many of them, obliged to withdraw: after this diſpute, ſuch as had been baniſhed for adhering to the Lacedæmonians, returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was paſt, and attempt nothing which might diſturb the public peace. But as ſoon as they were ſettled they forgot their oath, and with it all tenderneſs for their country. They cauſed a hundred of thoſe, whom they moſt ſuſpected, to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and, in conſequence of that judgement, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power.

The Bœotians, growing weary of that form of government, which, ſince their league with the Lacedæmonians, had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the Athenians, and to invite them to aſſiſt in ſettling democracies throughout Bœotia; but this buſineſs was not very proſperous, for the Thebans, and other Bœotians of their party, aſſembled a great army, under the command of Pantoedus. The Athenians were commanded by Demoſthenes and Hippocrates; at Delium the armies met, and a very bloody engagement enſued, wherein the Athenians were at laſt defeated, and all hopes of their prevailing in Bœotia taken away; moſt of the Bœotians, who inclined to their party, being obliged to forſake their country, and to take ſhelter in the Athenian territories. Thucydides, the hiſtorian, commanded at this time the Athenian forces on the coaſt of Macedonia, whither the Lacedæmonians had ſent Braſidas, one of their beſt generals, with a conſiderable army. He, partly by force, partly by perſuaſion, reduced Amphipolis and ſeveral other places; but Thucydides, by a quick march, ſaved Ione; and the Athenians, being extremely alarmed at the news of Braſidas's conqueſt, ſent new ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips, in the winter, to the Macedonian coaſt; but all their care could not prevent a great defection from their intereſt in thoſe parts, where the valour and conduct of the Lacedæmonian chief carried all before him. Theſe were the events of the eighth year of the war [k].

The Athenians defeated by the Thebans and their allies.

Amphipolis reduced by Braſidas.

[k] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vita Niciæ.

In

In the beginning of the ſpring the Spartans made new propoſitions of peace at Athens, ſuppoſing that the misfortunes which their enemies had met with in Thrace and Macedonia, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which hope they were not much miſtaken; for the Athenians, perceiving that fortune was not more conſtant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unſettled by the loſs of Amphypolis, agreed to a truce for a year, that they might have time to reeſtabliſh them. This truce was founded upon the followings articles: that both parties ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of what they held at preſent; that ambaſſadors, heralds, and all other perſons with public characters, ſhould have free leave to enter any of the ſtates, in order to the negociation of a general peace; that neither party ſhould receive or protect deſerters; that all controverſies ſhould be amicably decided, and not by force: proceeding at ſea were likewiſe ſettled, and confederates on both ſides were compriſed in this truce. Immediately on its concluſion, negotiations were ſet on foot for a general peace; but theſe were interrupted, and the Athenians thrown into new diſorders by an accident in Thrace, where the city of Scione, and the city of Menda, revolted to Braſidas, who, knowing nothing of the truce, ſought to draw over Potidæa alſo. The Athenians, pretending that Scione revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly, aſſerting, that both it and Menda ſhould be reſtored, which negociations not having the power to effect, an army was ſent to reduce them; by this army Menda was recovered, but Scione made an obſtinate reſiſtance; whereupon the Athenians encompaſſed it with a wall, and turned the ſiege into a blockade. The ſpring drawing on, the Lacedæmonian army, under the command of Braſidas, made an attempt upon Potidæa; but it miſcarried, and the Athenians began to recover courage in this part of the world.

The Spartans make new propoſitions of peace.

Truce for a year, and upon what terms.

The negociations for a peace interrupted.

The truce expiring on the day of the Pythian games, Cleon perſuaded the Athenians to ſend an armament into Thrace under his own command; it conſiſted of twelve hundred foot, and three hundred horſe, all Athenian citizens, embarked in a fleet of thirty gallies. Cleon, ſoon after his arrival, took the city of Torone; but he miſcarried in his attempt upon Stagirus, which, however, did not diſcourage him from attacking Gallopſus, a colony of the Thraſians, which he reduced: after this exploit he retired to Ione, waiting there for ſuccours. Braſidas,

Cleon takes the city of Torone and Galopſus.

who had an army much inferior to his, obſerving that Cleon was become negligent, and that his troops did not obſerve diſcipline, attacked the Athenians by ſurprize, and routed them with great ſlaughter; Cleon himſelf flying at laſt, but not far, a Lacedæmonian ſoldier overtook, and killed him on the ſpot; Braſidas was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, in which the Athenians loſt ſix hundred men, and the Lacedæmonians no more than ſeven.

Cleon defeated and killed.

Braſidas mortally wounded.

This deciſive engagement produced great effects on both parties. The Athenians were greatly humbled by the loſs of their army, and the Spartans little leſs concerned at the death of their general; beſides, the Athenians in loſing Cleon, loſt the moſt popular ſpeaker amongſt them, and the great promoter of the war; they, therefore, grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wiſe and prudent ſtateſmen amongſt them thought fit to offer in their public aſſemblies. Amongſt the Lacedæmonians there was, likewiſe, a conſiderable party, at the head of whom was Pliſtonax, their king, who declared for peace, labouring as zealouſly to effect it, as Nicias and his party did at Athens. Theſe proceedings induced various negociations, which, in the end, brought on a peace for fifty years between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, on the following conditions: that a reſtitution of places and priſoners ſhould be made on both ſides, excepting that Nicæa ſhould remain to the Athenians, who had taken it from the Megarians; and that Platæa ſhould remain in the hands of the Thebans, becauſe they abſolutely would not give it up. The Bœotians, Corinthians, and Megarians, refuſed to be included in this peace, but the reſt of the allies yielded; and it was accordingly ſworn at Athens, in the archonſhip of Alcæon, ten years after the commencement of the war; and as Nicias, of all the Athenians, moſt vigorouſly promoted it, from him it was called the Nician peace[1].

A fifty years peace. The terms agreed on.

The quiet of Greece was far from being reſtored on the ceſſation of the war: ſuch of the ſtates of Peloponneſus as were not ſatisfied with the terms of peace, began to intrigue and negociate amongſt themſelves, and endeavour to form a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the ſtate of Argos. The pretence was, that the liberty of Greece was in danger from the alliance between Sparta and Athens; and, as a proof of this, they alleged an

Some ſtates diſſatiſfied with the peace.

[1] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vita Niciæ.

article

article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that, by mutual conſent, new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered, at their pleaſure. In the mean time the Spartans found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of the treaty with Athens; for whereas it was ſtipulated, that all places taken ſhould be reſtored, Amphipolis abſolutely refuſed to return under the Athenian government; ſo that all the Lacedæmonians could do was to withdraw their garriſon, and, under colour of this infraction, the Athenians, on their ſide, refuſed to evacuate Pylus. The Lacedæmonians preſſing earneſtly to have this fortreſs in their hands, or that, at leaſt, the Helots and Meſſenians might be removed from thence, the Athenians were at laſt prevailed on to grant the latter part of their demand, and to ſend thoſe, who were thus removed from Pylus, to the iſland of Cephalenia.

New diſcontents.

In the winter new negociations were entered into on all ſides: the Lacedæmonians ſought to induce the Bœotians to give up Panactus and the Athenian priſoners, in hopes thereby to recover Pylus; with difficulty they brought the Bœotians into this meaſure, but not till they had thoroughly deſtroyed the fortifications of the city in queſtion; after which precaution it was delivered up. The Athenians, on their ſide, had done every thing that could be expected from them, excepting only the ſurrender of Pylus, which they kept as a pledge for the Spartans complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of Panactus, therefore, gave them great uneaſineſs, and induced them to apprehend the Lacedæmonians had circumvented them, and would, in the end, reconcile themſelves to their old confederates at their expence. Theſe diſcontents were heightened by the artifices of Alcibiades, who began to rival Nicias, and who will make a conſiderable figure in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory.

Which are heightened by Alcibiades.

His character.

In point of birth he yielded to none. He was the ſon of Clinias, the nephew of Pericles, and deſcended lineally from Ajax; in his perſon he was ſo beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was admired for his extraordinary comelineſs: his fortune was large, and ſuperior to moſt of the nobility in Athens: as to his parts, Cornelius Nepos ſeems to have drawn his juſt character in ſaying, that nature, in him, had exerted her utmoſt force, ſince, whether we conſider his virtues or his vices, he was diſtinguiſhed from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable

fatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to aſſume all theſe virtues when he thought fit; for, when he gave a looſe to his paſſions, he was indolent, luxurious, diſſolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophaneneſs. It was a great advantage to him that Socrates had a great friendſhip for him; for this not only corrected his manners, and brought him to the knowlege of many things of which otherwiſe he would have been ignorant, but alſo gave the Athenians hopes of him, and kept them from reſenting thoſe wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed in his youth. By his mother's ſide he was deſcended from the Alcmeonidæ, and his anceſtors, by the father's ſide, had been always upon good terms with the Lacedæmonians. Clinias had, indeed, diſclaimed his friendſhip with that people, but Alcibiades renewed his title, and affected to ſhew a great reſpect to Lacedæmonian ſtrangers. But when he obſerved that the ambaſſadors of that ſtate applied themſelves wholly to Nicias and his dependents, he was piqued; and aſſerted that the Lacedæmonians were not hearty in their laſt treaty, and that Nicias was more a friend to them than was conſiſtent with his duty to his country.

He raiſes jealouſies in the people againſt Nicias.

In proof of the firſt aſſertion, he alleged, that the Spartans were taking meaſures for humbling Argos, and her allies, that they might afterwards gain an advantage over Athens. As to the latter, he reminded his countrymen of the coldneſs Nicias had ſhewn, when they would have ſent him with a fleet, to make a deſcent on Sphacteria: the iſſue of theſe inſinuations was, that the people began to entertain a diſtruſt, both of their old general, and of their new allies. Shortly after came ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon to court the Athenians, and to teſtify their opinions as to the ſincerity of that ſtate; theſe miniſters at firſt applied themſelves to Nicias, who introduced them to the ſenate, where they declared they were veſted with full power to adjuſt all differences, and to add ſuch new clauſes to the treaty already ſubſiſting, as might give ample ſatisfaction to the Athenians. When they retired from thence, Alcibiades, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his houſe, where he expoſtulated with them on their attaching themſelves to Nicias, aſſured them of his friendſhip, and adviſed them to deny in the general aſſembly of the people, that they were veſted with full powers, under pretence that this acknowleging would induce the Athenians to extort unreaſonable compliances.

When,

When, therefore, the ambaſſadors came into the forum, Alcibiades firſt ſtood up, and aſked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they anſwered, No. Alcibiades turning to the people, ſaid, "You ſee, my countrymen, what credit ought to be given to theſe Lacedæmonians, who deny to you to-day what they ſolemnly affirmed yeſterday to the ſenate!" The people, upon this declaration, abſolutely refuſed to hear the Lacedæmonians ſpeak. Alcibiades immediately afterwards recommended the cauſe of the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, who at that time ſought the friendſhip of Athens; but, before they could come to a concluſion, an earthquake happened, which of courſe diſſolved the aſſembly.

Nicias's negotiations at Sparta ineffectual.

At the next meeting Nicias propoſed, that he might be ſent ambaſſador to Sparta, before any harſh reſolutions were taken, a propoſal which the aſſembly complied with; but when Nicias came to Lacedæmon, he found there a party as unreaſonable as that which he had left at Athens; for they would not give him any ſort of ſatisfaction with reſpect to his demands, and only ſwore anew to the old alliance, merely that they might ſeem to do ſomething for the ſake of their old friend. Upon his return, the Athenians concluded a league with the Argives, and other ſtates before mentioned, for a hundred years; which Alcibiades, who promoted it, looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics, becauſe he had provided means to keep that war at a diſtance, in caſe the feuds between Sparta and Athens ſhould be revived, an event which was much eaſier foreſeen than remedied. Such were the events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of the Peloponneſian war[m] (G).

League between the Athenians and Argives.

The

[m] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xii. Plut. in Vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(G) We thought it neceſſary to inſert the league itſelf, as it ſtands in Thucydides: firſt, becauſe it enlightens the hiſtory; ſecondly, becauſe it ſhews the policy of thoſe times, and proves, that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no leſs perfect and explicit than ours: "The Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, for themſelves, and for the confederates, commanded by every of them, have made an accord for an hundred years, without fraud or damage, both by ſea and land. It ſhall not be lawful for the Argives, nor Eleans, nor Mantineans, nor their confederates, to bear arms againſt the Athenians, or the confederates, under

Alcibiades's advice. The next ſummer Alcibiades, at the head of a conſiderable army, paſſed over into the territory of Argos, and from

the command of the Athenians, or their confederates, by any fraud or machination whatſoever; and the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, have made league with each other for a hundred years, on theſe terms. If any enemy ſhall invade the territory of the Athenians, then the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, ſhall go unto Athens to aſſiſt them, according as the Athenians ſhall ſend them word to do, in the beſt manner they poſſibly can. But if the enemy, after he have ſpoiled the territory, ſhall be gone back, then their city ſhall be held as an enemy to the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and Athenians, and war ſhall be made againſt it by all thoſe cities, and it ſhall not be lawful for any of thoſe cities to give over the war, without the conſent of all the reſt. And if any enemy ſhall invade the territory, either of the Argives, or of the Eleans, or of the Mantineans, then the Athenians ſhall come into Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, to aſſiſt them in ſuch ſort as thoſe cities ſhall ſend them word to do, in the beſt manner they poſſibly can. But if the enemy, after he hath waſted their territory, ſhall be gone back, then their city ſhall be held as an enemy, both to the Athenians, and alſo to the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, and war ſhall be made againſt it by all thoſe cities, and it ſhall not be lawful for any of them to give over the war againſt that city, without the conſent of all the reſt. There ſhall no armed men be ſuffered to paſs through the dominions, neither of themſelves, or of any the confederates under their ſeveral commands, to make war in any place whatſoever, unleſs by the ſuffrage of all the cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, their paſſage be allowed. To ſuch as come to aſſiſt any of the other cities, that city which ſendeth them ſhall give maintenance for thirty days after they ſhall arrive in the city that ſent for them, and the like at their going away. But if they will uſe the army for a longer time, then the city that ſent for them ſhall find them maintenance, at the rate of three oboli of Ægina a day for a man of arms, and of a drachma of Ægina for a horſeman. The city which ſendeth for the aids, ſhall have the leading and command of them whilſt the war is in their own territory: but if it ſhall ſeem good unto theſe cities to make war in common, then all the cities ſhall equally participate of the command. The Athenians ſhall ſwear unto the articles, both for themſelves and for their confederates; and the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and the confederates of theſe, ſhall every one ſwear unto them, city by city, and their oath ſhall be the greateſt that by cuſtom of the ſeveral cities is uſed, and with moſt perfect hoſts, i. e. beaſts offered in ſacrifice, and in theſe words:

"I will

from thence to Patræ; he laboured at both places to perſuade them to build walls, ſuch as would extend to the ſea, that ſo they might the more eaſily receive aſſiſtance from the Athenians. The Patræans thinking to ſhew their wiſdom and foreſight, expoſtulated with Alcibiades, telling him, that if they took his advice, the Athenians might in time ſwallow them up. "I do not know," anſwered he, "but they may, yet they muſt begin at the feet, and eat you by degrees; whereas, if the Lacedæmonians are your enemies, they will begin at the head, and devour you all at once." The Argives thought this year to have made themſelves maſters of Epidaurus, but were prevented, by the Lacedæmonians putting a garriſon into it of three hundred men; whereupon the Athenians brought back the Helotes and Meſſenians, and reſettled them in Pylus: thus all the preparatives for war were

"I will ſtand to this league according to the articles thereof, juſtly, innocently, and ſincerely, and not tranſgreſs the ſame by any art or machination whatſoever.

"This oath ſhall be taken at Athens by the ſenate, and the officers of the commons, and adminiſtered by the pritanies. At Argos it ſhall be taken by the ſenate, and the council of eighty, and by the artynæ, and adminiſtered by the council of eighty. At Mantinea it ſhall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the ſenate, and by the reſt of the magiſtrates, and adminiſtered by the theori, and by the tribunes of the ſoldiers. At Elis it ſhall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the officers of the treaſury, and by the council of ſix hundred, and adminiſtered by the procurators of the people, and by the keepers of the laws. This oath ſhall be renewed by the Athenians, who ſhall go to Elis, and to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty days before the Olympian games; and by the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, who ſhall come to Athens ten days before the Panathæan holy days. The articles of this league and peace, and the oath ſhall be inſcribed on a pillar of ſtone, by the Athenians, in the citadel; by the Argives in their market-place, within the precinct of the temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans in their market-place, within the precinct of the temple of Jupiter; and at the Olympian games, there ſhall be erected by them all a brazen pillar in Olympis, (with the ſame inſcription.) If it ſhall ſeem good to theſe cities to add any thing to theſe articles, whatſoever ſhall be determined by them all, in council, the ſame ſhall ſtand good (1)."

(1) Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. v.

made

made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that ſtyled the Peloponneſian [n].

Truce between the Spartans and Argives.

In the ſucceeding ſummer, the Spartans aſſembled a great army, which, under the command of Agis, their king, entered the territory of Argos, where the confederate army lay; but as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was ſuddenly concluded by two of the Argive general, and the king of Lacedæmon, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, both were extremely ill treated by their reſpective citizens. In a ſhort time after this tranſaction, an Athenian army, conſiſting of a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, arriving at Argos, the Argives renounced the truce with Lacedæmon, and began the war again. The Athenian troops were commanded by Laches, and Nicoſtratus; but Alcibiades appeared as a volunteer without command. He it was who perſuaded the Argives to beſiege Orchomanus, and ſoon after Tegea; but the career of their victories was ſoon ſtopped, for Agis, king of Sparta, at the head of a great army, came to offer them battle; it was fought in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, and is very accurately deſcribed by Thucydides: the Argives, and their confederates, were at firſt victorious in one wing, but the Lacedæmonians prevailing in the center, and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the Argives, and defeated them, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in teſtimony of which they erected a trophy. The Eleans, and Athenians, however, after this battle, inveſted Epidaurus, and threw up intrenchments around it. In the winter a ſtrong party in Argos, joining with the Lacedæmonians, that city broke off her league with Athens, and renewed it with Sparta for fifty years; in conſequence of which, the Argives aboliſhed democracy, which hitherto had ſubſiſted in their city; and, to compliment their new allies, not only ſet up an ariſtocracy among themſelves, but aſſiſted the Lacedæmonians with a conſiderable body of troops, to force the Sicyonians upon the ſame meaſure; thus ended the fourteenth year after the Peloponneſian war, which was now renewed with circumſtances more dangerous than before.

Which the latter renounce.

Yr. of Fl. 1931. Ante Chr. 417.

The battle of Mantinea.

Argos renews her league with Sparta.

And a-new renounces it.

In the next ſummer Argos changed her party again; conceiving an early diſlike of ariſtocracy, which to thoſe who were free before ſeemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the Lacedæmonians in their city, and upon

[n] Thucyd. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

ſuch

ſuch of their own citizens as they thought were of their party: having killed ſome, and baniſhed others, they renounced their league with Sparta, and again entered into alliance with Athens. They likewiſe began to follow the advice which Alcibiades had given them, and with indefatigable induſtry worked on the long walls which were neceſſary to join their city with the ſea. The Athenians, in the mean time, being convinced that Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, had betrayed them, and been the chief occaſion that their expeditions againſt the Chalcideans and the city of Aphipolis had miſcarried, they renounced their league, and declared war againſt him. Theſe were the events of the fifteenth year [n].

The capital of the iſland of Melos beſieged by Alcibiades.

Alcibiades, at the beginning of the next year, came with a fleet of twenty ſhips into the territories of Argos, to aſſiſt his friends, and to put an end to the diſputes which reigned in that city. He cauſed three hundred of the inhabitants, who were ſuſpected of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to be ſeized; then he ſailed to the iſland of Melos, which though but ſmall, and of inconſiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obſtinacy againſt the Athenians: here the general contented himſelf with beſieging the capital, and when he found that its reduction would be a work of time, he changed the ſiege into a blockade, and leaving a conſiderable body of forces in his lines, returned to Athens. Philocrates the ſon of Endemus, being afterwards ſent with ſupplies to the camp before Melos, reduced the place to ſuch diſtreſs, that the inhabitants yielded at diſcretion; whereupon the Athenians put every man who was able to bear arms to the ſword, and carried the women and children captives to Athens (H). The Athenians from Pylus made various incurſions into Laconia, which the Lacedæmonians did not reſent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their ſubjects to make repriſals on the Athenians. As to

Yields to Philocrates, and is cruelly uſed.

[n] Thucyd. Diod. & Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

(H) Thucydides and Plutarch both mention this extraordinary act of ſeverity; but they differ pretty much with reſpect to the circumſtances attending it. Thucydides ſpeaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obſtinate defence of the inhabitants of Melos. Plutarch ſays, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of Athens, which, if it was not propoſed, was at leaſt promoted by Alcibiades. Diodorus Siculus relates this fact alſo, but generally, and without any circumſtances at all.

the

the affairs of Macedonia they received no very material alteration, except that the Athenians made ſome incurſions into the territories of king Perdiccas; theſe were the events of the ſixteenth year of the war *.

The ſtatues of Mercury defaced at Athens.

The Athenians determined, in the beginning of this year, to ſend a fleet to Sicily, to the aſſiſtance of the Egeſtines, engaged in a war with the Syracuſans. Nicias was appointed commander in this expedition, and Alcibiades and Lamachus were given him for his colleagues. But while the neceſſary preparations were making, an accident happened, which put the whole city in confuſion; the Hermæ, i. e. the ſtatues of Mercury, of which there was a great number in and about the city, were all defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be diſcovered, notwithſtanding a proclamation, offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet, in conſequence of a clauſe, inviting any perſon, in what condition ſoever, to diſcover former ſacrileges, ſome ſervants and ſlaves depoſed, that a long time before, certain young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed ſome religious myſteries, and that Alcibiades was amongſt them; his enemies, on this information, commenced a proſecution againſt him; to which Alcibiades readily offered to anſwer, aſſerting his innocence, and proteſting againſt accuſations brought in his abſence; but his enemies being determined to deſtroy him, procured others to move, that for the preſent he ſhould have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial ſhould be aſſigned him; to which propoſition he was forced to aſſent. The fleet ſailed, but he had not been long in Sicily before orders from Athens arrived, directing Alcibiades to return, and ſubmit to a trial, the city being in an uproar on the offence of defacing the Mercuries. It was a ſtate-trick played off by the enemies of Alcibiades to ruin the powerful intereſt he had in Athens; to the ſame end they gave out, that he had entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians; and that he had perſuaded the Argives to undertake ſomething to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death, upon his return; but it being apprehended, that the cauſing him to be arreſted in the ſight of his army, might produce great commotions, thoſe who were ſent to bring him home were ordered to behave with great decency, and not to diſcover by any means the ſevere reſolution taken againſt him. They executed their

Alcibiades accuſed of irreligion.

And recalled from Sicily to take his trial.

* Thucyd. Diodor. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

commiſſion

commiſion very exactly; ſo that Alcibiades, and thoſe of his army, who were accuſed, had not any ſuſpicion: but in the courſe of the voyage, gathering from the ſeamen ſomewhat of what was intended, and being informed that a perſon, from fear of death, had acknowleged himſelf guilty, and impeached them, they wiſely determined not to truſt an enraged and ſuperſtitious multitude, but to provide for their own ſafety, by withdrawing as ſoon as they had an opportunity; which offering itſelf ſoon after, they eluded their convoy, and retired to ſuch parts of Greece, as were moſt like to give them ſhelter; as for Alcibiades, he afterwards repaired to Sparta, where he was well received.

He flies to Sparta, where he is well received.

Early in the ſpring, Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponneſus, invaded Attica; and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, ſeized and fortified Decelea, which ſtood at an equal diſtance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia. But the greateſt misfortune that happened to the Athenians, during the whole courſe of this war, was that which befel them this year in Sicily, where they not only loſt the conqueſt they aimed at, with the reputation they had ſo long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals. But as Sicily was the ſcene of theſe misfortunes, we ſhall relate them at length in the hiſtory of that iſland.

Agis king of Sparta, invades Attica.

When advice of theſe loſſes came to Athens, they were for a long time not believed; but when the misfortune could be no longer doubted of, they grew very angry with thoſe who had adviſed the war, and with ſuch as had pretended to publiſh prophecies and oracles in favour of it: they reſolved, however, to take all neceſſary meaſures for ſupporting the dignity of the ſtate, to leave the adminiſtration of affairs to grave and wiſe perſons, to live with great frugality at home, and to treat their confederates better abroad. The expediency of theſe reſolutions appeared ſuddenly; for, as ſoon as the news of the defeat in Sicily was ſpread throughout Greece, all ſuch as had been confederates with Athens began to ſhew their diſlike of her, while the Lacedæmonians were preparing to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The Athenians cauſed the promontory of Sunium to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vaſt quantities of timber, and worked hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the Peloponeſian war.

The allies of Athens begin to waver.

The Athenians equip a new fleet.

In

In the beginning of the next, the Chians ſought to revolt from Athens, and to put themſelves under the protection of the Lacedæmonians, with a view to which they privately ſent ambaſſadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promiſed to ſend ſuch a fleet as might protect them; but this promiſe was difficult to realize, as the Athenians got notice of it, and ſent a fleet to Chios. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that iſland with their perfidy, which they denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of Chios knew nothing of what had been tranſacted with the Lacedæmonians. But the Athenian general, to put the buſineſs out of diſpute, inſiſted that they ſhould ſend their quota to join the fleet of Athens; whereupon they were conſtrained to fit out immediately ſeven gallies, and to ſend them as he directed. After this meaſure the Athenians had ſeveral ſmall ſucceſſes at ſea, which not a little diſcouraged the Peloponneſians, who would ſhortly have loſt all their reſolution, if Alcibiades had not exerted his eloquence to perſuade them to carry on the war. He adviſed them to ſend him with a ſmall fleet to Ionia, where he promiſed to engage the cities to revolt from the Athenians, and to negotiate a league between Sparta and the great king; from whence he aſſured them, that ſuch advantages would be derived as muſt effectually ſink their rival. The Lacedæmonians coming at laſt into his meaſures, he paſſed over, as he had propoſed, into Ionia, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promiſed. The Athenians were now ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they inſtantly ordered a thouſand talents, which had hitherto been reſerved untouched, to be laid out in the ſervice of the war, for which alſo they made other great preparations. As ſoon as they were able they ſent ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips to ſea with directions to reduce, firſt, ſuch places as had revolted, and then to act generally againſt the Peloponneſians; moſt of theſe ſquadrons were ſucceſsful, ſo that Leſbos, Claſomene, and other places, which upon the proſpect of the downfal of Athens, had revolted from her, were compelled to acknowlege her dominion again.

Are joined by the Chians.

Alcibiades perſuades ſeveral ſtates in Ionia to revolt from the Athenians.

Which are again reduced.

Alcibiades acquitted himſelf well to the Lacedæmonians, by drawing Tiſſaphernes, the king of Perſia's lieutenant, into the league with them: but the Spartans were diſpleaſed with the terms, and deſired to have them altered. The hatred which Agis had conceived againſt Alcibiades

Alcibiades negotiates an alliance between Tiſſaphernes and the Spartans.

Alcibiades for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to ſend orders to their general in Ionia to put the Athenian to death, notwithſtanding all the ſervice he had done the ſtate. Alcibiades, receiving intelligence of this order, retired to Tiſſaphernes, and laying aſide the Lacedæmonian, as he had formerly done the Athenian, he became now a perfect Perſian. By the politeneſs of his addreſs, he gained ſo much on Tiſſaphernes, who was a profeſſed enemy to the Greeks, that he ſtyled his gardens of pleaſure, after he had been at vaſt expence in adorning them, Alcibiades, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the Athenian perceived that Tiſſaphernes placed great confidence in him, he gave that general a proper idea of the affairs of Greece; and aſſured him, it was not for the intereſt of the Perſian king that Athens ſhould be deſtroyed; but, on the contrary, that ſhe and Sparta might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the Greeks might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his maſter; but if it ſhould at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he adviſed them to truſt Athens, becauſe ſhe would be content with the dominion of the ſea; whereas the pride of the Spartans would always inſtigate them to new conqueſts, and eſpecially excite a deſire of ſetting all the Greek cities at liberty. For the preſent he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promiſed to the Peloponneſian ſeamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as alſo to countermand the order given to the Phœnician fleet, to join that of Peloponneſus.

Flies to the Perſians.

His prudent advice to the Perſians.

When Tiſſaphernes had liſtened to this advice, Alcibiades privately wrote to ſome of the officers of the Athenian army which lay at Samos, intimating that he was now treating with the Perſian on their behalf; adding, that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was aboliſhed. The reaſon offered by him to engage the Athenians to this proceeding, was, that the Perſian king diſliked a democracy, but would immediately truſt and aſſiſt Athens, if the government was put into the hands of a few.

Endeavours to demoliſh the democracy at Athens.

The Athenians, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of Piſander, and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propoſitions of Alcibiades, diſſolved the democracy, in defence of which they had ſo often and bravely fought, or rather reſolved to diſſolve it, for it ſtood yet a ſmall time. The iſſue of their preſent debates was

that Piſander with ten deputies ſhould return and treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes, that it might be known on what terms the king of Perſia's friendſhip might be depended on; and if they were reaſonable, to declare, that the Athenians would veſt the ſovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival, Alcibiades diſcovered that Tiſſaphernes did not incline to aſſiſt the Athenians at preſent on any terms, becauſe they had been lately ſucceſsful, and Alcibiades had taught him always to ſupport weaker party; when Alcibiades perceived his intention, he made ſuch high demands in the name of the Perſians, that the Athenians themſelves broke off the treaty, whereby he preſerved both their friendſhip and that of Tiſſaphernes.

The democracy overturned in moſt places ſubject to Athens.

When Piſander and his collegues arrived at the army at Samos, they engaged them to favour the ſcheme for the alteration of goverment, and procured a commiſſion to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of Athens. When they returned to the city, they found their confederates had almoſt done their work without them, by cajoling the populace, and by aſſaſſinating ſuch as were friends to the people. It was at firſt propoſed, that only the dregs of the people ſhould loſe their authority, which was to be veſted in five thouſand of the moſt wealthy, for the future to be reputed the people; but when Piſander and his aſſociates found the ſtrength of their party, they determined to carry matters farther, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time Oropus, a ſtrong city, on the borders of Bœotia, revolted from the Athenians; and all Eubœa was in danger, the inhabitants being deſirous to ſhake off the yoke, and the diſturbances at Athens giving them hopes to effect it with impunity. Thus ended the twentieth year of the Peloponneſian war [p].

Oropus revolts from the Athenians.

When Piſander and his aſſociates firſt returned from the army, they accuſed Phrynicus to the Athenians, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of conſummate parts and prudence, and, according to Thucydides, as honeſt as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that if he was concerned in ſettling an oligarchy, Alcibiades would be afraid to truſt it. There was likewiſe at Athens one Antiphon, a

New form of government eſtabliſhed at Athens.

[p] Thucyd. lib. vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. Vit. Nic. & Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos Vit. Alcibiad.

man

man of ſuch parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to ſuch a degree, that he was conſtrained to avoid ſpeaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man deviſed a new frame of government, and having communicated it to Piſander, they contrived a method to eſtabliſh it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, propoſed that ten men ſhould be elected, with full power to frame, model, and alter laws: this previous ſtep being taken, theſe ten appointed an aſſembly of the people at Colonus, a place without the city. There, inſtead of propoſing a body of laws, they offered only this one, "That every Athenian might ſpeak his mind freely," i. e. without danger from any of the laws; which being aſſented to, Piſander produced his ſcheme, which was, that the old form of government ſhould be diſſolved, and that five prytanes might be elected; that theſe five ſhould chuſe a hundred; that each of the hundred ſhould chuſe three; that the four hundred, thus elected, ſhould become a ſenate, with ſupreme power, and ſhould conſult the five thouſand only, when, and on ſuch matters, as they thought neceſſary. Here was an end of the ancient government of Athens, which was grown into diſlike with the people, who were, notwithſtanding, diſſatisfied with the new; but thoſe who ſupported it, being men of great parts and influence, found means to eſtabliſh it by force; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his veſt, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, ſuddenly entered into the ſenate-houſe, diſſolved the old ſenate, paid them their ſalary, and turned them out; which meaſure once effected, the commons were conſtrained to ſubmit, not knowing how to act, or to who they ſhould apply. The new ſenate choſe prytanes, or preſidents, out of their own body, and began to eſtabliſh themſelves, after the mode of moſt new governments, by blood and baniſhment; yet theſe ſeverities, though illegal, were not exceſſive; and, as ſoon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred governed with moderation.

The new magiſtrates ſue to the Lacedæmonians for a peace.

They ſent ambaſſadors to Agis, who was with the Lacedæmonian army at Decelea, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the Spartans might better rely on them than on the democracy. But Agis was of another opinion; he could not imagine that the Athenians, who had contended ſo much for democracy, would ſubmit patiently to an oligarchy, eſtabliſhed

rather by the artifice of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens: he therefore gave no anſwer to the ambaſſadors ſent by the four hundred; but having ſignified his opinion to the Lacedæmonians, procured a great reinforcement to be ſent him into Attica. On the arrival of theſe ſuccours, he marched boldly to Athens, not doubting but that the enemies of the obligarchy would raiſe a ſedition on his approach, and either ſubvert the government, or ſo weaken and diſtract the city, that the Lacedæmonians might eaſily take it: but he was quickly convinced of his miſtake; for the people of Athens, when he approached their walls, and ſent ſome advanced parties to ſkirmiſh with them, attacked and routed thoſe parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with ſuch order and intrepidity, that Agis, after ſuſtaining ſome loſs, was conſtrained to retire again to his old poſt, from whence he ſent back the laſt forces he received, to Lacedæmon. After this tranſaction, the four hundred ſent ambaſſadors to him again; concerning whoſe negociations we can ſay nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before.

Agis returns no anſwer, but marches to Athens.

Is forced to retire.

The Athenian army declare for a democracy.

The four hundred, knowing that the army at Samos were in general inclined to a democracy, ſent ten deputies thither to appeaſe them, by perſuading them that the government now ſubſiſting at Athens, was only the beſt kind of democracy, the laſt appeal not being in the four hundred, but in the five thouſand, a larger number than had ever aſſembled while the power was in the people. But theſe deputies were hardly gone from Athens, before deputies of the army arrived there, ſignifying that they had reſtored the democracy at Samos, and that they were reſolved to adhere to that form of government; for which declaration, the four hundred ſent ſome of theſe deputies to priſon: but one Carias, who came from the army, made his eſcape, and got thither again, making an alarming report of the ſtate of things at Athens; upon which a ſedition enſued, that might have been very fatal to the ſtate; but moderate men interpoſing, the generals Thraſybulus and Thraſyllus contented themſelves with taking an oath of all the ſoldiers, to do their utmoſt to reſtore the power to the people; to fight againſt the Poloponneſians, and other enemies of Athens; and never yield obedience to, or have any correſpondence with, the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be ſteady in the meaſures they had taken, by repreſenting to them, that they had not deſerted their city, but their city them;

them; that their ſtrength was ſuperior to any that could be ſent againſt them by the four hundred; and that doubtleſs, on the public faith, Alcibiades would come to them, and procure them aid from Tiſſaphernes, and the king. Theſe diſcourſes had their effect; the ſoldiers came unanimouſly into all that was required of them, choſe new officers that might be depended on, and, when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the Peloponneſians. At the requeſt of Thraſybulus, they recalled Alcibiades, who, on his arrival, made a moſt eloquent ſpeech to the army, ſhewing them the true ſource of his misfortunes, the injuſtice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the ſtate. Above all things, he magnified the power and good-will of Tiſſaphernes, though he knew he had little authority for it; yet he could not be ſaid to deceive his countrymen, becauſe by this method he compelled Tiſſaphernes to become their friend, inſtilling ſuch a ſpirit of jealouſy into the Peloponneſians, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility.

And recall Alcibiades.

The ſoldiers, ſeduced by his fine addreſs, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but ſailing directly to Athens, and reſtoring the ancient form of government. Alcibiades oppoſed this extravagant meaſure; he told the ſoldiers, that ſince they had choſen him their general, he muſt return to Tiſſaphernes, in order to diſpoſe things for the making a ſpeedy end of the war. The army readily aſſented to this propoſal, as they did to every thing he deſired of them, and he departed accordingly. He gave Tiſſaphernes to underſtand, that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the Athenians to be either great friends, or very troubleſome enemies, to the ſubjects of the king; and that whether they ſhould be one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himſelf formidable to the Perſians, by boaſting of the Athenian power; and neceſſary to the Athenians, by the diſplay of his intereſt with the Perſians.

They create him general, with full power.

As to the Peloponneſians, their affairs went wrong every where, occaſioned by the arts of Alcibiades: their army mutinied, and forced their general to fly to a ſanctuary; Tiſſaphernes with-held their pay, and deluded them with the promiſes of a fleet; while they diſtruſted Tiſſaphernes, and neither knew what meaſures to take,

nor whom to truſt. When Alcibiades returned to the Athenian army, he diſpoſed them to hear reaſon, and not only to hear, but to act according to it. The deputies from Athens had reſided all this while at Delos, afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the ſoldiers having paſſed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of Alcibiades, however, they were allowed to deliver their meſſage; but no ſooner had they acquitted themſelves, than the army cried out vehemently, that they would have no intercourſe with the tyrants, but ſail to Athens, and reſtore the government. Alcibiades again interpoſed; he ſhewed, that if ſuch a courſe was taken, all Ionia and the Helleſpont would be immediately loſt; ſo that if they pretended to be true patriots, they muſt remain where they were, and defend the dominions of the ſtate. To the deputies he gave this anſwer, that they ſhould immediately return to Athens, and acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to reſign their power, and to reſtore the ſenate they had ejected; that as to the five thouſand, they might retain their authority, provided they uſed it with moderation; and that they ſhould remember to attend to the concerns of their country at home, ſince, if they betrayed Attica, or the army deſerted Athens, a reconciliation would not reſtore the miſchiefs ſuch wrong ſteps might produce.

Alcibiades' power with the army.

On the return of theſe deputies to Athens, all things were in confuſion; few regarding the public, almoſt all anxious for their particular intereſt. Phrynicus, knowing upon what terms he was with Alcibiades, laboured to ſupport the government; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the army. The former were the ſtronger party, and, that they might make a proper uſe of their ſtrength, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to Sparta, deſiring peace upon any terms; they likewiſe ordered the Piræum to be fortified towards the ſea, upon which Theramenes, who was at the head of the other party, exclaimed, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy: a conjecture which was rendered the more probable, by the arrival of a fleet of forty Peloponneſian ſhips upon the coaſt. Nor was he much miſtaken; for the four hundred ſought firſt to maintain themſelves in the ſovereignty they had acquired; but if that could not be done, to preſerve at leaſt the city under their dominion; and in caſe that ſcheme likewiſe failed, to make a compoſition for themſelves, by giving it up to the Peloponneſians;

All things in confuſion at Athens.

ponneſians; for, at all events, they were reſolved to prevent a popular government from being reſtored, not doubting, that if once it ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, they ſhould fall victims to its reſentment. Phrynicus, who was ſent at the head of the embaſſy to Sparta, being able to effect nothing, returned, and, on his return, was ſtabbed in the forum; after which aſſaſſination, Theramenes and his party growing bolder, ſeized the chiefs of the four hundred; upon which a tumult enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not Thucydides the Pharſalian interpoſed, and engaged the people to be quiet. The ſoldiers, however, inſiſted on demoliſhing the new works in the port, which were diſmantled accordingly.

Phrynicus murdered.

Next day the four hundred, though in great fear, aſſembled in the ſenate-houſe, and ſent ſome of their members to appeaſe the people, promiſing to ſet all things right, and to make every thing eaſy; in order to which, they propoſed that they ſhould be allowed to chuſe five thouſand men, who ſhould elect four hundred by turns to govern the ſtate, beſeeching their countrymen not to deſtroy themſelves, by giving up the city to the enemy. At laſt an agreement was made, that at a certain day a general aſſembly ſhould be convoked for ſettling the ſtate; but when that day came, and the aſſembly was convened, news was brought that the Lacedæmonian fleet ſteered directly for Salamis, and all things were re-involved in confuſion: for, inſtead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crouds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for Eubœa, whither immediately a fleet from Athens was ſent, under the command of Thymochares; but this fleet had little ſucceſs, for being attacked by the Peloponneſians without, and betrayed by the Eretrians on ſhore, they were miſerably defeated; twenty-two ſhips out of thirty-ſix were taken, moſt of the others ſunk or diſabled, and all Eubœa, except Orcus, revolted. When tidings of this diſaſter arrived at Athens, both parties gave up all things for loſt; the defeat of Sicily ſeeming a trifle to this, becauſe they had now neither fleet nor army, and had loſt Eubœa, from whence the city received greater ſupplies than from Attica itſelf. Certain it is, that if the Spartans had known their own ſtrength, they would have ſailed directly to Athens, and put an end to the war; but being always ſlow, eſpecially in naval affairs, they gave the Athenians time, which of all things they wanted moſt. During this

New form of government propoſed.

The Athenian fleet defeated by the Lacedæmonians.

A new fleet built and equipped.

reſpite, they worked ſo hard at their gallies, that in a ſhort ſpace they equipped a fleet of twenty ſail. The power of the four hundred they aboliſhed by law; conferred the ſovereignty on the five thouſand; and acted in all other reſpects, eſpecially in recalling Alcibiades, with ſuch prudence, moderation, and firmneſs, that Thucydides thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed ſo happy a temperature as at this time. Piſander, and the reſt of the vehement partizans for oligarchy, withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at Samos, and relate the tranſactions in Ionia.

Tiſſaphernes repairing to Aſpendus, where the Phœnician fleet lay, promiſed that he would punctually fulfil all the engagements he had made with the Peloponneſians. Alcibiades, however, perſuaded the Athenians, that he meant nothing leſs; and either with a view to make this opinion probable to them, or to defeat thoſe promiſes in good earneſt, he ſailed with thirteen gallies to Aſpendus, where he held frequent conferences with the Perſian lieutenant, embroiling him thereby ſo effectually with the Peloponneſianss, and they with him, that he confounded all their affairs. In his abſence an engagement happened between the Poloponneſian fleet, under the command of Mindarus, which conſiſted of ſeventy-three ſail, and that of Athens, under the command of Thraſybulus, conſiſting only of fifty-five: at firſt the Peloponneſians had the advantage, ſinking ſome of the Athenian ſhips, and running others on ſhore; but purſuing the advantage too eagerly, and breaking their line, the Athenians ſupplied, by their great ſkill in maritime affairs, their defect in force, and entirely defeated the Peloponneſians, taking twenty-one of their ſhips: it is true, they loſt fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, though dear bought, was a prodigious advantage; it raiſed the hopes of the Athenians, gave new life to their affairs, and ſaved all Ionia, and the Helleſpont.

The Athenians defeat the Lacedæmonians at ſea.

A few days after this action, the Athenians took eight gallies coming from Byzantium, which had revolted ſoon after they reduced that city, and fined its inhabitants for their diſobedience. Alcibiades returning with his thirteen gallies, ſelected nine more from the fleet, with which ſquadron he conſtrained the Halicarnaſſeans to pay a large ſum of money, and fortified Cos. The news of theſe advantages arriving at Athens, inſpired the people with hopes of recovering Eubœa, and putting an honourable

Take Byzantium.

end

end to the war. Theſe events happened in the ſummer of the twenty-firſt year of the war[q] (I).

Yr. of Fl. 1938. Ante Chr. 410.

Another victory at ſea.

Doricus, admiral of the Italian gallies, paſſing to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians in the Helleſpont, fell in with the Athenians in his way, at Seſtos; he forthwith bore away to Dardanum, and landing his men, endeavoured from the ſhore to defend his ſhips, which he cauſed to be hauled up on the beach. The Athenian fleet, however, attacked him, and were upon the point of making themſelves maſters of all his gallies, when Mindarus, the Peloponneſian admiral, came to his aſſiſtance, with a navy of eighty-four ſail. The Athenians then relinquiſhed their firſt enterprize, and prepared for a general engagement, Thraſybulus commanding the right wing, and Thraſyllus the left. Mindarus, with his Lacedæmonian ſhips, had the right in the Peloponeſian fleet; and Doneus, with the Syracuſan gallies, was in the left. Pharnabazus, with a Perſian army, was ſtationed near the ſhore, on whoſe aſſiſtance the Peloponneſians knew they might depend. The Athenians, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, fought with great reſolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty ſail appeared in view; neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickened their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival. When they drew near, the admiral's galley hoiſted a purple flag, which was generally known to belong to Alcibiades. The Peloponneſian fleet immediately ſeparated and fled; the Athenians took ten ſhips, and if a great tempeſt had not ariſen, would have made prize of a much greater number. Min-

[q] Thucyd. lib. viii. prope fin. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in Vit. Alcibiad. Juſtin. lib. v.

(I) Here we take leave of our old and ſure guide Thucydides, who concludes his hiſtory at this point of time. The hiſtory of the Poloponneſian war was continued by Theopompus and Xenophon; the work of the former comprehended the events in the next ſeventeen years, that of the latter the next forty-eight. Theopompus's writings are ſwallowed up by time, but probably great part of their contents are preſerved by Diodorus Siculus. The Grecian Hiſtory of Xenophon remains ſtill in our hands, but imperfect, the hiſtory of the preſent war, from the end of the twenty-firſt ſummer to that of the twenty-third being wanting. However, with the help of Plutarch and Diodorus, we ſhall be able to ſupply that deficiency.

darus was conſtrained to run his ſhips into any port, and marched with his men to join Pharnabazus, who effectually protected them from the Athenians.

Eubœa joined to the continent.

The Euboeans having generally deſerted the Athenians, the Bœotians propoſed to them the joining their country, by an artificial iſthmus to the continent, to which propoſal they aſſented, and actually executed the plan, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Athenians, and the rapidity of the Euripus, that arm of the ſea which they were obliged to fill up. Theramenes, the Athenian admiral, finding it impoſſible to hinder this deſign from taking effect, ſailed away to other places, particularly to Paros, where he reduced the inhabitants again under the Athenian government, and levied exorbitant fines upon ſuch as he conceived had willingly deſerted him; after which exploit he ſailed to join the grand fleet, under the command of Thraſybulus.

Some time after this conjunction, advice came that Mindarus, by the aſſiſtance of Pharnabaſus, had taken Cyzicum by ſtorm, upon which it was reſolved to ſail directly thither, and give him battle. The Athenian fleet having coaſted the Cherſoneſus, and arrived at Preconneſus, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of Chares, directed him to march ſtrait to Cyzicum; as to the fleet, they divided it into three ſquadrons, the firſt led by Alcibiades, the ſecond by Theramenes, and the third by Thraſybulus. Alcibiades with his ſquadron ſailed in ſight of the Peloponneſian fleet; upon which Mandarus, having with him eighty ſail, put to ſea, to give him battle. Alcibiades, when the enemy drew near, bore away, and the Peloponneſians purſued him with great joy, when on a ſudden he brought to, and made a ſignal for a new line. The Peloponneſians now perceived the ſquadrons of Theramenes and Thraſybulus, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the ſhore; they forthwith altered their courſe, and endeavoured to get into Cleros, a port near Pharnabazus's camp; Alcibiades purſued them thither, ſinking and taking their ſhips as he proceeded: when they approached the ſhore, however, Pharnabazus ſent them ſuch aid, that the Athenians ſuffered in their turn. Thraſybulus then landed his men to their aſſiſtance, giving Theramenes orders to land alſo, to join Chares, and to come with all ſpeed to their aid. Alcibiades oppoſed Mindarus and his Lacedæmonians; Thraſybulus fought bravely againſt the reſt of the Peloponneſians and their

Alcibiades gains two complete victories on the ſame day.

Perſian

Perſian ſuccours, though he was much out-numbered, and at laſt ſurrounded. In that inſtant Theramenes and Chares appeared with their foot; the battle was long, and obſtinately fought, till Mindarus being killed, the Perſians, Peloponneſians, and Lacedæmonians betook themſelves to flight. Thus, to his immotal glory, Alcibiades gained a victory at ſea, and another at land, on the ſame day; took the enemy's whole fleet, and more ſpoil than his men could carry away.

When the news of this ſucceſs reached Athens, the people were ready to run diſtracted; they immediately levied an army of a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and ſent thirty gallies to join Alcibiades, from whom, as he was now maſter of the ſea, they expected all things. The Lacedæmonians conceiving that this war would end in the deſtruction either of the one ſtate or the other, ſent Endius, their ambaſſador, to Athens to propoſe a peace. This miniſter delivered himſelf to the aſſembly of the people, after the Laconic manner, in a ſhort, plain, and excellent ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed, that Athens had ſuffered more, and was like to ſuffer more than Sparta from this war; but as the evils occaſioned by war were hateful to all good men, he ſaid the Spartans deſired both to free themſelves, and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that on this account only they had ſent him to treat of peace. The people at firſt were inclined to approve what he ſaid, but one Cleophon, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a ſlave, but who had ſurreptitiouſly got his name inſerted in the roll of citizens, by a petulant harangue, diſpelled all thoughts of peace, and engaged them to ſend back Endius without an anſwer. This was the laſt ſtep they had to take for accompliſhing their own ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuſe peace again; and indeed they did it merely from the hopes they had, that Alcibiades would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had been hitherto ſo unſteady, fix herſelf to their ſide [r].

The Lacedæmonians propoſe a peace.

Their ambaſſador ſent back without an anſwer.

In the beginning of the next year, Thraſybulus having repulſed Agis, king of Sparta, who led an army to the gates of Athens, ſailed with a numerous fleet, and a ſtrong body of land forces on board, to Epheſus, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he afterwards directed

[r] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in Vit. Alcibiad. Juſtin. lib. v. cap. 4. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Alcibiad.

his

his courſe to Leſbos, and other places, where he ſucceeded. The Spartans, in the mean time, perceiving that the war was transferred far from Greece, attacked Pylus by ſea and land. In conſequence of this attack, the Athenians ſent a ſquadron under the command of Anytus; but he finding the wind directly againſt him, after he had been ſome days at ſea, returned to Athens. For this miſcarriage, the people, according to cuſtom, condemned him to die; which ſentence, however, he commuted, by paying a ſum of money, being the firſt who reverſed a judgement in that manner. In the mean time, the garriſon of Pylus, after having made an obſtinate defence, ſurrendered upon terms; after it had given the Lacedæmonians much trouble for the ſpace of fifteen years. Soon after this followed another misfortune: the Megareans ſurpriſed Niſæa, which ſo enraged the Athenians, that they immediately ſent an army into that country, though it could be of no uſe. The Megareans, by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, and ſome troops from Sicily, ventured a battle, wherein they were moſt ſhamefully defeated, the Athenians killing great numbers of them, and committing horrid devaſtations in their country. In the mean time, Alcibiades, Thraſybulus, and Theramenes, performed ſignal ſervices in the Helleſpont and Thrace; at laſt they beſieged Byzantium, then well fortified, and having in it a Lacedæmonian garriſon, under the command of Clearchus; ſome of its inhabitants, however, betrayed it, and admitted Alcibiades with his army; nevertheleſs, the garriſon, and ſuch of the Byzantines as adhered to them, made ſo gallant a reſiſtance, that the Athenians were on the point of being repulſed. In this emergency Alcibiades cauſed proclamation to be made, that the Byzantines ſhould be ſafe in their perſons and effects; an expedient which anſwered his purpoſe ſo effectually, that they expelled the garriſon, which were all put to the ſword, except five hundred, who were ſent priſoners to Athens. For this ſervice, Alcibiades received Byzantium into favour[s].

Pylus attacked by the Spartans,

and taken.

The Megareans defeated by the Athenians.

Byzantium ſubmits to Alcibiades.

Alcibiades how received at Athens.

In the beginning of the next year, Alcibiades and Theramenes returned in triumph to Athens; whither they brought a fleet of two hundred ſhips, and ſuch a load of ſpoils, as had never been ſeen ſince the Perſian war. The people left their city quite deſolate, that they might crowd to the port to behold Alcibiades as he landed; old

[s] Xenophon. Diod. Sicul. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

and

and young bleſſed him as he paſſed, and next day, when he made an harangue in the aſſembly, they directed the record of his baniſhment to be thrown into the ſea; ordered the eumolpides to abſolve him from the curſes he lay under; created him general with abſolute power; and, in fine, endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The ſweetneſs of his temper, his complacence to all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immenſe riches he brought, to the diſcharge of taxes, induced the moſt reſpectable of the Athenians to own, that he deſerved the honours that were paid to him; neither did he long indulge the enjoyment of his glory, but ſoon put to ſea, with a fleet of an hundred ſhips, in order to do farther ſervice to his country.

Agis makes an attempt upon Athens.

He was ſcarce departed, when Agis, king of Sparta, made a bold attempt upon Athens; he advanced with an army of twenty-eight thouſand men, in the night, to the very walls, ſlew the watch, and gained part of the ramparts. The Athenians, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning ſent out a body of horſe, equal to the cavalry of the Peloponneſian army; they fought under the walls, and in fight both of the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians; at laſt the Athenians prevailed, and drove the Peloponneſian cavalry back on their foot; whereupon Agis retired, finding it impoſſible to prevail againſt the city. Alcibiades, in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of Antiochus, his pilot, with ſtrict orders not to act till his return, ſailed into the Helleſpont, to aſſiſt ſome of the cities which ſtood firm to the Athenians. When he was gone, Antiochus, diſregarding the orders of Alcibiades, provoked Lyſander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, to fight, a defiance which he, finding Alcibiades was abſent, very readily accepted. In this engagement the Athenians were defeated, loſing fifteen ſhips, with Antiochus their commander. On the news of this defeat, Alcibiades returned, and would have provoked Lyſander to a ſecond battle; but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the Athenians, perſuaded that this diſgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of Alcibiades, and liſtening alſo to certain reports that were propagated of his correſponding with Pharnabazus, and the Lacedæmonians, inſtantly deprived him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were Conon, Thraſybulus, and Pericles, the ſon of the famous Pericles. Alcibiades

Is repulſed.

Alcibiades diſcharged, and ten generals named in his room.

cibiades readily reſigned his command, but refuſed to return to Athens. He paſſed over into Thrace, where he built a caſtle for his own ſecurity, and erected a little principality, in the ſight of his many and potent enemies [t].

Victory over the Athenians, gained by Callicratidas.

Next year Conon, the Athenian general, engaged Callicratidas, the ſucceſſor of Lyſander, in a ſea-fight, wherein he is ſaid to have ſhewn greater conduct than any admiral before him had ever diſplayed, in the diſpoſition of his fleet; however, he was worſted, loſt thirty of his ſhips, and was cloſely beſieged in Mitylene. News of this defeat arriving at Athens, the people were in great confuſion; they admitted all ſorts of perſons to the freedom of their city, who would aſſiſt them in this war, and by great exertions they equipped a number of ſhips, which were ſent away to Samos, where their fleet rendezvouſed, with ſtrict orders to relieve Conon at any rate. In obedience to theſe commands, the whole fleet, conſiſting of an hundred and fifty ſail, bore away for Samos; Callicratidas receiving advice of their deſtination, left a force ſufficient to block up the city, and ſailed with an hundred and fifty ſhips to Malea, a promontory of Leſbos. The ſame night that he arrived there, the Athenian fleet moored at Arginaſæ, oppoſite to Leſbos. In the morning a general engagement enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy, till at laſt the Lacedæmonian admiral being ſunk, the Athenians gained a victory, with the loſs, however, of twenty-five of their ſhips; but the Peloponneſians loſt ſeventy-ſeven. It might have been expected, that the people of Athens would have been extremely grateful to thoſe generals who had obtained this victory; but the contrary happened; for Theramenes having accuſed his colleagues of taking no care to ſave the dying, or to pay the laſt rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled; two, not caring to truſt the people, fled; but ſix returned home, and underwent their trial, alleging that they were hindered by a tempeſt from doing what they were now accuſed of having neglected; but Theramenes made a moſt elaborate and pathetic oration againſt them, in which he ſometimes pauſed, that the cries of thoſe who lamented the dead might be heard; at length producing a man who pretended to have eſcaped in a meal-tub, and who depoſed, that the people, when drown-

Yr. of Fl. 1942 Ante Chr. 406.

Who loſes his fleet, and life, in a ſecond engagement.

[t] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos in Vit. ejuſd. Juſtin. lib. v.

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ing, deſired that the Athenians would revenge them on their generals, the people, againſt law and reaſon, condemned them all to death. Socrates, the philoſopher, was at that time one of the prytanes, and reſolutely refuſed to perform his office. Diomedon, one of thoſe who were condemned, riſing up, deſired to be heard, and his requeſt being granted, ſpoke to this effect: "We all of us wiſh, ye men of Athens, and wiſh it from our hearts, that the ſentence pronounced againſt us may iſſue in the proſperity and happineſs of this city; but ſince we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but juſt that you return thanks to providence for it." They were then all dragged to execution, and ſuffered like brave men, with great reſolution, calmneſs, and fortitude; their names are Diomedon, Thraſyllus, Calliades, Lyſias, Ariſtocrates, and Pericles. A little while after this execution, the madneſs of the people took another turn. Cleophon, the demagogue, who had been very buſy in this matter, was killed in a ſedition; the reſt, who had been active in that affair, fled, but Calixenus, who pronounced the ſentence, returned afterwards, and being deteſted by all men, was famiſhed to death [u].

The Athenian commanders condemned and executed.

Next year the Athenian fleet aſſembled at Samos, under the direction of Conon, while Lyſander took the command of the few ſhips the Peloponneſians had left; but being unable to face the Athenians with ſo ſmall a force, he ſailed firſt to Thaſus, which he took; afterwards he ſteered to the coaſt of Attica, where being unable to attempt any enterprize of moment, returned to his former ſtation, and ſome time afterwards beſieged and took Lampſacus. The Athenians hearing of this atchievement, ſailed under the command of Conon, and Philocles, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ſhips, firſt to Seſtos, and then to the river Ægos, where Lyſander dared him to battle, which he, being much inferior in ſtrength, declined. While they remained in this ſituation, the Athenians grew idle and careleſs, and having a camp on ſhore, ſpent their time in revelling and drunkenneſs. Alcibiades reſiding in the neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he viſited the officers, and earneſtly beſought them to be more vigilant. He told them, that Lyſander was both a wiſe and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They anſwered, that they wondered at his aſſurance, who was an exile and a

Thaſus and Lampſacus taken by Lyſander.

[u] Xenophon. Diod. Plut. Corn. Nep. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

vagabond,

vagabond, to preſume to dictate laws to them, threatening, if he came any more, to ſeize him, and ſend him to Athens: they afterwards concluded among themſelves, what they ſhould do with the Peloponneſians, when they were taken priſoners, and reſolved, at the motion of Philocles, their general, to cut off their right hands, or, as Plutarch ſays, their right thumbs, that they might never be able to hold a ſpear, but tug at an oar. Adiamantus, one of their officers, could not help ſaying, that ſuch idle diſcourſe was unworthy of Athenians; by which obſervation, he incurred their diſpleaſure ever after.

Lyſander gains a complete victory over the Athenians.

In a few days, Lyſander taking his opportunity, attacked them while they lay in diſorder, both by ſea and land, and gained one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory; Conon, with eight gallies only, eſcaping to Cyprus. Lyſander afterwards returning to Lampſacus, put Philocles, and three thouſand captives, with all their officers, except Adiamantus, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. After this execution, he reduced all the cities which had been under the Athenian power, diſmiſſing their garriſons with great civity, that going home to Athens, the city might be full of people, and in want of bread, whenever he came to beſiege it; an enterprize which he ſoon after undertook by ſea; while Agis, king of Sparta, came with a great land army before it. For a long time the Athenians defended themſelves, without ſo much as demanding a peace; at laſt, being ſore preſſed by famine, they endeavoured to treat with Agis; but he referred them to Sparta: thither they ſent depnties, who offered to give up all but their city and port. The Lacedæmonians, however, would liſten to nothing, unleſs their walls were demoliſhed. On the return of the ambaſſadors, Archiſtratus propoſed complying with thoſe terms to the aſſembly, for which advice he was impriſoned, many preferring death to ſlavery: at length Theramenes undertook to treat with Lyſander, who after a long attendance, referred him to Sparta, whither, with ſome other deputies, he was ſent. On their arrival, they found the council of the confederates aſſembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter deſtruction of Athens, excepting the Spartans, who declared they would not conſent to the ruin of that city, which had ſo well deſerved of Greece.

Reduces all the cities under the Athenians.

Athens beſieged by the Peloponneſians.

Yr. of Fl. 1944. Ante Chr. 404.

On the return of Theramenes, peace was concluded upon theſe terms: that the long walls, and the fortifications of the port ſhould be demoliſhed; that they ſhould deliver

deliver up all their ſhips, except twelve, readmit all they had baniſhed, and follow the fortune of the Lacedæmonians. Lyſander cauſed the walls to be pulled down, all the muſic in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the Perſians at Salamis. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed an oligarchy, expreſly againſt the will of the people; and thus the ruin of Athens ended the twenty-ſeventh year of the Peloponneſian war [x]. *Submits upon diſadvantageous terms.*

As ſoon as Lyſander had demoliſhed the long walls, and the fortifications of the Piræum, he conſtituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to ſubjugate the ſtate. Theſe are the perſons ſo famous in hiſtory, under the title of the thirty tyrants. They were all creatures of Lyſander, mere implements of power, who, as they derived their elevation from conqueſt, and the law of the ſword, exerciſed their offices in a ſuitable manner; that is, with all the outrage of pride, inſolence, and cruelty. Inſtead of making laws, they governed without them; appointed a ſenate and magiſtrates at their pleaſure; and, that they might do all things without danger and controul, they ſent for a garriſon from Lacedæmon, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of Callidius, upon their promiſe to pay the ſoldiers regularly. One of the firſt ſteps they took, was to puniſh all informers, who by falſe accuſation had taken off honeſt men, and diſturbed the ſtate; this meaſure, though ſevere, was popular, but when, through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over Callidius to their party, they ſuffered bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage againſt the virtuous. *The thirty tyrants.* *Their arbitrary adminiſtration.*

Critias and Theramenes were at the head of the thirty, men of the greateſt power and abilities in Athens; the former was ambitious and cruel without meaſure; the latter retained ſome compaſſion for his country; the former puſhed on all the bloody ſchemes framed by this aſſociates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always oppoſed them, at firſt with moderation, at laſt with vehemence. He ſaid, that power was given them to rule, and not to ſpoil the commonwealth; that it became them to act like ſhepherds, not like wolves; and that they ought to beware of rendering themſelves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all their fellow-citizens. The reſt diſliked the former part of *Critias and Theramenes at the head of the thirty.* *Their different ſentiments.*

[x] Xenophon. Helen. lib. ii. Diod. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vit. Lyſander. Corn. Nepos in Vit. ejuſd. Juſtin. lib. xv.

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his diſcourſe, but approved of the latter, and immediately choſe out three thouſand, whom they made repreſentatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them ſhould be put to death, but by the judgement of the ſenate, thereby openly aſſuming a power of putting any other Athenian citizen to death by their own authority. An infamous uſe they made of this new-aſſumed privilege; for, as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themſelves in particular, they put to death without cauſe and without mercy. Theramenes openly oppoſing this innovation, and abſolutely refuſing to concur in ſuch meaſures, Critias accuſed him to the ſenate, as a man of unſteady principles, ſometimes for the people, ſometimes againſt them, always for new things and ſtate revolutions. Theramenes owned that he had ſometimes changed his meaſures, but alleged that he had always done it to ſerve the people; he ſaid, that it was ſolely with this view that he made the peace with Sparta, and accepted the office of one of the thirty; that he had never oppoſed their meaſures while they cut off the wicked; but when they began to deſtroy men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them: but this difference he conceived to be no crime againſt the ſtate.

The bad uſe the thirty make of their power.

Theramenes, and many others, unjuſtly put to death.

While Theramenes was ſpeaking Critias withdrew, perceiving that the ſenate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what he ſaid; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out, that he had ſtruck Theramenes's name out of the liſt of the three thouſand; that the ſenate had, therefore, no longer cognizance of the cauſe, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death. Theramenes perceiving that they intended to ſeize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midſt of the ſenate-houſe, and laying his hands thereon, ſaid: "I do not ſeek refuge here becauſe I expect to eſcape death, or deſire it; but that, tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder may intereſt the gods in bringing them to ſpeedy judgement, and thereby reſtore freedom to my country." The guards then dragged him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poiſon with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind, with his laſt breath, that, as they ſtruck his name out of the three thouſand, they might erase any other on the like pretences. His death was followed by a train of murders, ſo that, in a ſhort time, ſixty of the worthieſt and moſt eminent citizens of Athens fell

by

by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongſt theſe the moſt pitied was Niceratus, the ſon of Nicias, a man univerſally beloved for his goodneſs, and univerſally admired for his virtues. As for the Spartans, they were now ſo degenerated as to rejoice at theſe exceſſes, and, by a public decree, commanded, that ſuch as fled from the thirty tyrants ſhould be carried back, bound, to Athens; which barbarous decree alarmed all Greece; but the Argives and Thebans only had the courage to oppoſe it; the former received the Athenian exiles with humanity and kindneſs; the latter puniſhed with a mulct ſuch of their citizens as did not riſe and reſcue the Athenian priſoners, who, in purſuance of the Lacedæmonian decree, were carried bound through their territories [y].

Thraſybulus makes an irruption into Attica, and ſeizes Phyla,

Thraſybulus, and ſuch as were with him, had taken ſhelter in the Theban territory, reſolved to hazard ſomething rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country. Though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet, conſidering the victories he had heretofore obtained, he made an irruption into Attica, where he ſeized Phyla, a caſtle at a ſmall diſtance from Athens, and there his forces were ſoon augmented to ſeven hundred men: and though the tyrants made uſe of the Spartan garriſon in their endeavours to reduce him and his party, yet Thraſybulus prevailed in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, and at laſt obliged them to break up the blockade of Phyla, which they had formed. The thirty, and their party, conceiving it very advantageous for them to have the poſſeſſion of Eleuſina, marched thither, and having perſuaded the people to march unarmed out of their city, that they might number them, took this opportunity moſt inhumanly to put them to death. The forces of Thraſybulus increaſing daily, he, at length, poſſeſſed himſelf of the Piræum, which he fortified in the beſt manner he could; but the tyrants being determined to drive him from thence, came againſt him with the utmoſt force they could raiſe. Thraſybulus defended himſelf with great obſtinacy, and, in the end, they were forced to retreat, having loſt before the place not only a great number of men, but Critias the preſident of the thirty, another of the ſame body, and one who had been captain of the Piræum.

and the Piræum.

Critias killed.

When they demanded the dead from Thraſybulus, in order for their interment, he cauſed a crier to make a

[y] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vita Lyſand. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos in Vita Lyſand. Juſtin. lib. v.

ſhort ſpeech, in a very loud voice, to the people, intreating them to conſider, that as they were citizens of Athens without, ſo thoſe againſt whom they fought, and who endeavoured to preſerve themſelves within the fort, were Athenian citizens alſo; wherefore, inſtead of thinking how to ruin and deſtroy their brethren, they ought rather to conſult how all differences ought to be compoſed, and eſpecially to free themſelves from thoſe bloody tyrants, who, in the ſhort time they had held the adminiſtration, had deſtroyed more than fell in the Peloponneſian war. The people, though moved by theſe diſcourſes, differed among themſelves; but the conſequence of their diſputes was, that they expelled the thirty, and choſe ten men out of each tribe to govern in their ſtead; whereupon the tyrants retired to Eleuſina. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with thoſe in the Piræum; but ſent away deputies to Sparta, as did alſo the tyrants from Eleuſina, complaining that the Athenians had revolted, and deſired their aſſiſtance to reduce them. The Spartans advanced a large ſum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed Lyſander commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, reſolving to ſend ſea and land forces to reduce Athens a ſecond time, intending, as moſt of the Greek ſtates ſuſpected, to add it now to their own dominions. It is very probable that this deſign would have taken effect, if Pauſanias, king of Sparta, envying Lyſander, had not reſolved to obſtruct the execution of the ſcheme. With this view he procured another army to be raiſed againſt the Athenians, of which himſelf had the command, and marched immediately to beſiege the Piræum. While he lay before the place, and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correſpondence with Thraſybulus, informing him what propoſitions he ſhould make in order to force the Lacedæmonians, who were ſuſpected by all their allies, to grant them peace [z].

The tyrants expelled.

A peace concluded between the Spartans and Athenians.

The intrigues of Pauſanias had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh; the ephori, who were with him in the camp, concurred in his meaſures; ſo that, in a ſhort ſpace, a treaty was concluded on the following terms: that all the citizens of Athens ſhould be reſtored to their houſes and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had ſucceeded them, and who had acted no leſs tyrannical than they, and the eleven, who, during the time of the oligarchy,

[z] Xenoph. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

had

had been conſtituted governors or keepers of the Pireum; that all ſhould remain quiet for the future in the city; and that if any were afraid to truſt to this agreement, they ſhould have free leave to retire to Eleuſina. Pauſanias then marched away with the Spartan army, and Thraſybulus, at the head of his forces, entered Athens, where, having laid down their arms, they ſacrificed, with the reſt of the citizens, in the temple of Minerva, and the popular government was reſtored. Yet tranquility was not thoroughly eſtabliſhed; the exiles at Eleuſina having endeavoured, by the help of money, to raiſe an army of foreigners, by whoſe aid they might recover the authority they had loſt: but firſt, depending on their friends in the city, they ſent ſome of the principal perſons amongſt them, as deputies, to treat with the citizens, but inſtructed them to ſow jealouſies, and excite diſcord among the people. The Athenians, perceiving their drift, put theſe perſons to death, and then remonſtrating to thoſe at Eleuſina, that theſe contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the deſtruction of their country, offered immediately to paſs an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath.

The ſtate of Athens thoroughly re-ſettled.

This being accepted, thoſe who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjuſted, and both parties moſt religiouſly obſerved the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly re-ſettled the ſtate. In this whole tranſaction the virtue of Thraſybulus deſerves chiefly to be admired. When he firſt ſeized the caſtle of Phyla, the tyrants privately offered to receive him into their number inſtead of Theramenes, and to pardon, at his requeſt, any twelve perſons he ſhould name; but he generouſly anſwered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchaſed on ſuch terms; and by perſiſting in his deſign, accompliſhed, as we have ſeen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it was, ſince, as Iſocrates informs us, thoſe tyrants had put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of law, and drove five thouſand more into baniſhment, procuring alſo the death of Alcibiades, as many think, though at a great diſtance from them (K).

Much

(K) After the entire deſtruction of the Athenian fleet, and the flight of Conon to Cyprus, Alcibiades thought himſelf no longer ſafe in his caſtle; for the Lacedæmonians, his inveterate enemies, being now every where powerful, he was afraid

Socrates the celebrated philoſopher.

Much about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was ſettled again in Athens, Socrates was condemned, and put to death. He was not only a philoſopher, but one who in actions, as well as by his excellent ſayings, demonſtrated that he was truly wiſe. As a ſoldier he had been preſent in ſeveral engagements; in one he preſerved the life of Alcibiades; in another he carried off a friend who was wounded; in a third he ſhewed as much courage and conduct as the moſt experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he ſerved, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by enduring hardſhips with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was deſired of him; for though

Several inſtances of his good nature.

afraid they ſhould take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him; he therefore retired into Bythinia, but finding himſelf not ſafe there, he went to Pharnabazus, who received him with great civility, and, as he believed, with great friendſhip. Critias, chief of the Athenian tyrants, who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and ſending to Lyſander, aſſured him, that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta ſafe, till Alcibiades was deſtroyed. The Lacedæmonian general, ſcorning to defile himſelf with an aſſaſſination, treated theſe notices with the contempt they deſerved; but Critias applying to the magiſtracy of Sparta, procured an order to be ſent from thence to Lyſander, which he durſt not diſobey. Upon receipt of this order, Lyſander ſent away a meſſenger to Pharnabazus, deſiring him to put it in execution. Pharnabazus committed the affair to Megæas his brother, and to his uncle Suſamethres. Alcibiades reſided, at that time, in a ſmall village in Phrygia, together with Timandra his concubine. They who were ſent to aſſaſſinate him, had not courage enough to enter the houſe; but ſurrounding it firſt, they ſet it on fire. Alcibiades perceiving the flames, wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked ſword in his right, caſt himſelf into the middle of the fire, and eſcaped ſecurely through it. The barbarians, as ſoon as they ſaw him, retreated, none of them daring to engage him; but ſtanding at a diſtance, they ſlew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the aſſaſſins departed; then Timandra took up his dead body, and wrapping it up in her own robes, buried it in a town called Meliſſa. We learn from Athenæus, that the monument remained to his time. The emperor Adrian, in memory of ſo great a man, cauſed his ſtatue of Parian marble to be ſet up thereon, and ordered a bull ſhould be ſacrificed to him annually. Ephorus the hiſtorian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus, gives quite another account of his death; but we adhere to the authority of Plutarch.

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he was exceedingly temperate, and ſtrictly ſober, yet if his company was deſired he refuſed not to go to entertainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refuſed to engage in matters of ſtate, till he grew far in years, and was then elected to the ſenate by his tribe. He oppoſed, as we have already related, the judgement given againſt the generals for not burying the dead; though Theramenes, his friend had promoted it, and when he was called upon to put that judgment in writing, as his office required, he ſaid he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed it.

Afterwards he thought to reſcue Theramenes, when he was accuſed by his collegues; after his death he continued to ſpeak his ſentiments freely, a freedom which gave ſome umbrage to the thirty, who, notwithſtanding, ſuffered him to live, becauſe Critias was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindered him not from the diſcharge of what he conceived to be his duty to the commonwealth. His free converſation being reported to the tyrants, Critias and Charicles ſent for him, and forbad him to converſe with any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed ſome where elſe than upon his ſhoulders; but not being yet ſatisfied of his fidelity to their government, they ſummoned him to the ſenate-houſe, and ordered him to go with ſome other perſons, whom they named, to ſeize one Leon, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to deſtroy, that they might enjoy his eſtate; this commiſſion Socrates flatly refuſed; and added alſo his reaſon for ſuch refuſal: "I will never willingly, ſaid he, aſſiſt in an unjuſt act." Chericles replied ſharply, "Doſt thou think, Socrates, to talk always in this high ſtyle, and not to ſuffer?" "Far from it, added he, I expect to ſuffer a thouſand ills, but none ſo great as to act unjuſtly." *Gives umbrage to the thirty.*

The cauſe of this great man's death was the pique one Anytus had conceived againſt him; and he engaged as aſſociates in his reſentment Melitus, a bold young man, and Ariſtophanes the comic poet. The laſt of theſe broke the ice in bringing Socrates upon the ſtage in a comedy of his, called the Clouds, wherein he repreſents him as a man given to a ſubtle fallacious way of arguing, by which he could make a bad cauſe ſeem good; an introducer of new gods, whilſt himſelf worſhipped none; and as a petulent railer at thoſe things which others held ſacred. Socrates himſelf went to the theatre, where he ſat in the moſt conſpicuous place: and when one of his friends *The cauſe of his death.*

aſked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he anſwered, "Not at all; I fancy I am at a feaſt, where every one enjoys me."

Complaint preferred againſt him to the ſenate.

Anytus at length, conceiving the ſeaſon proper for the execution of that vengeance, which he had ſo long meditated, engaged Melitus to prefer a complaint againſt Socrates to the ſenate, in theſe words: "Melitus, ſon of Melitus, a Pythian, accuſeth Socrates, ſon of Sophronicus, an Alopetian. Socrates violates the law, not believing the deities whom the city believeth, but introducing other new gods. He violates the law likewiſe, in corrupting youth; the puniſhment death." When the day of trial came on, Melitus opened the proſecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted. The crimes he ſpecified were, that Socrates perſuaded his ſcholars to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of Critias and Alcibiades, and that he taught young people to be diſreſpectful to their parents, by telling them that he would make them more knowing than their fathers. When he had done ſpeaking, Anytus began a long and malicious harrangue, which was favourably heard; and after him Lyco, in a ſet rhetorical ſpeech, ſupported the accuſation. Socrates aſcending the orator's deſk, refuted the articles of the charge with equal perſpicuity and compoſure (L).

Plato

(L) "I am ſurpriſed, O Athenians! how Melitus came by this extraordinary piece of knowlege, that I do not worſhip the gods the city worſhips. Others have ſeen me, and ſo, if Melitus had pleaſed, he might have done too, ſacrifice at common feſtivals on the public altars; how do I introduce new deities, when I profeſs in all my actions to be directed by the voice of God? They who obſerve the notes of birds, or the anſwers of men, are guided by the voice. None doubts of thunder, that it proceeds from the ſupreme power, and is oraculous; that the prieſteſs on the tripod conveys to us by her voice, what ſhe receives from the god, who doubts? and that he foreknows future events, and communicates them to whom he pleaſes, all men believe and confeſs as well as I. Many call ſuch as foretel future things, ſoothſayers and diviners. I aſcribe theſe things to the dæmon, and, I conceive, ſpeak more religiouſly, than they who fancy I know not what divine power is in birds. That I am no impoſtor many can atteſt, who have aſked any advice, and never found it fail; let ſuch as are incredulous hear this alſo to confirm their opinions; as to my being favoured of the gods, when Cherephon in the preſence of many witneſſes, inquired

Plato, would alſo have ſpoken in his defence, and mounting the pulpit, opened his ſpeech in this manner: "Though

Condemned by a great majority.

quired of the oracle at Delphos concerning me, Apollo anſwered, that no man was more free, more juſt, more wiſe; yet the ſame god ſaid no[illegible] of Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian law-giver, that he knew not whether to call him a god or a ma[illegible] Me he compared not with the gods, though he gave me the priority amongſt other men. But truſt not the gods herein, conſider me exactly yourſelves; whom have you leſs a ſlave to ſenſual pleaſure? whom more free? I accept neither ſtipends nor gifts. Whom more juſt than him, who conforms himſelf ſo to the preſent time, as that he ſtands not in need of the defence of any other? Who will ſay, that he deſerves not the title of wiſe, who, ſince he was able, never loſt any opportunity of learning, by inquiry, all the good poſſible? And that I took not the pains in vain, is evident from hence, that citizens and ſtrangers, ſtudious of virtue, have preferred my converſation to that of other men. Why do you think ſo many deſire to oblige me by gifts, whom they know to have no capacity of requiting them? Or how can you account for my engaging ſo many, without requiring any return from them? That when the city was beſieged, and every one lamented the wretchedneſs of his condition, I ſhewed no alteration of temper, but remained the ſame as before; that while others lay out their money on exterior things to pleaſe themſelves, I furniſh myſelf from within, with ſuch things as pleaſe me beſt. If no[illegible] can controvert what I ſay, how comes it that I deſerve not commendation both of gods and men, inſtead of being charged as I am now by you, Melitus, that with theſe inſtructions I corrupt youth. Every one knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one whom I of religious have made impious; whom from a modeſt deportment, I have rendered impudent; of a frugal diſpoſition, prodigal; of a ſober habit, debauched; of a hardy way of life, effeminate? Know ye any of theſe?" "I know thoſe, anſwered Melitus, whom you have perſuaded to be more obedient to you than to their own parents." "With reſpect to inſtruction, I confeſs I have, anſwered Socrates, for that was my ſphere, not theirs. In regard to their health, men conſult phyſicians, before their parents; in law-ſuits they apply to counſel, not to couſins; and in war you inquire as to your general's ſkill in arms, not who are his allies." "With good reaſon, cried Melitus, and fit we ſhould." "Is it ſo, ſaid Socrates? If others are preferred for ſuch things, as they excel in, and with reaſon too, can you think it fit, becauſe in the opinion of ſome I have an advantage beyond others in educating youth, which is a matter of the greateſt conſequence to ſociety, that

" Though I, Athenians, am the youngeſt of thoſe that come up into this place." The people immediately cried out, " of thoſe who go down," and conſtrained him to deſcend, without allowing him to ſpeak another word; then proceeding to vote, it was carried againſt Socrates by two hundred and eighty-one voices. He might, however, have eſcaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that to pay a fine was to acknowlege an offence, and that what had provoked a proſecution againſt him deſerved rather the higheſt reward, and a maintenanee out of the public ſtock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this declaration the judges were ſo much incenſed, that they condemned him to a capital puniſhment by a majority of eighty. He might eaſily have avoided this, if his friends could have prevailed on him to make his eſcape; but he refuſed to withdraw himſelf; drank the poiſon in their preſence, praying to God to make his paſſage from this life happy; and diſplayed the ſame calmneſs and reſolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (M).

His death.

Conon's project for reſtoring the affairs of the Athenians.

It is eaſy to judge, from their treatment of the worthieſt men amongſt them, that the Athenians leaſt of any people deſerved to meet with patriots; yet, notwithſtanding this, no city was ever more beloved by her citizens. Conon, who after his misfortune at the battle of the Helleſpont, which was followed by the deſtruction of Athens, had kept himſelf cloſe in Cyprus, now conceived the mighty project of reſtoring the Athenian affairs to their ancient ſtate, and beſtowing once more upon that city the

therefore I ought to ſuffer death? Anytus and Melitus, O my judges, may procure that judgment, but hurt me they cannot: to fear death, is to ſeem wiſe, and not to be ſo, for it is to pretend to underſtand what we really underſtand not. No man knows what death is, or whether it be not the greateſt happineſs which can arrive to us; yet all fear and ſhun it, as if they were ſure it would be the greateſt misfortune."

(M) Thoſe who want to know the particulars of this philoſopher's death, may peruſe what Plato hath written on that ſubject. The Athenians were ſoon ſenſible of their own cruelty and injuſtice towards this excellent perſon, and lamented their own infatuation when it was too late. They expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of his accuſers, who were upon all occaſions expoſed to ſuch mortification and diſgrace, that they hanged themſelves in deſpair (2).

(2) Plutarch. de Invidia et Odio.

empire

empire of the ſea. With this view he cauſed a memorial to be tranſmitted to the Perſian king, wherein he endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the pride of the Lacedæmonians would be extremely detrimental to his affairs; that their dominion once thoroughly ſettled in Greece, they would preſume to give laws to Aſia alſo, eſpecially with reſpect to the Greek cities there; and that therefore it would be expedient for the Perſians to conſider of ſome means for putting it once more in the power of Athens to check the inſolence of that aſpiring ſtate, and thereby preſerve the great king's dominions in peace and ſafety. Conon's memorial was ſupported by facts: two Lacedæmonian armies, within the compaſs of a few years, paſſing over into Aſia, the laſt under Lyſander and Ageſilaus, which performed great exploits, and would have performed greater, if the Perſian king had not, by ſending ſome of his agents with conſiderable ſums of money into Greece, raiſed ſo many, and ſo powerful enemies againſt Sparta, that ſhe was conſtrained to recall Ageſilaus to her aſſiſtance.

Conon appointed admiral of the Perſian fleet.

The expediency of Conon's advice being ſo fully demonſtrated, he, as a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to the command of the Perſian fleet [q]: the Athenians in the mean time had the courage to join with the Argives, and other ſtates, in a war againſt the Lacedæmonians, which they purſued with variety of fortune. Conon attacked the Lacedæmonian fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the Perſians, conſiſting of ninety ſail, and, after an obſtinate engagement, wherein the Spartan admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking fifty ſhips, and five hundred priſoners. In conſequence of this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus conſtrained moſt of the ſtates, dependent on Lacedæmon, to quit their alliance, particularly thoſe of Coos, Niſæa, Tios, and Chios. Mitylene, Epheſus, Erythrea, and other places followed their example, and thus the Lacedæmonians at once loſt the empire of the ſea. Conon determined, after this unexpected ſucceſs, to return to Attica, and in his way thither brought over the Cyclades, reduced Cythera, and, having confirmed the Corinthians in their league with the Athenians, ſailed from thence to Athens, where he promiſed the citizens to rebuild the long walls, and re-fortify the city. This promiſe he ac-

Yr. of Fl. 1950. Ante Chr. 398.

The Lacedæmonians defeated, and loſe the empire of the ſea.

[q] Diodor. ad Ann. 2. Olymp. 95. Iſocrat. in Evag. & Orat. ad Philip. Pauſan. in Atticis. Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. i.

cordingly

cordingly performed, hiring a multitude of workmen, and landing a great body of men from the fleet; the Thebans also sent five hundred carpenters and masons, and other cities followed their example; but Teribazus, who commanded the Persian armies in Asia, envying Conon's great success, accused him of making use of the Persian power merely to acquire towns and countries for his own citizens. To answer which charge, he sent for him to Sardis, where, upon his arrival, he threw him into prison [r].

Conon imprisoned by the Persian governor.

The disturbances in Greece gave the Athenians an opportunity of re-establishing their affairs, and making themselves once more considerable; the Corinthian war, particularly as it lasted a considerable time, and with various success, served as a kind of school to the Athenian youth, who addicted themselves to arms; and served this purpose the better, because the Athenian general Iphicrates, who at that time commanded their troops, was not only the best officer then in Greece, but exceeded all his predecessors in the military art. Others had studied it for the glory resulting therefrom; Iphicrates looked upon it as a science, for which he laid down rules, and brought things nearer to certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. Plutarch tells us that he was the son of a shoemaker; but Cornelius Nepos does not mention any thing of his family. The first exploit by which he distinguished himself was in a sea-fight, where, finding himself wounded, and unable to remain on board the enemy's ship, he catched up one of the soldiers in his arms, and carried him on board his own, an exploit which shewed his great strength of body, as well as presence of mind. We are told farther that his deportment was venerable, and struck with awe all those that conversed with him. He shewed his discernment in altering the habit and arms of the Athenian soldiers; instead of large heavy shields, he gave them light bucklers; instead of short javelins, long spears; and in the room of little stabbing swords, weapons of a more useful size.

Iphicrates' birth, education, and knowlege of the art of war.

In this war of Corinth he gained by his skill great advantages over armies more numerous, and composed of better soldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp, though in the country of his allies; and when some of his officers, who thought he gave the soldiers needless labour,

He gains great advantages in the Corinthian war.

[r] Xenophon. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Cononis.

asked

asked him who he was afraid of; "I am afraid, answered he, of being forced to use that expression, which of all others least becomes a general, "I did not think of it." Agesilaus king of Sparta, whose troops had been ever victorious, were notwithstanding defeated with great loss by this Athenian.

Abroad, the affairs of the Athenians were not successful. The exiles from Rhodes, which was now under a democratic government, repaired to Sparta, and boasting of their great interest, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to quit their alliance with the Athenians, and join the Lacedæmonians, two fleets were dispatched to that island. The Athenians, greatly alarmed at this defection, sent Thrasybulus, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the designs of the Lacedæmonians from taking effect. When this great officer entered these seas, he received such intelligence from Rhodes, as thoroughly convinced him that any attempt he might make thereupon would be fruitless; he therefore sailed to the Hellespont, where he reconciled two Thracian princes, and induced them to become confederates with the Athenian states: he afterwards bent his endeavours to the reducing such cities as had revolted from the Athenians. In pursuance of this scheme, he reduced Byzantium and Chalcis; and then sailing to Lesbos, where all the cities had revolted, except Mitylene, he reduced them again under the obedience of Athens, and levied considerable sums of money, as a punishment for their defection. After these successes, he set sail for Rhodes, hoping that the fame of his exploits would awe the people of that island, and contribute to the end for which he had been sent thither. First, he exacted a sum of money from Aspendus; but, after it was paid, his soldiers having plundered some of the inhabitants without his knowlege, the rapine so much provoked them, that in the night, when Thrasybulus thought himself safe, and expected no attack, they suddenly entered his camp, where they committed great slaughter, and in the beginning slew him; a circumstance which so terrified his soldiers, that, precipitately retreating to their ships, they withdrew without attempting to prosecute the expedition on which their general had been sent. This was the end of Thrasybulus, a man, in point of virtue, inferior to none; in fortune, superior to most; and in the glory of freeing his country from servitude, without any view to his own interest, scarce equalled by any.

Thrasybulus retrieves the Athenian affairs abroad.

Thrasybulus surprised in his camp, and slain.

The

Is ſucceeded by Iphicrates, who gains ſome advantages over the Lacedæmonians.

The Athenians, to ſupply his place, were conſtrained to ſend Iphicrates, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals; their inſolence and their misfortunes having deprived them of all their eminent commanders. Iphicrates had only eight gallies, and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of Thraſybulus's fleet, commanded by one Argyrius. Having intelligence that Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian admiral, fluſhed with ſome ſmall ſucceſſes he had obtained, lay very careleſsly at Abydus, he immediately ſailed thither, and intercepting him one day abroad, with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and ſlew them, after which exploit, Iphicrates ſailed to Cherſoneſus. Shortly after, Ægina, at the inſtance of Eteonecus, revolting, the Athenians ſent one of their admirals, with a fleet, to reduce it, but without effect; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the iſland, as ſoon as the Athenian fleet was withdrawn, began to infeſt the coaſt of Attica, an inſult which haraſſed the Athenians exceedingly, and conſtrained them to keep a ſquadron continually at ſea, to protect as well the villages on the ſhore, as their ſhips employed in trade; an evil they had not experienced ſince the cloſe of the Peloponneſian war.

Ægina revolts.

The war carried on with various ſucceſſes.

The affairs of the Lacedæmonians obliging them to withdraw the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of Ægina, the Athenians ſent Eunomes with a ſtrong ſquadron to block up Gorgopas, who was left to command there. Gorgopas finding his ſquadron much out-numbered by the Athenian gallies, retired into port, and landed his troops; then the Athenian admiral put to ſea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the reſt of his ſhips might ſteer after him. Gorgopas inſtantly reimbarked his men, and ſtood away after the Athenian fleet, keeping aloof, till Eunomes, entering a port of Attica, began to land his men; when the diſembarkation was half-finiſhed, Gorgopas fell upon them with great vigour, and, after an obſtinate fight, carried off four gallies to Ægina; this loſs was ſoon after repaired by Chabrias, the Athenian general, who ſailing to Cyprus with a fleet, which had a body of land forces on board, landed in Ægina in the night-time, and having poſted the major part of his forces in a valley near the temple of Hercules, ordered the reſt to advance towards a place called the Three Towers, at break of day. Gorgopas, as ſoon as he had intelligence of the enemies landing, marched, with what forces he could aſſemble, to oppoſe them, and ſent orders to all who were on board the fleet, to haſten

haſten to him with the utmoſt ſpeed. Theſe ruſhing all by the ambuſcade where Chabrias lay, he ſuddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other Athenians fell upon them in front; Gorgopas, with eight Spartans, fell at the beginning of the attack, upon which the reſt betook themſelves to flight, four hundred of whom were cut in pieces by Chabrias: a check which, with the want of the ſubſidies they expected from Sparta, ſo broke the ſpirits of the inhabitants of Ægina, that they undertook nothing for a conſiderable time.

Gorgopas, the Spartan admiral, ſlain.

At length Talentias being ſent from Sparta to command the gallies in that iſland, ſo wrought upon the people by his ſpecious addreſs, that they went on board the ſhips, and offered to follow him where he pleaſed. Having ſacrificed, and taken a day's proviſion on board, he put out to ſea, and having in the night made the port of Athens, as ſoon as it was day ſailed ſtrait into the Piræum, where he took ſeveral gallies, and a great number of priſoners. Theſe he ſent directly to Ægina, and afterwards cruiſing along the coaſt, carried off ſeveral trading veſſels, and an immenſe booty; out of which having advanced his men a month's pay, he ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that they were ready to undertake anything. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an Athenian ſquadron of eight gallies, and took them; after which exploit, drawing together a fleet of eighty ſail, with twenty gallies of Syracuſe, he maintained the dominion of the ſea for the Lacedæmonians.[a]

Talentius, the Lacedæmonian, gains ſeveral advantages over the Athenians.

The Spartans, willing to ſecure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered Antalcidas, their admiral, to ſettle with the miniſters of the king of Perſia the terms of a general peace in Greece; theſe were adjuſted, accordingly, and the other ſtates were obliged to accede to the treaty, however diſhonourable to the Grecian name.

Yr. of Fl. 1961. Ante Chr. 387.

Peace of Antalcidas.

The deſign of this peace was evidently the raiſing Sparta to an uncontrolable dominion over the Grecian ſtates, which ſhe began to exerciſe immediately after it took effect; falling firſt on the Mantineans, and afterwards on the other little ſtates. He attacked, at laſt, Thebes itſelf, where, without the leaſt provocation, the Lacedæmonians ſeized the citadel, and enabled the Thebans of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to Athens, which city was far

The haughty behaviour of Sparta.

[a] Xenophon. lib. iv. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Iphic. Thraſyb. & Chabr.

from

The Theban exiles received at Athens.

from making the ſame figure now as formerly. The Theban exiles, however, found not only a ſafe aſylum, but all the kindneſs and aſſiſtance they could reaſonably expect from the principal men in Athens, who ſtrenuouſly laboured to convince the people of the propriety of ſuccouring theſe unhappy fugitives. The exiles not ſatisfied with a ſafe retreat abroad, longed to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy in Thebes, and by the private aſſiſtance of the Athenians, ſo far ſucceeded, that they got poſſeſſion of that city; but fearing leſt the Lacedæmonians ſhould ſend powerful ſuccours to their garriſon in the citadel, they diſpatched deputies to Athens, beſeeching the people to recollect the aſſiſtance the diſtreſſed Athenians had received, when baniſhed by the thirty tyrants; and how far it was owing to the aid afforded by the Thebans, that the Athenians recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed; conjuring them not to deſert them now, when the Thebans were ready to fight againſt Sparta for the liberty of Greece; but to afford them ſuch ſuccours as might enable them to conquer.

The Athenians ſuccour the Thebans againſt the Spartans.

The people having heard the Theban deputies, came to a reſolution of ſending ſuch a body of auxiliaries as might at once demonſtrate their gratitude to the Thebans, and their attention to the liberty of Greece; with this view they detached Demophoon, at the head of five thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, who marched with great expedition to Thebes, where they enabled thoſe of their party to take the citadel, a ſcheme which they effected before the Lacedæmonians could relieve it; then the Athenians returned home. From this time forward they ſought by all means to raiſe a party againſt the Spartans, by which they hoped to recover their ancient luſtre. The forces, however, of the Lacedæmonians being much greater than their own, ſometimes obliged them to diſſemble their enmity to that ſtate, and alſo to diſcountenance thoſe orators who were notoriouſly enemies to Sparta.

The Athenians declare againſt Lacedæmon.

An accident at length happened, which entirely changed the face of affairs, and conſtrained the Athenians to declare openly againſt Lacedæmon. One Sphodrias, a Spartan, who commanded at Theſpis, undertook a bold expedition, in which, if he had ſucceeded, his countrymen muſt have been abſolute lords of Greece; for he marched ſuddenly with a great body of troops towards Athens, hoping to ſeize the fort of Piræum in the night; but when he had reached Eleuſina, the ſun began to appear

pear, upon which his ſoldiers refuſed to advance any farther. That he miſſed his blow was far from being the worſt conſequence of his temerity; the Athenians were ſo much alarmed, that they ſeized certain Spartan ambaſſadors who were in their city, and impriſoned them, conceiving that they were privy to this attempt; but they aſſerting their innocence, aſſured the people of Athens, that Sphodrias ſhould be called to a ſevere account, and pay with his life for this inſidious attempt; whereupon they were releaſed: but Sphodrias being brought to a trial, and acquitted, the Athenians immediately declared war; accounting it better to hazard all things in the field, than live in danger of being ſurpriſed and maſſacred by ſuch ſudden expeditions.

The Athenians prepare for war.

They named, on this occaſion, three generals, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Calliſtratus, directing them to levy an army of twenty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe; they likewiſe ordered a fleet of two hundred ſail to be equipped. To ſhew that they did not intend to fight for themſelves only, but that they would act juſtly by all their confederates, they reſtored all the lands, which had been divided among their citizens out of Attica, to their ancient proprietors; and offered ſuch reaſonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing a ſenate, which was to conſiſt of one deputy from each city to Athens, that they preſently drew over a great number to eſpouſe their cauſe, and exceedingly alarmed the Lacedæmonians. The reputation, alſo, of the Athenian generals was of no ſmall ſervice to their country; for Timotheus, the ſon of Conon, was exceedingly eſteemed on account of his father's merit, as well as for his own magnanimity and prudence; Chabrias had the character of being one of the firſt generals of his age; and Calliſtratus was a man of great worth and high accompliſhments; as for Iphicrates, the king of Perſia had engaged him in his ſervice by conſent of the Athenians, and they were befriended by that prince, in conſideration of the great ſervices he received from that experienced general.

Their generals.

The Lacedæmonians invade Bœotia.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians invaded Bœotia, under the command of their king Ageſilaus, who with a great army braved the Thebans, and their allies, in the neighbourhood of their own city. Chabrias, who commanded them, took poſt along the deſcent of a hill; and when Ageſilaus advanced with the Spartan army in battalia towards them, he ordered his ſoldiers to lean one knee on the ground, with their ſhields hanging careleſſy on

on their arms, but to keep their ſpears extended, as if they intended to continue in their poſts, and to expect the Spartans with a ſteady countenance. Ageſilaus having conſidered the advantage of their ground, the intrepidity of the men, and the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. The Athenians afterwards obtained ſome advantages, in conſequence of which Cleombrotus, king of Sparta, found it expedient to retire without entering Bœotia.

The Lacedæmonians defeated at ſea by Chabrias.

Chabrias, in the interim, was recalled to take upon him the command of the Athenian fleet, which was to go againſt Naxus; he beſieged the capital of that iſland, but without effect; Pollis, the Lacedæmonian, coming with a great fleet to its relief, Chabrias, deſirous to regain the honour of his country, reimbarked his forces, and offered the Lacedæmonians battle: the engagement was long and obſtinate; at laſt, however, he gained an abſolute victory, though with the loſs of eighteen gallies, the Lacedæmonians loſing twenty-four, beſides eight that were taken, with all their men But Chabrias did not purſue this victory as he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the ſix generals, who had ſuffered for not ſuccouring the wounded, and burying the dead: nevertheleſs, he recovered the Athenian reputation at ſea, for this was the firſt naval victory which, with their own proper forces, the Athenians had acquired ſince the Peloponneſian war. He afterwards failed againſt the Thracians, and delivered the Abderites, whom they had treated with great cruelty; but while he was buſied in taking care of the affairs of the city, and providing againſt the return of the Barbarians, he was, as ſome ſay, aſſaſſinated, none knew by whom, or for what reaſon.

Chabrias aſſaſſinated.

Timotheus commands in his room, and defeats the Lacedæmonians in a ſea-fight.

The Athenians appointed Timotheus to ſupply his place, which he effectually did, proving more formidable to the Lacedæmonians in his ſingle perſon, than all their enemies beſide; for by his eloquence, affability, and juſtice, he induced many of their allies to forſake them, and by his great ſkill in maritime affairs, he vanquiſhed them in a ſea-fight at Leucades, ſo that all things went proſperouſly for the Athenians on this ſide. Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, endeavoured all this time to reconcile the contending parties, with a view of the more eaſily obtaining mercenaries, to be employed in a war he was meditating againſt Egypt. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians themſelves were weary of the war, and therefore the more readily hearkened to terms of accommodation; beſides,

beſides, both parties were apprehenſive, that the Thebans would at length ſeize on that authority for which they had ſo long contended. A peace was ſoon concluded (which was, however, but ill obſerved) upon theſe terms: that all cities ſhould be free; to which the Thebans would by no means agree; for they would never conſent that all the little cities of Bœotia ſhould be freed from their dominion.

Iphicrates quits the Perſian ſervice, and why.

About this time, Iphicrates quitted the Perſian ſervice, where he had been entruſted with the command of twenty thouſand Greeks, eſcaping with a ſingle ſhip to Athens. The reaſon of this retreat, was a difference between him and Pharnabazus. The Athenian, fearing that the Perſian general would treat him as he had treated Conon, and put it out of his power to defend himſelf, choſe rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty. He was quickly followed to Athens by Perſian ambaſſadors, who charged him with many crimes, and earneſtly demanded that he ſhould be puniſhed. To which charge the Athenians anſwered, that they would puniſh him when he was proved guilty; but, in the mean time, having occaſion for his ſervice, they gave him the command of their fleet.

Diſputes in the Greek cities about the form of government.

The late peace having given freedom to the Grecian cities, diſputes aroſe in many of them concerning the form of government to be eſtabliſhed, ſome preferring an ariſtocracy, and others inclining to a democracy; and theſe diſputes not being accommodated by arguments, ſedition and civil war enſued in ſeveral places, particularly Zacynthus and Corcyra. The Lacedæmonians, notwithſtanding the late peace, aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power ſuch as were for oligarchy, and the Athenians, according to their old practice, declared in favour of thoſe who contended for the democratic government. Meneſippus, the Lacedæmonian general, blocked up Corcyra, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; Timotheus, who had been ſent to their aſſiſtance, having found it neceſſary to ſail to Thrace, preferred the ſervice of his own country to the neceſſities of its allies, for which conduct the Athenians rewarded him and Iphicrates in their uſual manner, by condemning them both; but when the former brought along with him many ambaſſadors, who deſired to renew the ancient leagues between their conſtituents and Athens, and alſo demonſtrated that he had encreaſed the fleet with thirty gallies, and brought immenſe ſums into the public treaſury;

Timotheus condemned unjuſtly, but reſtored to his command.

ſury; the Athenians, in conſideration of his own and his father's merit, who, by rebuilding their walls, had made Athens once more a city, reſcinded their former decree, and reſtored Timotheus to his command. In the mean time, Cteſides was ſent with five hundred men to Corcyra, where he was ſo fortunate as to kill the Lacedæmonian general, and to leave very little to be done by Timotheus and Iphicrates, who arrived at length with the fleet. Artaxerxes ſtill labouring to reconcile the Grecian ſtates, and the Athenians having conceived a violent antipathy againſt the Thebans for deſtroying Platæa and Theſpis, ſent deputies to Sparta, with Calliſtratus at their head, and there concluded a peace on the former terms, that all the cities ſhould be ſet at liberty, to which the Thebans again refuſed to conſent [t].

A peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

Yr. of Fl. 1977. Ante Chr. 371.

The Athenians now perceiving that they were become very inconſiderable, endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves, by propoſing an oath to the cities of Greece, that they would obſerve the truce eſtabliſhed by the king, and in caſe any injury was offered to one city, ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted by the reſt. This propoſal was readily agreed to by all, except the Eleans and Thebans: between the latter and the Spartans a new war broke out, in which the Spartans were ſo diſtreſſed, that they demanded aid of the Athenians, who thereupon ſent Iphicrates, who in this expedition loſt ſome part of his reputation. Negociations for a general peace being ſet on foot at the Perſian court, the Athenians ſent deputies, and amongſt them one Timagoras. The Thebans, who now aimed at the dominion of Greece, ſent Pelopidas, a man of ſuperior abilities, who acquired the confidence of the Perſian king; and having found means to bring over Timagoras to his party, concluded a peace, whereby it was agreed, that Meſſene ſhould be exempted from the Lacedæmonian government; that the Athenians ſhould no longer claim the ſovereignty of the ſea; that the cities ſhould be governed by their own laws; and the Thebans be eſteemed the king's chief friends and allies. Timagoras, on his return, was accuſed to the Athenian people of having betrayed his truſt; upon which charge he was condemned, and put to death. The Argives attacking the Phliacians, on account of their unſhaken fidelity to the Lacedæmonians, and reducing them to great ſtraits, the latter applied

The Athenians declare for, and aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians againſt the Thebans.

Negociations for a general peace.

Timagoras condemned at Athens, and put to death.

[t] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos in Vit. Timoth. Juſtin.

for

for aid to the Athenians; who thereupon sent Chares to their assistance, who behaved himself with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories against the Argives.

A league between the Athenians and Arcadians.

The Athenians afterwards entered into a strict league with the Arcadians, for they were now forced to temporize, and to take such opportunities as the times offered, for maintaining themselves in any shew of power. Timotheus, their last great commander, gave, however, some degree of credit to their arms, by reducing Torone and Potidea, in Macedonia, under their obedience, and raising the siege of Cyzicum. The war still continuing between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, Epaminondas, desiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at Mantinea, against the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Achæans, Eleans, and Athenians: of the latter there were six thousand, who behaved very well in the left wing, where they were posted, but were at last put to flight by the Thebans; however, they rallied again, and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the Thebans had the victory, but it cost them very dear; for they lost Epaminondas, their glorious general, who first inspired them with the thoughts of attaining the sovereignty of Greece, both by land and sea. Some commotions in Arcadia engaged the Athenians to send thither a great army, under the command of Pammenes, who having executed his commission, returned home with honour. Alexander, prince or tyrant of Phærea, having undertaken an expedition against the Cyclades, met with some opposition from Leosthenes the Athenian. Thus provoked, he attacked some gallies belonging to that state, and took them; upon which misfortune, the Athenians being irritated against Leosthenes, condemned him, and sent Chares with a fleet into those parts; who, so far from repairing those disasters, by his ill management greatly increased them, plundering the confederates of the Athenians, abstaining from any attempts upon the enemy, creating seditions wherever he came, and seeming to have nothing else in view but to enrich himself [a].

Yr. of Fl. 1985. Ante Chr. 363.

The battle of Mantinea.

Epaminondas killed.

At this time a war broke out between the Athenians and Philip of Macedon, of which we shall speak in the history of that kingdom. The Macedonian was followed by the Social War. The Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and

Yr. of Fl. 1990. Ante Chr. 358.

The social war.

[a] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vii. vili. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. & Corn. Nep. ubi supra. Justin. lib. vi.

Byzantines, growing weary of the Athenian yoke, reſolved to throw it off, and ſet themſelves free. The Athenians, on the firſt notice of this revolt, ſent Chares with an army to beſiege Chios, while Chabrias was directed to block up the place by ſea. The Athenians, doubting whether Chares, with his fleet of ſixty ſail, would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, diſpatched ſixty other ſhips, under the command of Timotheus and Iphicrates, making them all equal in commiſſion. In the mean time, the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infeſted Imbros and Leſbos, taking all ſhips that fell into their hands, and raiſing contributions wherever they landed their troops; ſo that they acquired large ſums of money, wherewith they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards beſieged Samos both by land and ſea. The Athenian generals, to conſtrain them to abandon this deſign, undertook the ſiege of Byzantium; an expedient which had the effect they propoſed, for immediately the confederates raiſed the ſiege of Samos, and with their utmoſt force bore away for Byzantium.

The confederates beſiege Samos, and the Athenians Byzantium.

When they approached the port, they offered the Athenians battle; but a great ſtorm ariſing, Timotheus and Iphicrates thought it improper to fight, though Chares vehemently preſſed it; and becauſe he could not carry his point, ſent home to Athens, and accuſed his colleagues. The people were ſo incenſed, that they caſhiered and fined them; Timotheus, being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retired to Chelos, where he died of a broken heart. Such was the end of the great Conon's ſon, a man no away inferior to his father, either in military ſkill, or love to his country. The Athenians, when they heard of his demiſe, remitted the greateſt part of his fine to his ſon; but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they appropriated to the reparation of thoſe walls, which had been built by his grandfather.

Two of the Athenian generals diſcharged and fined.

Chares, the Athenian admiral, having now no perſon to check him, raſhly engaged in an arduous undertaking, by which he hoped greatly to ſerve his country. Pharnabazus having revolted from the king of Perſia, a great army was ſent againſt him by that monarch. Chares, expecting that the Perſians would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and they together, proved an overmatch for the king's generals, whom they totally routed.

Chares joins Pharnabazus in his revolt from Ochus.

The

The Athenians, as their cuſtom was, ſtruck with the firſt news of the victory, extolled Chares as one of the greateſt patriots; but afterwards, when the Perſian king, by his ambaſſadors, complained of this act, as contrary to the amity which ſubſiſted between him and the Athenians, and when it was reported that the Perſians intended to aſſiſt the confederates with a great fleet, the Athenians treated Chares as a traitor, and inveighed againſt that action, which they had before vehemently commended, and, in the firſt tranſports of fear, reſolved to make a peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them, almoſt upon their own terms; accordingly peace was concluded, though little to the honour of the Athenians, after the war had laſted four years [x]. *A peace concluded.*

The Phocian war broke out the ſame year, in which the Athenians made peace with the revolted ſtates. All Greece was intereſted in this war, and particularly the Athenians, and therefore, though they had no concern with the beginning of it, yet it is requiſite we ſhould give ſome account of it in this place. The Phocians had ploughed a part of the lands dedicated to the Delphic Apollo, for which they were fined by the Amphyctions, or ſtates-general of Greece; but inſtead of ſubmitting to the judgement of that court, the Phocians, at the inſtigation of Philomelus, a bold and daring ſpeaker, carried their inſult on Apollo yet farther, and ſeized on the temple, and and all its riches: this ſacrilege put Greece in a flame. The Locrians and Bœotians made war on the Phocians, and, to countenance their cauſe, ſtyled it Sacred; the Phocians, on the other hand, pretended, that they were far from having committed any ſacrilegious act; for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple; but only reſumed the honour of protecting it, which belonged to their anceſtors; but knowing that their pretenſions, would be better ſupported by a recourſe to arms, than the moſt florid orations, they applied themſelves to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war laſted a long time with various ſucceſs, ſometimes the Phocians, and, at other times, the Thebans prevailing; however, it was conceived that the Athenians acted unworthily in ſending ſuch great ſupplies as they did to the Phocian commanders: becauſe it was certain that the chief reaſon that induced them thereto, was the high pay given to their troops; and as the money

Yr. of Fl. 1992. Ante Chr. 356.

Phocian war.

The occaſion of this war.

[x] Diod. Plut. Corn. Nep. Juſt. ubi ſupra.

expended on this occaſion, was raiſed either by the coinage or ſale of the dedicated things in the temple of Delphos, it was conſidered as a ſacrilege to receive any part of the plunder, eſpecially for defending the robbers.

The Phocian chiefs had nothing elſe to ſupport their cauſe but money, and that they parted with it very freely, as appears from what Diodorus and Plutarch tell us; that in a few years they ſquandered ten thouſand talents, little ſhort of two millions of our money. The orators, as the Athenians ſtyled them, the demagogues, that is, ſuch as led the people by their ſpeeches, were moſt of them retained by the contending parties Demoſthenes himſelf, who was by far the moſt eminent of that number, was accuſed of accepting Perſian gold.

Demoſthenes, his birth, parts, education, &c.

He was the ſon of an eminent Athenian, who had raiſed a great fortune from the manufacture of ſword-blades; though Juvenal would inſinuate that he was a blackſmith. Demoſthenes ſeemed leaſt of all qualified for an orator; his perſon was far from being agreeable, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his geſtures very uncouth. His father dying when he was young, and being of a weak conſtitution, his mother indulged him, to the prejudice of his education; and his guardians, taking advantage of his tender years, impoſed on him, to the prejudice of his fortune; theſe unforeſeen accidents led him to commence orator, for being engaged, by that time he was ſeventeen years old, in ſeveral law-ſuits, he pleaded his own cauſe, which no law forbad, and having from thence attained an ability of ſpeaking, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people. In theſe attempts he ſucceeded ſo ill, that the bad reception he met with had like to have diſcouraged him from proceeding in his deſign; but his paſſion for becoming an orator enabled him to get the better of nature, and ſurmount the diſguſt of the people. In order to render his tongue voluble, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſpeak with ſtones in his mouth; to raiſe his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the ſea-ſhore; to repreſs a habit he had got of ſhrugging up his ſhoulders, he hung a ſword drawn in his chamber, at ſuch a height, that when he practiſed his orations, it pricked his ſhoulders whenever he pulled them up: long practice ſupplied all defects. Knowing he had nothing to truſt to but his merit, by ſtudy and patience he acquired a manly ſolid eloquence, not only ſuperior to that of his contemporaries, but alſo excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him;

him; a truth which his orations, yet in our hands, demonſtrate beyond a doubt. He inveighed againſt the prevailing follies of his countrymen; reproached them with their fickleneſs, faithleſſneſs, and want of true regard for the public intereſt. He exclaimed againſt their vanity, in attributing to themſelves the merit of their anceſtors, and fancying that the reputation of the ancient Athenians would ſupport the vices of their poſterity. He expatiated on the neceſſity of purſuing the ancient method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs: he adviſed them to be obliging to their allies, and ready on all occaſions to aſſiſt them, that thus they might keep war at a diſtance, enure their ſubjects to martial toils, and revive the glory of the Athenian name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the Perſian monarch, becauſe it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will, to think of conquering them; but, on the contrary, it was his intereſt to preſerve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preſerve the independency of all the ſtates of Greece.

He cautions the Athenians chiefly againſt the power of the Macedonians.

Above all, he cautioned them againſt the growing power of the Macedonian. When Philip had got poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, he exerted all his eloquence to rouſe the Athenians to a proper ſenſe of their danger, and, to that end, compoſed the firſt of thoſe orations which bear the title of Philippic, and to this day are held inimitable in their kind. The Athenians liſtened attentively to his diſcourſe, and came to ſome vigorous reſolutions, but took no care to carry them into execution.

Phocion's character.

To ſay the truth, they were, at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was Chares, a man of great vices and ſmall abilities; it is true Phocion was then in their ſervice, but they employed him in a trifling war in Cyprus, where it was not in his power to perform any eſſential ſervices to the ſtate; beſides he was too modeſt to ſolicit command, nor promoted wars that he might raiſe his authority by them; though, taken either as a ſoldier, orator, ſtateſman, or general, he was by far the moſt eminent Athenian of his time. As he was a moſt diſintereſted patriot, he could entertain no great affection for Philip: but as he perfectly well knew the diſpoſition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were long to ſupport ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to humble the Macedonian power, he did not expreſs himſelf vehemently, but choſe rather to cultivate the eſteem which, on all occaſions, Philip ſhewed for the ſtate of

Athens, as a means of preſerving her, when ſhe ſhould be reduced to that ſituation, which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will eaſily diſcern that Demoſthenes and he could not well agree. The former was always warm, his language copious, and his deſigns extenſive; and Phocion, on the other hand, was of a mild temper, delivered his opinion in very few words, and propoſed ſchemes at once neceſſary, and eaſy to be effected; yet he ſeldom or never concurred with the people, but ſpoke as poignantly againſt their vices as Demoſthenes himſelf; inſomuch that this orator once told him, "The Athenians, Phocion, in ſome of their mad fits, will murder thee." "The ſame, anſwered he, may fall to thee, Demoſthenes, if ever they come to be ſober."

When Philip made war on the Olynthians, Demoſthenes exerted all his eloquence to engage the Athenians to aſſiſt that people to the utmoſt of their power, and there are ſtill remaining three excellent orations on this ſubject. The reaſons offered by him appeared ſo clear, and the neceſſity of ſending ſuccours to Olynthus was made ſo evident, that relief was decreed. The ſupplies ſent were ſmall, but they came ſo opportunely, that the Olynthians received great advantages from them, which being reported at Athens, the people became inſolent at their good fortune, and affected to boaſt, that the Athenians had nothing more to do than appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the party they favoured; but Demoſthenes ſhewed them the vanity of theſe conceits in his third oration on the Olynthian war, wherein he told them, that there was, indeed, ſome merit in beginning well; but that they were in danger of loſing even this, if they did not proceed with the ſame ſpirit, and enable their confederates not only to repel the invaſion of Philip, but alſo to invade him in their turn, and carry that terror into Macedon, which of late years Philip had ſtruck through all his neighbours [y].

The Phocian, or, as the friends of Philip affected to call it, the ſacred war, was ſtill undetermined. The Bœotians and their allies, unable to carry it on with their own forces, intreated the king of Macedon to come down into the heart of Greece, and put an end to it; and this end he effected accordingly, by his preſence only. Some time after, Philip having ſent a body of troops to ſurpriſe

[y] Diodor. lib. xvi. Plut. in Vita Demoſt. & Phocion. Juſt. lib. ix. Demoſt. Olynth. & Philip.

Byzantium,

Byzantium, the Athenians diſpatched Chares with a good fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Byzantines; but they knowing Chares to be no better than a pirate with a commiſſion, refuſed him admittance into their harbour. This conduct greatly provoked the Athenians, and induced many of them to ſay in the aſſembly, that it was a pity they had aſſiſted the Byzantines at all. Then Phocion riſing up, addreſſed them in the following conciſe terms: "My maſters, you ought not ſo much to blame the jealouſy of your allies, as the baſe behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you ſuſpected even to thoſe who are unable to ſupport themſelves without your aſſiſtance." Upon this remonſtrance, the people, with their uſual inconſtancy, dropped their former opinion, and unanimouſly choſe Phocion general; who immediately ſailing to the Helleſpont, received the command of the fleet from Chares, and again appeared before Byzantium, landed his troops, and would have encamped without the city; but the Byzantines, ſetting open their gates, joyfully received the Athenians, when they had Phocion for their general. He quickly obliged Philip to return to his own dominions; took many of his ſhips, recovered ſeveral places into which he had put garriſons, and exceedingly harraſſed the frontiers of his kingdom, by which it appeared the Macedonian was not invincible when oppoſed by a man of probity as well of abilities [y].

Phocion the Athenian gains great advantages over Philip.

Some time after this the Megareans privately ſought the friendſhip of the Athenians. Phocion being apprehenſive that the Bœotians would exert themſelves to prevent this union, cauſed an aſſembly to be called very early in the morning, where having preſented the petition from Megara, and backed it with great warmth, the Athenians agreed to the propoſal very readily. He then made proclamation, that all ſuch as would go on this expedition ſhould immediately aſſemble in arms; and a great number preſenting themſelves, he put himſelf at their head, and marched directly away to Megara, where he was very joyfully received. He re-edified the long walls, joining that city to its port Nicæa, and thereby effectually ſecured it to the Athenians. After this ſervice he was ſent again among the iſlands to regulate all things for the intereſt of his country.

He perſuades the Athenians to conclude an alliance with the Megareans.

Philip in the mean time, neglected nothing which might either tend to the raiſing his own power, or depreſſing

Philip enters Phocis with a deſign to invade Attica.

[y] Diodor. Plutarch. Juſt. ubi ſupra.

that

that of the Greek ſtates; above all, deſiring to humble the Athenians, he came ſuddenly down to Phocis, and having ſeized Elatæa, he there aſſembled a numerous army with a reſolution to invade Attica, for which purpoſe there was an abſolute neceſſity of paſſing through Bœotia. Thither he ſent Python, to perſuade the people of that country to remain neuter; to him the Athenians oppoſed Demoſthenes, whoſe eloquence prevailing, the Bœotians joined their utmoſt force with the Athenians, and reſolved to hazard all in a general engagement. Demoſthenes magnified this at Athens as a capital ſtroke of policy, becauſe he removed the war at a diſtance from Attica; when Phocion ſhrewdly obſerved, "Let us not be ſo careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a diſtance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worſt of calamities will ſoon be at our doors." Phocion had the reſolution alſo to expreſs at the ſame time a diſlike of the war, and a doubtfulneſs of the event, nay even to propoſe an accommodation, and the renewing the peace with Philip, when an Athenian of very bad character cried out, "Dareſt thou, Phocion, think of diſſuading the Athenians from the war, now the ſword is drawn?" "Yes, I dare, (returned he,) though I know that in time of war I ſhall always be thy maſter; whereas in peace thou perhaps mayeſt be mine."

The Bœotians perſuaded by Demoſthenes to join the Athenians.

The Athenians and Thebans defeated at Cheronæa.

The event juſtified the opinion of Phocion. Philip advancing with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, the Athenians and Bœotians met him at Cheronea. In this battle, which began at the riſing of the ſun, Alexander commanded one wing, and his father the other: the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it conſiſted, the Athenians having the right, and the Bœotians the left. At the beginning, the confederates had the advantage, whereupon Stratocles an Athenian commander cried out, "Come on, brother ſoldiers, let us drive them back to Macedon;" which exclamation king Philip over hearing, ſaid very coolly to one of his officers, "Theſe Athenians do not know how to conquer." He then directed the files of his phalanx to cloſe, retired to a neighbouring eminence, from whence, when the Athenians were eager in their purſuit, he came down like a torrent, broke and routed them with prodigious ſlaughter. Demoſthenes acted with great puſillanimity in this engagement; for he deſerted his poſt, and was one of the firſt that fled; nay, we are told, that a ſtake catching hold of his robe, he, not doubting

Demoſthenes betrays want of military courage.

doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, "Alas, ſpare my life [z]."

Philip did not preſerve that moderation after his victory which he had ſhewn in the fight; for, he danced about like one diſtracted with joy; and coming up to the band of Athenian priſoners, treated them with ſcoffs and ill language; for which Donades, who was one of them, could not help reproving him: "Since fortune, O Philip, ſaid he, ſeems to have aſſigned thee the part of Agamemnon, why wilt thou play Therſites?" Philip bluſhing, ordered him to be immediately releaſed, and diſcharged likewiſe the reſt of the Athenian captives, who ſending afterwards to demand their baggage, Philip ſaid, laughing, "I believe theſe people do not think we conquered them in earneſt." He ordered their baggage, however, to be reſtored, and ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to renew the peace, which was accordingly re-eſtabliſhed. Philip afterwards convoked a general aſſembly of the Greeks, into which Demades perſuaded the Athenians to inſiſt on being received. Phocion oppoſed this meaſure, alleging, that they ought firſt to be informed what Philip would demand in that aſſembly; however it was carried againſt him: but when it afterwards appeared that the Athenians were by this raſh ſtep obliged to furniſh the king with a body of horſe, and a ſquadron of ſhips, they repented their reſolution, and reproached in the aſſembly Demades and the other orators, who were ſo forward in the buſineſs, expreſſing at the ſame time a doubt whether they ought to comply with articles ſo unworthy of the Athenian ſtate. Phocion ſtanding up again, "I foreſaw, (ſaid he,) what would happen, and therefore I was againſt this ſtep, when it was firſt propoſed; but ſince it is once taken, I am for its being ſupported; and adviſe you to bear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your anceſtors, who ſuited their behaviour to their fortune; ſometimes giving laws, ſometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preſerved their own city, but alſo all Greece."

Philip's indecent behaviour after the victory.

Phocion adviſes the Athenians not to aſſiſt at the general aſſembly convened by Philip.

The friendſhip expreſſed by the king towards the Athenians was not very ſincere, ſince he doubted ſo far of them, as to require on the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, that a deputy ſhould be ſent from them with a gold crown, as from the reſt of the cities. This was granted accord-

Philip's friendſhip to the Athenians not ſincere.

[z] Plutarch. in Vit. Dec. Orat.

ingly,

ingly, and preſented to him in the midſt of the marriage ſolemnities, with this remarkable compliment, that if any conſpirator againſt Philip fled to Athens, he ſhould be delivered up. At this marriage, however, Philip was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at Athens; Demoſthenes and his party making great rejoicings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory, which behaviour Phocion reprehended, bidding them remember "that the army which had beat them at Cheronæa was leſſened but by one man."

He is murdered.

His ſon Alexander deſpiſed by the ſtates of Greece;

This reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put Liſicles their general to death, merely becauſe he was ſo unlucky as to command them in that battle; who directed Demoſthenes to exalt the memory of thoſe who fell therein, in a funeral oration; who, in contradiction to theſe meaſures, had juſt now flattered the king, by ſending him a crown of gold; run again into the ſame extravagancies, and heard with pleaſure all the harſh things the orators could ſay of the young Alexander, whom they repreſented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to graſp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing: but he ſoon gave them occaſion to underſtand that they were miſtaken, by his quick diſſolution of that confederacy, which they formed not only for depriving him of the command of Greece, but even of his hereditary dominions; for Demoſthenes taking pains to inſpire all the ſtates with high notions of liberty, the Ætolians firſt of all made a decree to recall the exiles whom Philip had driven out of their country. The Ambrociots expelled the Macedonian garriſon; the Thebans rejected that which had been eſtabliſhed in the citadel; the Arcadians, as they had refuſed to give their votes for Philips's becoming general of Greece, ſo they now rejected Alexander; the Argives, Elians, Lacedæmonians, and others in Peloponneſus, all ſpoke the ſame language, and all determined to ſhake off that yoke, which the Macedonians had impoſed.

who enter into a confederacy againſt him.

But notwithſtanding their oppoſition is acknowleged general of Greece.

They likewiſe treated with Attalus, Alexander's uncle, who aſpired to the kingdom, to favour his pretenſions; ſo that if the ſon of Philip had really been as weak as the Athenian orators would have repreſented him, he muſt have been cruſhed by ſuch a load of oppoſition: but he, far from being diſmayed, came firſt into the council of the Amphyctions, where he procured himſelf to be recogniſed general of Greece. He then marched immediately towards Thebes, with a numerous army, ſacked and plundered

dered that city, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt of the confederates, that no-body durſt oppoſe him. *Takes Thebes.*

When that conqueror had occaſion for gallies to complete his fleet, he ſent to demand thoſe which had been promiſed him by the Athenians. The orators, as they were wont, oppoſed this requiſition as derogatory to their freedom; at laſt, Phocion being required to ſpeak, delivered his ſentiments freely, which were, that the gallies ſhould be immediately ſent.; "For, ſaid he, till you can put yourſelves at the head of Greece, I would have you the friends of thoſe who are at the head of it (N)." *Phocion adviſes the Athenians to comply with the demands of Alexander.*

The

(N) Harpalus, one of Alexander's commanders, having in ſeveral reſpects failed of his duty, and dreading the reſentment of his prince, fled with an immenſe quantity of treaſure, which he had amaſſed together out of the ſpoils of Aſia. Athens was the city of Greece he thought the moſt proper place for his retreat, and therefore thither he went, and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that ſince he came laden with wealth, he ſhould meet with friends enough to be purchaſed. Accordingly, moſt of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be ſerviceable, and upon what terms: as for Demoſthenes, his good ſenſe engaged him to make a warm oration againſt receiving a perſon who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the commonwealth in a war at once dangerous and unjuſt: but a few days after, when the treaſure was publicly brought on ſhore, and laid up, Demoſthenes being preſent, took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon Harpalus deſired him to poize it in his hand, and conſider its weight; which he did and then aſked the price of it: "To you, ſir, (ſaid Harpalus,) it ſhall come with twenty talents;" at night accordingly it was ſent, and Demoſthenes, when he was called upon the next day, in the aſſembly, to deliver his opinion, ſhewed his neck, which was ſwathed round with ſeveral rollers, and made ſigns, that he was unable to ſpeak; upon which ſome of the wits ſaid, "The orator had got a ſilver quinſey." As for Phocion, Harpalus knew well that he was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſent him no leſs than ſeven hundred talents, and offered to commit himſelf, and all his affairs, to his diſpoſal; but Phocion treated thoſe who came to him very roughly, and threatened not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people. When the matter came to be debated the laſt time in the aſſembly, thoſe who had received his money, railed moſt at Harpalus, to conceal their own guilt; whereas Phocion expreſſed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in ſuch gentle terms, that Harpalus again offered him money; but he was incorruptible, and in the end the Athenians expelled the Macedonian

The Greeks make war upon the Macedonians.

The death of Alexander caused a great alteration in the affairs of Greece: the orators unanimously concurred in exciting the people to make war, and indeed all Greece was in commotion; so that, at length, it was carried by a great majority, that the Athenians should take upon them the defence of the common liberty, should free all citizens from the Macedonian garrisons, should fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty sail, and that all men under forty years of age should take up arms. Leosthenes was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched against the Macedonians. Antipater, then governor of Macedon, as soon as he had intelligence of this armament, sent to Craterus, in Cilicia, to come to his assistance; but in the interim he himself marched into Thessaly, with thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. The Thessalians joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when Leosthenes approached, and it appeared that the Athenians and their confederates were by far more numerous, the Thessalians deserted to them; yet Antipater had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were routed, and himself constrained to fly: but he shewed himself a great general in his flight; for arriving with some foot at Lamia, a city in Thessaly, he caused the place to be fortified, and received into it all his troops, as fast as they came up, so that he drew together again eight or nine thousand men, and prepared to make an obstinate resistance.

Defeat Antipater.

They besiege Lamia.

Leosthenes advancing with the confederate army, invested and attacked this city; but finding that it could not be taken by storm, he was constrained to make a regular siege: Antipater watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by fresh troops, made a sally upon the workmen, and put them in great disorder. Leosthenes coming to animate them, was unfortunately killed with a stone, an accident which greatly dispirited the Greeks; however, they chose Antiphalus their general,

The Athenian general killed.

Macedonian the city, and ordered the court of areopagus to take cognizance of such as were impeached of bribery; which court dealt very severely with them, and particularly fined Demosthenes fifty talents, and ordered him to be imprisoned till it was paid: but he shortly after made his escape from thence, and fled to Ægina, where he remained till after the death of Alexander (1).

(1) Diodor. lib. xvii. Plut. in Vit. Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xi. & xii.

and

and continued the war, though Antipater had eſcaped out of Lamia. Not long after, they routed the Macedonians, under the command of Leonatus; which victory was their ruin, for ſlighting the Macedonians, many returned home to their reſpective cities. Antipater having joined the remains of Leonatus's army, and being reinforced afterwards by Craterus, who reſigned to him the command, he ſoon after fought and routed the Greeks, under the command of Antiphalus and Memnon. Though there were but five hundred men ſlain in this battle, yet the confederates were ſo diſpirited, that they ſent to Antipater to treat of peace; but he refuſed to treat at all of a general peace, profeſſing, at the ſame time, that he was willing to hear and receive ambaſſadors from each of the cities, and to conſider their reſpective demands.

The Athenians defeated, ſue for a peace.

At firſt the Grecians rejected this offer with ſcorn; but when ſeveral of the Theſſalonian cities were taken by ſtorm, they were glad to treat upon the terms preſcribed. Then Antipater received the ambaſſadors very kindly, and granted almoſt every thing they deſired. Thus the Athenians were deprived of all their confederates, and in a ſhort time reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this diſtreſs, Phocion, with ſome of the orators, were deputed to go to Cadmæa, where Antipater was encamped, to procure from him, if poſſible, an honourable peace. When they arrived, Phocion intreated, that the terms might be adjuſted there; whereas Craterus was for marching into Attica, and treating with the Athenians, as it were, at their own doors, ſaying, it was unreaſonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. Antipater replied, that what he ſaid was juſt; "but yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to Phocion." In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather Antipater impoſed upon the Athenians theſe conditions: that Demoſthenes and Hyperides ſhould be delivered up; that the ancient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored; that they ſhould receive a garriſon into Munichia; defray the charges of the war; and ſubmit to ſome other taxes. Phocion was very deſirous that they might be ſpared the garriſon; but Antipater anſwered, "I will deny thee, Phocion, nothing but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own." In conſequence of this treaty, Menyllus, a man of great affability of temper, and one of Phocion's friends, was ſent to command the garriſon which entered Munichia. Demoſthenes, in the mean time, fled, fearing to be delivered up to Antipater; and being

They are reduced to great ſtraits.

They obtain a peace upon very diſadvantageous terms.

Demoſthenes poiſons himſelf.

being purſued by ſome perſons in that general's ſervice, poiſoned himſelf (O).

The

(O) Demoſthenes, even in his exile, exerted all his eloquence and talents, in exciting and encouraging the little ſtates of Greece, firſt to engage in a confederacy, for the defence of their liberties, and then to continue firm to their engagement. In conſequence of this exertion, the Athenians inſtantly recalled him, found means to diſcharge his fine, and paid him the higheſt honours they could invent: but his proſperity was of a very ſhort continuance; for in September the Greeks loſt the battle of Cranon; in October the Macedonian garriſon entered Athens; in November Demoſthenes fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him the ſame month. One Archias, a player, having undertaken to find him out, receiving intelligence that he had taken ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune, in the little iſland of Calauria, paſſed over thither with a ſmall detachment of Thracian guards. When he found Demoſthenes, he would fain have perſuaded him to go with him to Antipater, aſſuring him that he would receive no harſh treatment; which was very improbable, becauſe moſt of his friends were already murdered. To theſe ſpecious promiſes, therefore, the orator anſwered, "O Archias, I was never much pleaſed with you as a player, and now I am as little moved with you as a negociator." Archias beginning to grow angry, and to threaten him; "Now, ſaid Demoſthenes, thou ſpeakeſt like the oracle of Macedon, before thou didſt but act a part; therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family." Having thus ſpoken, he withdrew farther into the temple, and taking ſome paper, as if he meant to write, he put the poiſoned quill into his mouth, and biting it, as he was wont to do, when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for ſome time. Then he bowed down his head, and covered it. The ſoldiers who ſtood at the door, ſuppoſing all this to proceed from puſillanimity, in deriſion, called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. Archias drawing near, deſired him to riſe up, and repeating the ſame kind things he had ſaid before, he once more promiſed to make his peace with Antipater. But Demoſthenes, perceiving that now the poiſon had pierced and ſeized his vitals, uncovered his head; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, "Now, ſaid he, as ſoon as you pleaſe, you may act the part of Creon in the tragedy, and caſt out this body of mine unburied: but (continued he, turning towards the altar) O gracious Neptune, I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, ariſe and depart out of this ſacred place, without profaning it; but Antipater and the Macedonians have not left ſo much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death." After he had thus ſpoken, he de-

fired

The Macedonian garriſon being ſettled in Athens, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchiſed, and ſent into Thrace, where Antipater aſſigned them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time, political affairs were managed by men of the better ſort, and eſpecially by Phocion, who was in very high credit with Antipater and the Macedonians. He was for proceeding ſtill on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the Athenians, if they had acted on the ſame principles: but they were continually repining at the loſs of that power, which they knew not how to manage; abhorred the ſight of the Macedonian garriſon, which they knew not how to remove; and earneſtly longed for an alteration of circumſtances, when there was no reaſon to hope that ſuch an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually preſſing Phocion to apply to Antipater for removing the garriſon; and at laſt, finding all their ſolicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on Demades the orator, who was alſo in the Macedonian intereſt, and had been greatly favoured by Antipater.

The Athenians diſcontented with the ſituation of their affairs.

This man, willing to gratify the people, and at the ſame time to make a diſplay of his intereſt, readily undertook the propoſed embaſſy. He was a man of parts, and eloquence, but probity and diſintereſtedneſs were not among the number of his good qualities, as appears by this ſaying of Antipater: "That he had two friends at Athens, Phocion, and Demades; the former, a man who would receive no ſatisfaction for the ſervices he did him; and the latter, who would never be ſatisfied, how much ſoever he received." Whether Antipater had diſcontinued his liberality towards this orator; or whether Demades had reaſon to hope greater appointments from Perdiccas, who was Antipater's mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but ſo it was, that Demades had entered into a correſpondence with Perdiccas, and inſtigated him to invade Macedonia and Greece, and aſſume the government of them in his own perſon, making uſe of this expreſſion in one of his letters: "That at preſent they leaned on an old rotten ſtaff," meaning Antipater. Theſe tranſac-

Demades, the orator, his character.

fired to be held up, becauſe already he began to tremble and ſtagger, as he was going forward; and paſſing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan expired (2).

(2) Plutarch in Vit. Demoſthen. prope fin.

tions, and particularly this very letter, were diſcovered, while Demades and his ſon Demias were ſoliciting the recall of the garriſon; upon which Antipater ordered the ſon to be put to death, not only in the preſence of the father, but in ſuch a manner, that his blood flew all over him; Demades himſelf underwent the ſame fate, and the Athenians were left without hopes of ever ſeeing their liberty reſtored [b].

Demades, and his ſon, put to death by Antipater.

Yr. of Fl. 2030. Ante Chr. 318.

On the death of Antipater, two factions ſprung up in Macedonia, one headed by Polyperchon, who had the cuſtody of the perſons of the kings, and the other by Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater. The latter ſent Nicanor to command the garriſon in Athens, a man of great art, and a good ſoldier; with him Phocion often converſed, labouring all he could to perſuade him to uſe the citizens with lenity, and to leave the government in the ſame condition in which he found it. Polyperchon, on the other hand, deſiring to recover the Greek cities from his rival Caſſander, publiſhed a decree in the king's name, reſtoring them their freedom, particularly Athens, directing the garriſon immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be reſtored. This produced the deſired effect, for it threw the Athenians all into confuſion; Nicanor refuſed to obey the decree, and becauſe Phocion correſponded with him afterwards, the people accuſed him of being an enemy to his country; whereas, he deſired nothing more than to ſee their liberty reſtored, which it was not likely to be, on a bare decree, unſupported by arms; as Nicanor payed no reſpect to Polyperchon's order.

Caſſander ſeizes Athens.

Phocion accuſed.

Polyperchon, afterwards, came with the kings, and a great army, to the borders of Attica, whither Phocion was ſent, together with deputies from the Athenians to accuſe him. Polyperchon, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree which he had publiſhed, ſent back Phocion and his friends, chained in carts, with this meſſage, "That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the Athenians, as a free people." Phocion demanded whether they intended to proceed againſt him by form of law; and ſome crying out that they would, Phocion demanded how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving, by the clamour of the people, that no ſuch thing was to be

[b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Plut. in Vit. Demoſth. & Phoc. Juſtin. lib. xxvi.

expected

expected, he exclaimed, "As for myſelf, I confeſs the crime objected to me, and ſubmit to the judgment of the law; but conſider, O ye Athenians, what have theſe poor innocent men done, that they ſhould be involved in the ſame calamity with me?" The people replied with great vociferation, "They are your accomplices, and that is enough." Then the decree was read, adjudging them all to death, viz. Phocion, Nicocles, Aheudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles; theſe were preſent: Demetrius, Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles, and others, were condemned in their abſence. Some moved, that Phocion might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the aſſembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to death, for which the decree was carried unanimouſly; ſome putting on garlands of flowers, when they gave their votes: as he was going to execution, a perſon who was his intimate friend, aſked him, if he had any meſſage for his ſon? "Yes, replied Phocion, tell him it is my laſt command, that he forgot how ill the Athenians treated his father.

Condemned and put to death.

His generous behaviour.

The ſpleen of his enemies was not extinguiſhed with his life, they paſſed a decree, whereby his corpſe was baniſhed the Athenian territories; they likewiſe forbad any Athenians to furniſh fire for his funeral pile. One Conopian took up the corpſe, and carried it beyond Eleuſina, where he borrowed ſome fire of a Megarian woman and burned it. A Megarian matron, who attended with her maid, raiſed on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones, carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying, at the ſame time thus to the Penates: "To you, O ye gods, guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the moſt excellent Phocion; protect them, I beſeech you, from all inſults, and deliver them one day to be repoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall become wiſer." It was not long before this opportunity occurred: when the Athenians began to cool a little, and remember the many ſervices they had received from Phocion, they decreed him a ſtatue of braſs; ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expence; and decreed that his accuſers ſhould be put to death. Agnonides, who was principally concerned in that tragedy, ſuffered; but Epicurus, and Demophilus, who were alſo accomplices in it, fled; however, Phocion's ſon met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which

The hatred of the Athenians to this excellent patriot.

The honours they afterwards paid him.

was almoſt the only good action he ever performed; as he had a very ſmall ſhare of his father's abilities, and not any of his virtues.

Soon after this tranſaction, Caſſander arrived with a great fleet in the port of Athens, and, by the aſſiſtance of Nicanor, who commanded in the fort Munichia, reduced the city to ſuch ſtraits, that the Athenians were content to ſubmit upon theſe terms: that he ſhould leave a garriſon in the fort, and appoint ſome Athenian to preſide over the city. He accordingly placed Demetrius Phalerus in the office of governor, a man of great quality, deſcended from Conon, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had ſtudied under the philoſopher Theophraſtus, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as contemplative philoſopher; he treated the Athenians with the utmoſt kindneſs, and made uſe of that power which he might eaſily have improved into tyranny, to do thoſe things for them which their factions had hitherto hindered them from doing for themſelves. He encreaſed their public revenues; beautified their city with many magnificent ſtructures; reſtored ſuch as were in danger of falling through the injuries of time; and in every other reſpect gave ſuch ſignal teſtimonies of his tender affection for them, that the Athenians ſet up no leſs than three hundred ſtatues to his honour, moſt of them equeſtrian; but becauſe he derived his power from Caſſander, and they were not able to depoſe him at their pleaſure, he was ſecretly envied by the majority of the people [b].

Demetrius Phalereus appointed by Caſſander governor of Athens. His kindneſs to the Athenians.

Yr. of Fl. 2042. Ante Chr. 306. Antigonus, the moſt magnanimous of Alexander's captains, and his ſon Demetrius Poliorcetes, i. e. *the city-taker*, having reſolved to free Greece from the yoke of Caſſander, determined to begin with Athens. The young prince, Demetrius, who was the handſomeſt, and at the ſame time one of the braveſt men of his time, took upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility. Hoiſting falſe colours, he ſailed without the leaſt oppoſition into the port of Athens, where a multitude of people were aſſembled on the ſhore, who, when they diſcovered their miſtake, armed themſelves in haſte; but Demetrius quickly diſarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he cauſed a crier to make proclamation, that he was come, by the command of his father, with no other deſign than to deliver them from the oppreſſion of Caſſander, to expel the garriſon

Demetrius Poliorcetes frees Athens.

[b] Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin.

which

which he had placed in the fort, and to reſtore to them their ancient laws and government. The people immediately welcomed him with loud ſhouts, beſtowing on him the title of deliverer and benefactor. As for Demetrius Phalereus, he was immediately deſerted, and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of ſuffering death. In this emergency, he ſent one Ariſtodemus to Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, to intreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to Thebes: Demetrius received this meſſenger very reſpectfully, ſaid, he came not to injure perſons of worth, and granted Demetrius both his requeſts; he then blocked up the fortreſs of Munichia, and departed for Megara, where Caſſander had alſo a garriſon; having ſet this place at liberty, he returned to Athens, and attacked Munichia ſo vigorouſly, that he took it by aſſault: after the reduction of it, at the earneſt intreaty of the Athenians, he entered the city in great pomp, and having ſummoned an aſſembly, he therein publicly declared, that he did not only freely reſtore them to their former popular government; but that he would prevail on his father to beſtow on them fifteen thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ſuch a quantity of timber, as would enable them to build an hundred gallies for the defence of their city [c].

Extravagant honours beſtowed on Antigonus, and Demetrius, by the Athenians.

Theſe great favours the Athenians repaid with the moſt abject flattery: they beſtowed on Antigonus and Demetrius not only the title of kings, which hitherto they had not taken; but alſo ſtyled them tutelar deities and deliverers; they appointed a prieſt to them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the firſt archon, they decreed, that for the future it ſhould be deſigned by the name of this prieſt. They cauſed the portraits of Antigonus, and Demetrius, to be placed among the number of their gods, they erected an altar, where Demetrius firſt alighted from his chariot, and ſtyled it the altar of the deſcent of Demetrius; they added two new tribes to the ten which already ſubſiſted, and called them Antigonides and Demetriades. To ſum up all, Stratocles propoſed, and it was decreed, that as often as they ſent ambaſſadors to Antigonus and Demetrius, they ſhould be ſtyled ambaſſadors of the gods; they changed the name of the month Munichia into Demetrian. It would be tedious to dwell on the reſt of the follies of this

[c] Diodor. & Plutarch ibid. & Dionyſ. Halicarnaſ. in Diarcho.

Their ingratitude to Demetrius Phalereus.

degenerate people, who, at the ſame time that they paid all this extravagant adulation to Antigonus, and his ſon, paſſed a decree, whereby they judged Demetrius Phalerus to death, ordered all his ſtatues to be thrown down, and even ſent perſons to execute, as far as in them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him; a practice which could not but give thoſe whom they now flattered to underſtand, that they would be ſure to deſert them, if ever they ſhould be deſerted by fortune.

Evil effects of the democratical government in Athens.

The democratic government was no ſooner reſtored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt; accuſations were frequent, condemnations common; to be eminent, induced danger; and to be obſcure, contempt. At the motion of Sophocles the people decreed, that no philoſophers ſhould teach, unleſs licenſed by the ſenate and people; a law which obliged Theophraſtus, the ſucceſſor of Ariſtotle, to break up his ſchool. It is probable, that they were diſpleaſed with this great man, becauſe he was ſo much in favour with Caſſander, king of Macedon, and becauſe their late governor, Demetrius Phalerus, had been his ſcholar; however, their reſentment did not continue long, for they afterwards reſcinded this decree, and recalled the philoſophers; but their protector, Demetrius, being engaged with all his force in the ſiege of Rhodes, Caſſander took this opportunity of vindicating his title to Greece, and coming with a powerful army to ſupport it, many of the cities revolted to him, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he penetrated as far as Attica, and laid ſiege to Athens. The Athenians, thus diſtreſſed, ſent for aid to Demetrius, who came ſpeedily to their relief, and after having obliged Caſſander to raiſe the ſiege, ſtripped him in a very ſhort time of all his conqueſts. After this ſucceſs, he put various cities under the power of the Athenians, and multiplied his good offices, as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits.

Athens beſieged by Caſſander; but relieved by Demetrius.

He is ſcandalouſly flattered by the Athenians.

The Athenians, in return, taſked their ingenuity to deviſe new compliments, and acts of flattery, ſtill ſuperior to thoſe which they had performed. They aſſigned Demetrius lodgings behind the temple of Minerva, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her ſervice; this was a ſcandalous inſult to religion, becauſe Demetrius was remarkably intemperate with reſpect to women. But the Athenians were ſo corrupt that they gave way even to his unnatural luſts, which afforded an inſtance

ſtance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to lateſt times (P).

It would have been unpardonable to dwell on ſuch particulars as theſe in any other period of the Athenian hiſtory; but the Athenians, having now forgot to act, we are conſtrained to entertain the reader with what they ſaid, and having no more victories to relate, we are forced to record their flatteries (Q).

Their ingratitude to him in his adverſity.

The pride with which the Athenians inſpired Demetrius and his father, drew upon them firſt the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander. This obliged Demetrius to quit Greece, and retire into Aſia, where, in one battle, his father Antigonus loſt his empire and his life, and Demetrius was conſtrained to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips from Epheſus towards Athens, where he had left his queen Deidamia, and great

(P) There now lived in Athens a young gentleman, ſo remarkably handſome, that he was ſtyled the Beautiful Damocles; him Demetrius purſued wherever he appeared, ſo that the poor young man was conſtrained to avoid the public bathing places, and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither Demetrius came, and ſurpriſed him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never to be enough commended, threw off the cover of the chaldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it, was inſtantly ſtifled.

(Q) After all his mighty victories, Demetrius had a mind to be inrolled in the fraternity of the prieſts of Ceres, and admitted to all the myſteries. The conſtant practice in this caſe was, that he who deſired ſuch admiſſion, was introduced as a novice in the leſſer myſteries in the month of November, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of Auguſt following: but when Demetrius ſignified his deſire, it was the month of March. Stratocles furniſhed them with an expedient, which removed all objections, and which ought everlaſtingly to be remembered to the diſhonour of this ſervile flattering people. He propoſed a decree, and procured it to be paſſed, that the month of March ſhould become November; in conſequence of which Demetrius was admitted to the leſſer myſteries. This ceremony being over, Stratocles had it decreed, that the month, before called November, ſhould now be called Auguſt; and, by virtue of this decree, Demetrius aſſiſted at the greater myſteries. Philippedes, the comedian, could not help ſtigmatizing theſe mean compliances in the following diſtich:

What miracles by flattery wrought are here,
Which in one month have crowded all the year.

part of his navy; but in the iſlands, called Cyclades, he met with ambaſſadors from that city, who informed them, that the Athenians had made a decree that no crowned head ſhould enter their city: a moſt grateful decree, indeed, towards a man whom, a little before, they had acknowleged for their ſaviour and their god! Demetrius did not, however, reſent this uſage with that warmth which might have been expected; he only deſired that his ſhips and his queen might be delivered to him, which requeſt was granted: however, the Athenians were ſhortly after ſeverely puniſhed. Their ſeditions among themſelves encouraged one Lacharis to ſeize the ſovereignty, and to reduce the people to ſubmit to him, who was but an obſcure perſon, rather than live under the protection of thoſe powerful princes; but when the affairs of Demetrius were a little reſtored, he began to think of humbling this inſolent and inconſtant people, who, to ſhew their ingratitude and contempt, paſſed a decree, in full aſſembly, whereby they made it death for any perſon to propoſe a treaty or intercourſe with Demetrius on any pretence whatever.

Demetrius lays ſiege to Athens;

This rather irritated the king, than inclined him to lay aſide his firſt deſign. He, therefore, began to interrupt the trade of Athens, and to ruin its territories; at laſt he cloſely beſieged the city. Lacharis, in the mean time, applied to Ptolemy, imploring relief, for the Athenians were almoſt ſtarved, as Demetrius puniſhed capitally all thoſe who attempted to ſupply the city with proviſions; by degrees their diſtreſs grew ſo great, that a buſhel of ſalt was ſold for forty drachms, and a buſhel of wheat for three hundred. At laſt a hundred and fifty ſhips, laden with corn, came from Egypt, and anchored at Ægina, in ſight of Athens; but Demetrius being, at the ſame time, reinforced with three hundred ſail from Cyprus, and other places, the Egyptians cut their cables in the night, and made their eſcape. Lacharis, as ſoon as he was acquainted with this misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the Athenians, who had no choice but ſtarving or yielding, ſurrendered at diſcretion to Demetrius, who immediately entered the place with his forces. He firſt commanded that all the Athenians ſhould inſtantly aſſemble in the public theatre, where, when they were convened, he ſurrounded it with his guards, and brought in a body of armed men, who were poſted round the ſtage. The people, trembling with fear, expecting every moment when the ſignal ſhould be given for putting them to the ſword, when

which he reduces to great ſtraits, and takes.

His clemency to the inhabitants.

when, through the door appropriated to the actors, Demetrius came upon the ſtage, where, in a ſhort oration, he gently reprehended them for their ingratitude; and told them, at the ſame time, that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour; as an inſtance of which he preſented them with a hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, and named ſuch magiſtrates as were agreeable to the people.

The Athenians immediately relapſed into their former ſtrain of flattery; their orators exerted themſelves in celebrating the generoſity, and extolling the clemency of this great prince, whoſe valour had acquired, whoſe abilities deſerved, and whoſe gentleneſs adorned the diadem he wore. Dromoclides, one of the ſpeakers on this occaſion, did him a more acceptable ſervice than the reſt; for he preferred a decree, whereby the haven of Piræum, and the caſtle of Munichia, were given to the king, who was far from neglecting ſo acceptable a preſent: he knew too well the fickleneſs of that people to truſt them again without taking ſome ſecurity for their behaviour; in Piræum and Munichia, therefore, he placed garriſons, by virtue of the decree; and in Muſæum, becauſe it was convenient and fit for his purpoſe: thenceforward the Athenians were exceedingly faithful, eſpecially when Demetrius had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Macedon; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into ſuch circumſtances that he did not preſume to wear the habit of a king, the Athenians again diſplayed their ingratitude, degraded the prieſt of the two deities, and reduced things into their ancient form. Some time after this reformation, their old maſter getting together an army, beſieged, and reduced them to great ſtraits; they had then recourſe to Craterus the philoſopher, who went out to Demetrius, interceded with him, and ſo fully perſuaded him, that it would be more for his intereſt to paſs over into Aſia, that he left them in the full enjoyment of their liberties [d].

Their ingratitude to him when again in diſtreſs;

and his kindneſs to them.

While Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Softhenes by turns poſſeſſed the Macedonian kingdom, the Athenians remained free, but without making any great figure; when the Gauls, under the command of Brennus, threatened the deſtruction of the Greeks in general, the Athenians, for a time, exerted their ancient magnanimity,

Their various fate under the Macedonian kings.

[d] Plut. in Vita Demet. Diogen. Laert. in Vita Theoph. Epic. & Crat. Athen. in Deipnoſoph.

and

and, under their general Callippus, behaved with great gallantry againſt the invaders; for then the common danger united all the Greeks, and even the king of Macedon himſelf, as they had nothing to fear but the common enemy; but when theſe dangers were paſt, and the affairs of Antigonus Gonatus, the ſon of Demetrius, were in a proſperous way, the Athenians felt the weight of his power: for, remembering how they had dealt with his father, he reſolved to puniſh them for their former behaviour; and, to make ſure of them for the future, he firſt waſted their territories, and afterwards cloſely beſieged Athens; at laſt, unable to reſiſt, but unwilling to yield, they made a treaty with him on the beſt terms they could obtain, and, in conſequence thereof, admitted a garriſon, whereby, though they flattered themſelves with the appearance of liberty, they became effectually his ſubjects; and, after his death, were left as ſuch to his ſon Demetrius. About this time a ſpirit of liberty revived in Greece, and the Achæans, who were far from being a conſiderable people, not only defended their freedom, but made it their buſineſs to free others, in which efforts they were exceedingly aſſiſted by the genius of Aratus, whoſe great exploits we ſhall have occaſion to relate at length in the hiſtory of Achaia. To him the Athenians were indebted for their liberty; for having prevailed on Diogenes, the Macedonian governor, to relinquiſh the three fortreſſes, Pyræum, Munichia, and Muſæum, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty out of his own purſe, and then left the Athenians abſolutely free, indulging them alſo with the protection of the Achæans to guard their freedom.

Are ſubdued by Antigonus Gonatus.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Athens, from the Achæan League to the preſent Time.

What gave riſe to the war between Philip of Macedon and the Athenians.

THE Athenians, having thus recovered their ancient liberty by means of Aratus, were ſoon obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of a more powerful protector, to maintain their freedom againſt Philip of Macedon, a prince who ſeemed to inherit the ambition of the firſt Philip, and the bravery of Alexander. This warlike monarch had formed a deſign of ſubjecting all Greece, and afterwards extending his conqueſts into Italy. In proſecution of his ſcheme, he made uſe of the following pretence to carry the war into

into Attica: two young Acarnanians, who happened to be at Athens while the inhabitants were celebrating the myſteries of Ceres (H), had entered the temple of the goddeſs

(H) The feſtival of Ceres was the moſt celebrated and myſterious ſolemnity of any in Greece; whence it is often called, by way of eminence, the Myſteries. The Sicilians claimed the glory of having firſt inſtituted this ſolemn worſhip, pretending, that they had been inſtructed by Ceres herſelf, in the ſecret ceremonies which were performed on this occaſion. This goddeſs, according to the tradition of the country, taught them the art of cultivating the earth, and united them in ſocieties, to live under the influence of the wiſe laws which ſhe had given them. Whence, twice a year, they renewed the remembrance of theſe ſignal benefits, worſhipping alternately the mother, and her daughter Proſerpine; the former in the firſt ſeed-time, and the latter in the harveſt. After the example of the Sicilians, the inhabitants of Attica, who had been likewiſe enriched with the gifts of Ceres, ſignalized their gratitude to this goddeſs, by inſtituting three feſtivals in her honour.

Of theſe, the firſt was called proeroſia, becauſe it preceded the ploughing-time, and the ſeed-time. On this occaſion the Athenians, who celebrated this feſtival in the name of all the Greeks, offered a great number of victims, in hopes of obtaining a plentiful harveſt.

The ſecond feſtival was called theſmophoria, this word alluding to the worſhip which was paid Ceres, as a lawgiver. Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, and, after them, Theodoret, tells us, that the ſame ceremonies were performed, on this occaſion, in honour of Ceres, as were practiſed by the Egyptians in the myſteries of Iſis. The celebration of this feſtival laſted five days; and each day the women of the ten tribes, of which the republic of Athens conſiſted, choſe one from among themſelves, to preſide over the ceremonies that were practiſed at this ſolemnity. The victims were offered by a prieſt, who officiated with a crown on his head; whence he was called ſtephanophorus. Such women as had three talents to their portion, were intitled to demand of their huſbands the neceſſary ſums for the expences of the ſacrifices, every one being obliged to contribute to them, according to their ability.

All the women that were to aſſiſt at the ceremonies being aſſembled in one place, they went in proceſſion from Athens to Eleuſis, a ſmall city in that neighbourhood, ſinging hymns in honour of the goddeſs, and carrying the books which contained the ſecret myſteries of the ſolemnity, and the laws, for which Attica was indebted to Ceres: but this depoſitum was intruſted with ſuch only as were of an unblemiſhed character, and famous for their virtue. A certain number of young women were brought up at the expence of the public

deſs with the croud. As it was not lawful for any perſon to aſſiſt at thoſe myſteries without being initiated, the Acarnanians

lic, with all imaginable care, in order to be employed in this office, and in the other ceremonies performed at Eleuſis. Theſe were always kept confined in the Theſmophorion, a public building in Athens appropriated for that uſe, and narrowly watched by perſons ſet over them, to guard their virtue: however, when they arrived at Eleuſis, they prepared themſelves for the offices of their prieſthood, by paſſing a whole day at the feet of the ſtatue of Ceres, in faſting and prayer. This ſeverity ended in a kind of comedy; for, as Ceres had laughed at the ſight of an old woman who inſulted her, ſo the young virgins endeavoured, by innocent jokes, to ſtir up one another to laughter. The following days were ſpent in luſtrations and ſacrifices, from which the men were not excluded; even the priſoners who were initiated in the myſteries of Ceres, and not yet convicted of any crime, were indulged their liberty during the five days of the ſolemnity, that they might join in thoſe religious practices.

The third feſtival, inſtituted in honour of Ceres, was deemed the moſt holy and ſolemn, being called the Myſteries. It is ſaid by ſome to have been inſtituted by Ceres herſelf, after having ſupplied the Athenians with corn, in a time of famine; others aſcribe the inſtitution of it to king Erectheus, and ſome to Muſæus, the father of Eumolphus, or to Eumolpus himſelf. Th etemple of Eleuſis was the place where all thoſe met who were admitted to theſe myſterious ceremonies; and thither the Greeks flocked from all parts, about the month of Auguſt, the temple, as Strabo informs us, being capable of holding an immenſe multitude. None were admitted to celebrate the great myſteries till they had been purified at the leſſer, which were uſed as preparatives for the greater. The manner of the purification was as follows: after having kept themſelves chaſte and unpolluted nine days, they offered ſacrifices and prayers, with crowns and garlands on their heads, and the ſkin of a victim, ſacrificed to Jupiter, under their feet. About a year after, having ſacrificed a ſow to Ceres, they were admitted to the greater myſteries, but not ſuffered to enter the ſanctuary till five years after, aſſiſting, in the mean time, at the ſacred ceremonies, only in the porch of the temple. When the years of probation were expired, the ſecret rites, ſome few excepted, which were reſerved for the prieſts alone, were frankly revealed to them; whence they changed the name of myſtai, that is, *perſons initiated*, for that of epoptai, or *eye-witneſſes*. The manner of the initiation was thus: the candidates were admitted by night into the temple, wearing crowns of myrtle on their heads. At their entering the ſacred place, they purified themſelves, by waſhing their

nanians who had not been admitted with the uſual ceremonies, being diſcovered, by their language, to be ſtrangers, were

their hands in holy water; and, at the ſame time, were told, that the external cleanneſs of the body would not be accepted by the deity of the place, unleſs attended by the internal cleanneſs of an undefiled mind. After this the holy myſteries were read to them, the prieſt who initiated them having firſt aſked, whether they had performed all the conditions religion required. To theſe queſtions they returned anſwers in a ſet form, and then were led by the prieſt into the moſt holy part of the temple; a place of darkneſs and horror. Then, all on a ſudden, a ſtrong light darted in upon them, and diſcovered a ſtatue of Ceres richly adorned, and a very indecent figure, called Myllos. The light ſoon diſappeared, and then a terrible noiſe was heard like thunder, fire fell down like lightning, and dreadful monſters appeared, which, by the glimmering light of continual flaſhes of fire, ſtruck the trembling ſpectators with great terror: neither could they recover themſelves from their fright, till they were ſhewn an agreeable meadow, which was walled in behind the temple. Laſtly, the prieſt, who attended at the initiation, and was therefore called hierophantes, or *revealer of holy things*, took his leave of the initiated, with exhorting them to the practice of virtue. The hierophantes was by birth an Athenian, and of the family of the Eumolpidæ. As he was the chief prieſt, and held his office for life, he was obliged to perpetual chaſtity, and forbidden even luſtful deſires. His name was ſo venerable, that it was not even mentioned in the preſence of the profane, that is, of ſuch as were not initiated. He had three aſſiſtants; the firſt of which was called, from his office, dadouchos, or *torch-bearer*; the ſecond was ſtyled, the ſacred herald; and it was his province to forbid, on pain of death, ſuch as were not initiated, or were conſcious of any crime, to enter the temple; the third miniſtred at the altar, imploring the protection of the gods. The ſuperintendent over theſe myſteries was ſtyled king; and it was his duty to offer prayers and ſacrifices; to ſee that no indecency, or irregularity, was committed; and, after the celebration of the myſteries, to aſſemble the ſenate, he being one of the archons, and to take cognizance of all offenders in this kind. The king had four aſſiſtants under him, called epimeletai, who were elected by the people, one out of the family of the Eumolpidæ, another out of the Cryces, and the remaining two out of the families of other citizens.

This feſtival began on the fifteenth, and ended on the twenty-third day of the month Boedromion; during which time it was unlawful to arreſt any perſon, or preſent any petition; and thoſe who were found guilty of ſuch practices were, according to ſome, fined a thou-

were carried before the chief prieſt, and by him ſentenced to die, thought it was well known, that they offended purely

a thouſand drachmas, and, according to others, put to death. If any woman rode to Eleuſis in a chariot, ſhe was obliged to pay ſix thouſand drachmas. The intention of this law, which was enacted by Lycurgus, was to prevent all odious diſtinctions between the rich and poor.

The different ſhows with which the ſpectators were entertained each day of the feaſt, were ſymbolical repreſentations of the travels of Ceres, and the chief incidents of her life. In thisconſiſted the external pomp of the feſtival. The reſt was an impenetrable myſtery, which the hierophantes diſcovered only to the initiated, after having bound them to inviolable ſecrecy by the moſt dreadful oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging theſe myſteries, or any part of them, became the public curſe of the people, excluded all civil ſociety, and avoided even by his neareſt relations, who were afraid to live with him under the ſame roof: but the ordinary puniſhment for ſuch a crime was immediate death. If any perſon, not lawfully initiated, did but, through ignorance or miſtake, chance to be preſent at the myſterious rites, he was put to death. Perſons of both ſexes, and all ages, were initiated, the neglect of this ceremony being looked upon as a crime of a very heinous nature, inſomuch that it was one the chief articles of impeachment againſt Socrates. However, ſuch as were convicted of any crime, or had even involuntarily committed murder, were debarred from theſe myſteries.

If the teſtimony of profane authors may be admitted, theſe aſſemblies were ſchools of virtue and purity. Tully gives a a very favourable account of them, ſaying, that men were there taught the art of living well, and confirmed in the hopes of a better life (1). Other writers call thoſe initiations a ſtrict engagement to live according to the laws of equity, as they were dictated by the goddeſs. On the other hand, the fathers of the church tell us, that the pagans, under the venerables names of myſteries, conſecrated proſtitutions, and other more heinous crimes; and call the aſſemblies of Ceres, ſchools of abominations and debaucheries. Perhaps theſe ceremonies were, at firſt, ſuch as the profane writers repreſent them to have been; but afterwards came, by degrees, to degenerate into libertiniſm and licentiouſneſs; which gave the fathers occaſion to exclaim againſt them. They were celebrated by the Athenians every fifth year at Eleuſis, from thence tranſlated to Rome by the emperor Adrian, and never totally aboliſhed till the reign of Theodoſius the elder.

This is the general account which the ancients have given

(1) Cic. de Leg. lib. ii.

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purely out of ignorance. The Acarnanian nation reſented this inhuman ſentence, and made bitter complaints of it to the king of Macedon, with whom they were then allied. Philip, without demanding any ſatisfaction, proclaimed war againſt Athens, and ſent a body of troops to join the Acarnanians, and lay waſte Attica. Achaia, Lacedæmon, and Corinth, had entered into an alliance with Philip; and Athens was no way in a condition to make head againſt ſo many enemies at once. She reſolved therefore to have recourſe to Rome, and, by a ſolemn embaſſy, implore the protection of that powerful republic. The Romans were already well known at Athens, where they had been honoured many years before, with particular marks of diſtinction. In the conſulſhip of Sp. Carvilius and Q. Fabius Verrucoſus, thirty-two years before the æra we are now ſpeaking of, Rome had ſent ambaſſadors to Athens, and ſeveral other free ſtates of Greece, to make them ſenſible of the happineſs which ſhe had procured them, by humbling the Illyrians, who, with frequent piracies, infeſted their coaſts. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus had, in the courſe of the preceding year, forced the Illyrians to ſubmit to a peace upon very hard conditions; one of which was, that they ſhould not ſuffer above three of their ſhips of war, at a time, to ſail beyond the city of Lyſſus, which ſtood on the confines of Illyricum and Macedon, near the mouth of the river Drilon. This article was ſo agreeable to the Athenians, that they not only received the ambaſſadors with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, but, from that time, admitted the Romans in general to partake of the myſteries of Eleuſis, and of all the privileges which the citizens of Athens enjoyed. They did not therefore doubt in the leaſt but their ambaſſadors would meet with a favourable reception, and obtain

The Athenians implore the protection of Rome.

us of the myſteries of Ceres. The reſpect with which they were prepoſſeſſed in favour of theſe myſteries, did not permit them to be more particular.

The Ceres of the Greeks was, according to Sir Iſaac Newton (2), a woman of Sicily, who came into Attica, and taught Triptolemus, the ſon of Celeus, king of Eleuſis, to ſow corn, about the thirtieth year of king David's reign, or the year before Chriſt 1030. She died, and was deified for this benefaction, about the year before Chriſt 1007, by Celeus and Eumolpus, who inſtituted the Eleuſina ſacra with Egyptian ceremonies, and erected a ſepulchre, or temple, to her, in Eleuſis.

(2) Newton's Chronol. p. 15. 17, 18. 134—136.

ſpeedy

speedy succours against an enemy, whose views could not be unknown at Rome; neither were they disappointed in their expectation; their ambassadors were treated with great distinction, and assured, that a consular army should be sent without delay to their assistance [e].

Yr. of Fl. 2147. Ante Chr. 201.

In the mean time, the Macedonians and Acarnanians, after having ravaged great part of Attica, were drawing near to the capital. Their approach struck the citizens with no small terror; but their fears were soon dispelled, by the unexpected arrival of the fleets of king Attalus, and the Rhodians. These two powers were already at war with the king of Macedon; and therefore they no sooner heard that hostilities were commenced between the Macedonians and Athenians, than they hastened to Athens, with a design to engage that republic in their alliance, and protect their territories from the insults of Philip. All the inhabitants went out to meet them, and, among the rest, the priests, in their religious habits, as if the gods themselves had come to the relief of the city. The people assembled in the market-place, to conclude the alliance; and expected, that Attalus would come in person; but the king thought it more suitable to his dignity to treat with them by messengers, and was also willing to decline the acclamations and flatteries of a people, who were too lavish of their praises. In a letter which he wrote to the magistrates, he gave them a particular account of his exploits against Philip, and the good offices he had done the republic, expressly mentioning four ships, which he had very lately taken from the Macedonians, and restored to Athens. He concluded with exhorting them to take advantage of the succours which he, and the Rhodians, now offered. The league was concluded; and the Athenians, in their transports of joy, paid extravagant compliments to the king, and the Rhodians. To their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, they added an eleventh, calling it Attalis, in honour of king Attalus. As to the Rhodians, they presented them with a crown of gold, and made all the inhabitants of Rhodes free of Athens [f]. The king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians, better pleased with the treaty, than with the shouts of the people, returned on board their ships, and set sail, the king for Ægina, where his fleet waited for him, and the Rhodians for their own island.

The Athenians enter into an alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians against Philip.

Great honours paid to Attalus at Athens.

[e] Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 4. Polyb. Legat. iii. p. 786, 787.

[f] Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 14.

Philip

Philip no sooner heard that Attalus and the Rhodians were retired, than he sent Philocles, one of his generals, at the head of a strong detachment, to ravage the territory of Athens; while he himself, with the rest of his army, over-ran all the southern parts of Thrace, and the Thracian Chersonesus. From thence he passed over the Hellespont into Asia, and laid siege to Abydos; which city he took by storm, but reaped no advantage by his conquest. The Abydenians, having massacred their wives and children, set fire to the town, burnt their effects, and killed one another; so that the conqueror made not one slave [s]. *Philip ravages the Athenian territories, and takes Abydos by storm.*

The news of the reduction of Abydos, and the repeated complaints of the Athenians, induced the consul, Sulpitius, at last to leave Rome. He embarked, with his army, at Brundusium, and landed at the mouth of the Apsus, between Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. As he arrived too late in the year to attempt any thing on that side, he immediately detached Claudius Centho to Athens, with twenty gallies, and some legionaries, to cover the Athenian territory from the ravages of Philocles. As soon as he appeared at Piræus, Athens enjoyed some respite: a stop was put to the devastations in the inland countries, and the coasts were delivered from the depredations of the Chalcidian pirates. But Centho resolved to punish these last for their piracies. He accordingly set sail with the best part of his squadron, surprised Chalcis, pillaged it, massacred all the Macedonians and inhabitants that fell into his hands, broke all the statues of king Philip, burnt his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned, with the spoil, to Athens. *Sulpitius lands in Greece.* *Chalcis taken and plundered by Centho.*

Philip, early in the spring, assembled his sea and land forces at Demetrias, a maritime city of Thessaly, which he had made the capital of his dominions. He had attempted, in the close of the late campaign, to revenge himself on the Romans for the surprize of Chalcis, and to surprise them in their turn. But he came too late: the Romans had retired from Chalcis, and left nothing there but dead bodies, ashes, and ruins. He therefore turned all his rage against Athens, and, having crossed the Euripus over a bridge, marched through Bœotia towards Attica, hoping to find Athens as ill-guarded as the Romans had found Chalcis. But the Athenians had received no- *Philip attempts to surprise Athens.*

[s] Polyb. lib. xvi. p. 738, 739.

tice of his approach, and were prepared (S). Philip, finding he could not ſuprife the city, reſolved to give the aſſault: he therefore ordered his troops to advance to the
Attacks it; largeſt gate, called Dipylon. The ſtreet, which let to it from the market-place, and was continued through the ſuburbs, being of an extraordinary breadth, the beſieged and the beſiegers had room enough to draw up their troops in battalia. The Athenians did not wait till the king advanced to the gate: the part of the garriſon, conſiſting of auxiliaries ſent by king Attalus, and a body of Athenians, commanded by one Dioxippus, marched out to meet the enemy. Philip, overjoyed at an opportunity of joining battle, animated his men with this ſhort exhortation: "Fix your eyes on me, and do as I do." He then fell upon the Athenians with incredible fury, forced
but is obliged to retire. them to retire, and purſued them to the very gate: but he ſoon found that he ventured too far; ſuch ſhowers of darts were diſcharged upon him from the ramparts, that he was obliged to ſound a retreat. If the Athenians had not been afraid of wounding their own men, who were mixed with the Macedonians, few of the latter would have eſcaped unhurt.

Next day the beſieged, being reinforced with ſome Roman cohorts, and the troops of Attalus, which guarded Piræus, made another ſally, with much greater advantage; ſo that Philip was obliged to decamp, and poſt himſelf about three miles from Athens. But, before he re-
Dreadful ravages committed By him. tired, he vented his rage, in a moſt barbarous manner, in that neighbourhood: he ſpared neither temples nor tombs; nor the Lycæum, nor ſacred groves, nor houſes of pleaſure; all were, without diſtinction, pillaged, and reduced to heaps of rubbiſh; nay, he commanded his Macedonians to break in pieces the very ſtones, that they might not be

(S) They kept conſtantly a certain number of men in pay, whoſe ſole buſineſs was to range continually from place to place, in the neighbourhood of their dominions, and make what diſcoveries they could. One of theſe couriers, having diſcovered the Macedonian army, returned in haſte to Athens, and, reaching the city at midnight, brought thither the news of the approach of the enemy. The negligence of the Athenians was not leſs than that of the Chalcidians; they were all faſt aſleep, and both the gates and walls unguarded. But the trumpets ſoon rouſed them; both citizens and ſoldiers ran to arms, took their poſts, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

ſerviceable

ſerviceable in the reparation of the demoliſhed edifices. All theſe devaſtations were afterwards repreſented to the Ætolian diet, by the Athenian ambaſſadors, in order to draw that nation into an alliance with Rome. Indeed, the king's behaviour, on this occaſion, prejudiced many of the Greeks ſo ſtrongly againſt him, that they were afterwards eaſily gained over to the Roman intereſt, not knowing that they were bringing into their country more haughty lords than Macedon had ever produced, or Greece ever ſeen [h].

The irruption of the Romans into Macedon, which ſoon after happened, obliged Philip to evacuate Attica, and all Greece, and haſten to the defence of his own country. About the ſame time Apuſtius, to whom the proconſul, Sulpitius, had given the command of the Roman fleet, having joined the naval forces of king Attalus off the coaſt of Argolis, ſailed from thence to the port of Athens. Theſe ſuccours ſo elevated the Athenians, that they expreſſed their reſentment in a moſt unworthy manner. They had formerly erected ſtatues to Philip, and his anceſtors of both ſexes: they even inſtituted ſacrifices and feſtivals, and appointed prieſts, in their honour: but now, out of a childiſh revenge, they deſtroyed the idols which they had worſhipped, and paſſed a decree in their aſſembly, which leſſened their eſteem, even in the opinion of their friends. The purport of this decree was, that all the ſtatues of Philip, and his anceſtors, ſhould be broken in pieces; that the inſcriptions in their commendation ſhould be every where eraſed; that their altars ſhould be overturned, their feſtivals aboliſhed, and their prieſts degraded; that even the places, where any monuments had been erected to them, ſhould be deemed accurſed; that the prieſts, for the future, ſhould, in their religious aſſemblies, pronounce curſes againſt Philip, and the Macedonian armies; that, if any citizen ſhould have the audacity to excuſe Philip, or ſpeak in his favour, he ſhould inſtantly be put to death; and, laſtly, that Philip, and his poſterity, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner as Piſiſtratus and his family had formerly been. The officers of the Roman fleet, and king Attalus, who had put in at Piræus, were witneſſes of thoſe ſhameful proceedings, and, at the ſame time, ſurfeited with the fulſome praiſes, of which the Athenians were no leſs laviſh to them, than of their curſes to the king of Macedon. Athens, heretofore ſo renowned in arms, was now become one of the

How the Athenians expreſſed their reſentment againſt Philip.

[h] Liv. ibid. cap. 25.

moſt inſignificant cities of Greece; for, during the whole courſe of this war with Philip, and of that which was afterwards carried on by the Romans, and their allies, againſt his ſon Perſes, to the utter deſtruction of the kingdom of Macedon, the Athenians performed nothing, which the ancient writers have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. They continued, indeed, inviolably attached to the Roman intereſt; while, in the other ſtates of Greece, the friends of Macedon were far more numerous than thoſe of Rome. This attachment gained them the affection of the Romans, who left them in the full poſſeſſion of their ancient liberties, even after the deſtruction of Corinth, and the diſſolution of the Achæan league.

Yr. of Fl. 2260. Ante Chr. 38.

In this ſtate Athens continued, without any remarkable alteration, till the Mithridatic war, when that city openly declared againſt the Romans, her patrons and allies, at the perſuaſion of Ariſto, a philoſopher, of the ſect of Epicurus. Ariſto was a man of mean extraction, but greatly eſteemed for his pretended contempt of power and riches; but theſe the hypocrite had only affected to deſpiſe, as afterwards appeared, in hopes of obtaining them more eaſily; for Archelaus, whom Mithridates had ſent, with a numerous army, into Greece, to rouze the inhabitants againſt the Romans, found it no difficult taſk to gain over this deſpiſer of riches and honours, by promiſing to raiſe him to the chief employments of his republic. Archelaus, having thus engaged him in the intereſts of his maſter, ſent him over to Aſia, to confer with the king himſelf, and concert meaſures for detaching Athens from the Roman party, to which many of the citizens were greatly addicted. The ſcheme, which they formed, ſucceeded to their wiſh, but proved fatal to that unhappy city. Archelaus had, ſome time before, reduced the iſland of Delos, and plundered the rich temple of Apollo Delius. As this iſland had been formerly ſubject to the Athenians, Ariſto adviſed the king to ſend the ſpoils to Athens, and, with the preſent, a ſtrong body of men, under pretence of guarding it. The Athenians were caught with this bait, and admitted the troops, to the number of two thouſand, into the city. By the help of theſe, Ariſto, who accompanied them, diſpoſed of all the employments at Athens, and reigned there with great authority. Thoſe who favoured the Romans, were either cruelly murdered, or ſent priſoners to Mithridates. Nor did the friends of Rome fare better in the other countries of Greece: the Achæans, Lacedæ-

Athens joins with Mithridates againſt the Romans.

Ariſto makes himſelf maſter of Athens.

Lacedæmonians, and Bœotians openly declared for Mithridates, and expelled ſuch of their countrymen as refuſed to come into their meaſures[i]. Theſpia was the only city of Greece that continued faithful to the Romans (T).

Theſpia the only city in Greece faithful to Rome.

Upon the news of this general revolt, C. Sextius, prætor of Macedon, detached Bruttius Sura, his lieutenant-general, at the head of a thouſand men, to put a ſtop to the progreſs of Archelaus. The prætor could ſpare him no more, being in apprehenſion that Macedon might follow the example of Greece. With this ſmall body, Bruttius penetrated into Bœotia, fought ſeveral battles with the joint forces of Ariſto and Archelaus, and continued to harraſs them, till the Lacedæmonians and Achæans, taking the field, joined the Aſiatics. Then Bruttius, not being able, with a handful of men, to make head againſt ſo many enemies at once, re-embarked his troops, and, with his ſmall ſquadron, blocked up the port of Athens[k].

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Greece, when Sylla, who had been appointed to carry on the war againſt Mithridates, landed in Theſſaly, with five legions, ſome Italian cohorts, and a ſmall body of cavalry. With theſe he was to make head againſt the joint forces of Archelaus, and the ſtates of Greece, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty thouſand men. Upon Sylla's arrival, the Greek cities returned to their duty, and opened their gates to the Roman general. Athens alone, which was held by the tyrant Ariſto, perſiſted in the revolt, and would not hearken to any terms; whereupon Sylla reſolved to reduce it by force, thinking it neceſſary to ſettle the affairs of the republic in Greece, before he paſſed over into Aſia againſt Mithridates.

Yr. of Fl. 1261. Ante Chr. 87.

Sylla arrives in Greece.

Upon his entering Attica, he was met by Ariſto and Archelaus; but he obliged them both to retire, with conſiderable loſs, and to ſhut themſelves up in the two cities and citadels of Athens. Archelaus took upon him to defend Piræus, and Ariſto to maintain Athens and Cecropia. On the other hand, the Roman general divided his troops into two bodies: one he ſent to inveſt the city; with the other he marched in perſon to attack Piræus, hoping to take it by ſtorm. But the beſieged made ſuch a vigorous defence, that he was obliged, after many unſucceſsful at-

Lays ſiege to Athens.

Attacks Piræus, but is repulſed.

(T) Theſpia ſtood at the foot of Mount Helicon, in Bœotia.

[i] Appian. in Mithridat. Poſidonius Apamæus apud Athenæum, lib. v. cap. 11. Plut. in Lucull. & Pauſan. in Atticis. [k] Appian. ibid.

tacks, to retire, and take up his winter-quarters at Eleuſis and Megara. However, he did not drop the enterprize, having left a ſufficient number of troops to keep the city and caſtle blocked up till his return in the beginning of the ſpring. The whole winter he ſpent in making preparations for beſieging the place in form, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would allow him to take the field. Entire woods were cut down, and the timber employed in making the warlike engines, which were then uſed in ſieges; nay, he did not ſpare the ſacred groves, nor the trees in the walks of the academy and lyceum, which were the fineſt in Attica. He cauſed the high walls, that joined the port to the city, to be demoliſhed, making uſe of the ruins to raiſe the works, and carry on the approaches; and, as the enemy had laid waſte the whole country, which was barren of its own nature, twenty thouſand mules were continually employed in bringing proviſions from Bœotia, and other countries of Greece[1]. Theſe extraordinary expences ſoon drained his military cheſt, which was but very indifferently furniſhed at his firſt ſetting out from Rome; neither had he any hopes of receiving ſupplies either of men or money from thence, the contrary faction, headed by Marius and Cinna, prevailing in Italy, and watching all opportunities of thwarting his attempts in the Eaſt.

Great preparations for carrying on the ſiege.

In this diſtreſs, he had recourſe to the ſacred and inviolable treaſures of the temples. He wrote a letter to the Amphictyons aſſembled at Delphi, deſiring them to ſend him the treaſures of Apollo, promiſing, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would return to the god, whom he himſelf revered, the value of whatever ſhould be remitted. One Caphis, a native of Phocis, in whom Sylla confided, was charged to deliver this letter to the Amphictyons, and excuſe, to the aſſembly, a ſtep which the Roman general was forced to take againſt his will. When Caphis arrived at Delphi, he wept in preſence of the Amphictyons, and told them, that nothing but the utmoſt diſtreſs could have obliged Sylla to make ſuch a demand, or himſelf to be the meſſenger of it, and deſired that the god might be conſulted. The oracle indeed returned no anſwer, but the ſound of Apollo's lyre was heard from the inſide of the ſanctuary; and Caphis, whether he was really terrified with the pretended prodigy, or willing to

His letter to the Amphictyons.

[1] Plut. in Sylla. Dion. in Excerpt. Valeſii, p. 642. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 190, & lib. i. Bell. Civil. p. 399.

ſave

ſave the treaſure by filling Sylla with a religious fear, would not meddle with the gifts conſecrated to the god, till he had acquainted the general with what had happened. But Sylla, deriding his ſimplicity, replied, that he was ſurpriſed he ſhould not comprehend, that muſic was a mark of joy, and by no means a ſign of anger and reſentment: he therefore deſired him to take the treaſures, and be aſſured, that in doing ſo he acted agreeable to the will of the god. Purſuant to this order, all the gold, ſilver, and braſs, all the vaſes, preſents, and offerings, which the ſuperſtition of the neighbouring and moſt diſtant nations had brought thither, were loaded on carts, and, amidſt the lamentations and outcries of the Amphictyons and Delphians, ſent to the Roman camp, where the gold, ſilver, and braſs, were coined by Sylla's orders. The perſon he employed to take care of the coinage was Lucullus, one of his quæſtors, who made ſo beautiful a coin, that it was ever after highly valued, and known by the name of the Lucullian money. The treaſures of the god Æſculapius at Epidaurus, not much inferior in value to thoſe of Apollo at Delphi, were at the ſame time, by Sylla's orders, brought to the camp, and, by his quæſtor, converted into money [m].

He obliges the Amphictyons to deliver the treaſures of Delphi.

Sylla being thus furniſhed with money to pay his troops, and engines to carry on the ſiege, took the field early in the ſpring, and ſhut up both the city and port more cloſely than before. As he could not poſſibly reduce the city by famine, ſo long as it received ſupplies of proviſions by ſea from the Piræus, he began by making a breach in the wall, which ſecured the paſſage from the port to the city, and lodging in the breach a ſtrong body of legionaries, ſo that nothing could be conveyed from one place to the other. Having thus cut off the communication between the city and the ſea, he drew a line of circumvallation, which prevented the inhabitants from abandoning their native country, or receiving any ſupplies from the neighbouring villages. The city being thus cloſely blocked up, Sylla applied himſelf entirely to the reduction of Piræus, hoping that in the mean time the Athenians would be obliged by famine to ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of Ariſto, and return to their duty. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether the attack of Piræus, or the defence, was conducted with moſt vigour, both the beſiegers and beſieged behaving with incredible courage and reſolution. The ſallies were

Cuts off the communication between the city and the ſea.

[m] Plut. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat.

Sallies, with great slaughter on both sides.

frequent, and attended with almost formal battles, in which the slaughter was great, and the loss generally equal. In one of these Archelaus put the Romans to flight, set fire to their machines, and obliged them to retire to a greater distance from the place. They no sooner returned than he attacked them anew, and would have obtained the like advantage, had not Muræna, a legionary tribune, encouraged the Romans, and brought them back to the charge with such fury, that the besieged, in their turn, were forced to give ground, and save themselves within their walls, after having lost two thousand men in the engagement. The Romans pursued them so close, that they would have entered promiscuously with the Asiatics, had not the gate been shut, and a considerable part of the garrison left without the walls at the discretion of the enemy. Among these was Archelaus himself, who would have been taken prisoner with the others, had not the soldiers on the ramparts, observing his danger, thrown him down a rope, by means of which he was drawn up to the top of the wall. It cannot be expected that we should give a particular detail of all the incidents that distinguished this famous siege. Suffice it to say, that by the conduct and valour of Archelaus, Sylla, notwithstanding his great military talents, and the intelligence he maintained with certain individuals in the city, was repulsed in all his attacks, worsted in successive sallies, and so foiled in his endeavours, that he thought proper to change the siege into a blockade, hoping to reduce the place by famine [n].

The siege turned into a blockade.

Athens in great distress for want of provisions.

All the avenues to the city and the port were guarded by strong detachments; so that neither provisions could be carried in, nor the inhabitants find a way out. By these precautions the city, at that time one of the most populous in the world, was reduced to such straits, that a bushel of barley was sold for a thousand drachms. Many of the citizens had nothing to subsist upon but the roots and grass, which they found growing about the walls. In this distress, the senators and priests went to throw themselves at Arist'o's feet, conjuring him to commiserate their distress, and to submit to the Romans upon any tolerable terms; but he was so far from hearkening to their complaints, that he ordered his guards to discharge their arrows against them, and, in that manner drove them from his presence. In the midst of the public misery, Arist'o, and his accomplices in the tyranny, were

[n] Idem ibid. & Aul. Gell. lib. xv. cap. 1.

plentifully

plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions: their tables were ſerved with the moſt exquiſite meats; while the common people, and many of the nobility, after having conſumed their horſes, dogs, and other animals, were forced to ſubſiſt upon leather, which they ſoftened by ſteeping it in water, and even upon human fleſh [o].

Ariſto ſends ambaſſadors to Sylla.

The tyrant was at laſt prevailed upon, by the importunities of the people, to ſend ambaſſadors to the Roman camp; but as theſe made no propoſals, but only harangued on the exploits of Theſeus, Eumolpus, and their anceſtors, againſt the Medes and Perſians, Sylla interrupted them, deſiring the ambaſſadors to ſpare their retorical flouriſhes, ſince he was not come to Athens to be informed of the proweſs of their anceſtors, but to puniſh their preſent rebellion. Ariſto had ſent theſe declaimers with no other view, but to quiet the people, and make them believe, that he was willing to ſave the city, by capitulating with the Romans; but he ſtill depended on the ſuccours, which were on full march to the relief of the city, under the command of Taxiles. Theſe he daily expected; and therefore, though, in compliance with the importunities of the people, he ſent ambaſſadors to Sylla, yet he was not inclined to any agreement, nor even propoſed any terms, which he imagined the Roman general might accept [p].

Athens taken by ſtorm.

Sylla had ſpies in Athens, as well as in Piræus, who continually employed themſelves in intruding into all companies. One of theſe, having over heard ſome old men, that were walking in a place called Ceramicos (U), cenſuring the tyrant for not fortifying and guarding a certain part of the wall, where the enemy might eaſily ſurpriſe the city; upon his return to the camp, aquainted Sylla with what he had heard. Upon this advice, the Roman went at midnight, to take a view of the place; and, finding that it might be eaſily ſcaled, ordered his legionaries, without delay, to apply their ladders; which they did accordingly with great chearfulneſs, being tired with ſo long a ſiege, and entered the city ſword in hand. While

[o] Plut. in Sylla. [p] Appian. ibid.

(U) There were two places at Athens bearing this name, the one in the city, and the other in the ſuburbs; the former was a place of reſort for proſtitutes, and much frequented on account of its walks; the other was appointed for the burying-place of illuſtrious men, ſuch eſpecially as had died fighting for their country.

the

the Romans were engaged within the city, Sylla battered the walls ſo violently with his rams, that he made a large breach, and, at the head of his whole army, came to the relief of thoſe who were fighting on the ramparts. The Athenians were ſtruck with terror when they ſaw the Romans advancing within their walls, and, throwing down their arms, implored the clemency of their conqueror. But Sylla had been too much provoked by the ſatirical reflections of the Greeks from their ramparts, on himſelf and his wife (W), to grant them quarter. He allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, and inhumanly to murder even the women and children. The ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. Next day, all the ſlaves were ſold by auction, and liberty was granted to the few citizens, who had eſcaped the ſwords of the ſoldiers.

The ſoldiers plunder the city, and murder moſt of the inhabitants.

Cecropia taken, and Ariſto put to death.

A few days after the reduction of Athens, Cecropia, whither Ariſto had retired, was likewiſe forced to ſurrender. The tyrant, his guards, and all who had been in any employment under him, were put to death; but the others, by Sylla's orders, were ſpared. He would not ſuffer the city to be ſet on fire, ſaying, that he pardoned the children for the ſake of their fathers. The only puniſhment he inflicted upon the few citizens, who had the good luck to outlive that fatal day, was, that they ſhould not, for the future, have the power of chooſing their own magiſtrates, nor ever repair the breach which he had made in the wall. The firſt part of this puniſhment he ſoon remitted, and reſtored the city to the full enjoyment of its ancient liberties. Some time after the reduction of Athens and Cecropia, Archelaus, having reſiſted till his new wall was deſtroyed, thought it adviſeable to abandon the place; and accordingly, after a long and glorious defence, embarked his troops, retiring, firſt to Munichia, and from thence advanced to join Taxiles [q]. Sylla, having poſſeſſed himſelf of the Piræus, to leave behind him ſome marks of his reſentment, deſtroyed moſt of the ſtate-

Archelaus abandons the place, and retires.

[q] Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 195, 196. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 398.

(W) They reproached Sylla with the lewd life of his wife Metella; whence we may conclude, that her infamy was become very public, ſince it had already reached Greece. Metella was the daughter of Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, by Sylla, mother to the famous Fauſta, whoſe exceſſive licentiouſneſs made Rome forget the lewdneſs of Metella.

ly buildings, with the magazines, and the arſenal, which laſt had been built by the celebrated architect Philo, and was reckoned a maſter-piece of art.

This ſtorm blown over, the Athenians enjoyed profound tranquillity, till the civil war broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, when they took part with the latter, and were therefore cloſely purſued by Q. Fuſius Calenus, Cæſar's lieutenant, who committed great devaſtations in Attica, deſtroyed ſeveral edifices, which had been ſpared by Sylla, and reduced the city of Athens to great ſtraits. However, they held out as long as they had any hopes of being relieved by Pompey; but when they underſtood that he was entirely defeated, they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and met with a more kind treatment than they expected; for Cæſar not only pardoned them, but received their city under his protection, ſaying, "That he ſpared the living for the ſake of the dead." But this kindneſs was not ſufficient to keep a people in obedience, who had an utter averſion to any thing that ſavoured of ſervitude; for they no ſooner heard of Cæſar's death, than they openly declared for his murderers, received Brutus and Caſſius into their city, and even erected ſtatues to them, which they placed next to thoſe of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton. After the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius, they attached themſelves to Antony, who not only reſtored them to the full poſſeſſion of all the privileges they had enjoyed in the moſt flouriſhing times of their republic; but enlarged their dominions, by ſubjecting to Athens the iſlands of Cea, Sciathus, Peparethus, and Ægina[r]. After the defeat of Anthony, Auguſtus puniſhed their ingratitude to Julius Cæſar, by depriving them of the iſland of Ægina, and forbidding them to ſell the freedom of their city. Towards the latter end of Auguſtus's reign, they revolted; but were, without much trouble, reduced to their former obedience. Germanicus, the adopted ſon of Tiberius, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, which was conſidered as a mark of ſovereign power. This grant was confirmed to them by Tiberius, and his ſucceſſors, under whoſe protection they maintained their ancient form of government till the reign of Veſpaſian, who reduced Attica, with the reſt of Greece, to a Roman province, ſaying, "That the Greeks knew not how to enjoy their liberty." But, the emperor Adrian, who

The Athenians join with Pompey;

but are kindly treated by Cæſar.

Favoured by Antony,

and by the emperor Adrian.

[r] Plutarch. in Antonio.

had

had been archon of Athens before his acceſſion to the imperial dignity, reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their ancient privileges, and beſtowed upon them a large ſum of money, with an annual proviſion of corn.

The two ports of Athens repaired at his charge.

In his reign, and at his charge, the two ports of Pireus and Munichia were repaired, and a whole diſtrict of new buildings added to the old city. This quarter was called Adrianopolis, from Adrian, whom the Athenians, not undeſervedly, uſed to ſtyle the ſecond founder of their city. All the privileges granted them by Adrian, were not only confirmed, but extended, by his ſucceſſors M. Antoninus Pius, and M. Antoninus the Philoſopher, the latter of whom allowed them handſome ſalaries for the maintenance of their public profeſſors. But Severus abridged them of many privileges, to revenge, as is ſuppoſed, an affront which he received at Athens, while he ſtudied in that city[s]. Valerian was more favourable to them, and gave them leave to repair that part of the wall which had been thrown down by Sylla. In the reign of Gallienus, or of Claudius, the city was taken and plundered by the Goths, who were ſoon obliged by Cleidemus, who had eſcaped their fury, to abandon their new conqueſt, and ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. Conſtantine the Great was a peculiar patron and benefactor of the Athenians, honouring their chief magiſtrate with the title of grand-duke, and granting them many other privileges of greater conſequence; which were confirmed and enlarged by Conſtantius, who moreover put them in poſſeſſion of ſeveral iſlands in the Archipelago.

Favoured by ſeveral other emperors.

Fate of Athens in later times.

In the time of Arcadius and Honorius they were cruelly haraſſed and pillaged by the Goths, who reduced all the ſtately and magnificent ſtructures into heaps of ruins. From this time there is ſcarce any mention made of Athens till the thirteenth century, when it was in the hands of Baldwin, as Nicetas informs us[t], and beſieged by one of the generals of the Greek emperor, Theodorus Laſcaris, who was forced to raiſe the ſiege, after having ſuffered conſiderable loſs. The ſame author informs us, that it was, not long after, beſieged and taken by the marquis Bonifacius. It fell, afterwards, into the hands of one Delves, of the houſe of Arragon; upon whoſe death it was ſeized by Bajazet[u], who was expelled by the Catalonians, under

[s] Spartianus. [t] Nicetas in Vita Baldwini. [u] Laonicus Chalcocondyles, lib. iii.

the

the command of Andronicus Palæologus the Elder. The Catalonians were, in their turn, dispossessed of it by Reinerius Acciaioli, a Florentine, who, having no lawful issue, left the estate or dukedom of Athens, as it was then called, to the Venetians; and Thebes, with Bœotia, to his natural son Antony. Antony made war on the Venetians, and, in one campaign, recovered the whole state of Athens, which continued, for some years, under the government of the Acciaioli; but was at last reduced by the Turks in 1455. Francus Acciaioli, the last duke of Athens, and prince of Achaia, seeing his country threatened with an invasion by the Mahomedans, under the conduct of Omares, and not being in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, had recourse to the western princes, called then the Latins; but these refused to assist him, unless he would engaged his subjects to renounce all the articles wherein the Greek church differed from the Latin. This condition he was not able to perform, and was forced to deliver up both himself and the city to the Barbarians, who first treated their captive with great humanity, but afterwards put him to death. Athens remained subject to the Turks till the year 1687, when it was, after a short siege, taken by the Venetians; and, not many years after, retaken by the Turks, who still continue masters of it.

CHAP. XX.

The History of Sparta, from Lycurgus, to its being united by Philopœmen with the Achæans.

WE are now to pursue the history of the Lacedæmonians, from the time of Lycurgus, till they ceased to be an independent state. The stability, as well as glory of the Lacedæmonian government, was derived from the wise institutions of that celebrated lawgiver, of whose administration we are about to give an account; but, previous thereto, it may be necessary to continue the list of the kings of Sparta, to preserve the same order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A Table

A Table of the Lacedæmonian Kings.

The Agidæ, or family of Agis.			The Proclidæ, or family of Procles.		
18	Archelaus	60	18	Charilaus	64
19	Teleclus	40	19	Nicander	
20	Alcamenes	37	20	Theopompus	
21	Polydorus		21	Zeuxidamus	
22	Eurycrates		22	Anaxidamus	
23	Anaxander		23	Archidamus	
24	Eurycrates		24	Agaſicles	
25	Leon		25	Ariſto	
26	Anaxandrides		26	Demaratus,	
27	Cleomenes		27	Leotychides	22
28	Leonidas		28	Archidamus	42
29	Pliſtarchus	1			
30	Pliſtonax	68	29	Agis	42
31	Pauſanias	14	30	Ageſilaus	41
32	Ageſipolis	14			
33	Cleombrotus	9	31	Archidamus	23
34	Ageſipolis	1	32	Agis	9
35	Cleomenes	61	33	Eudamidas	
36	Areus	44	34	Archidamus	
37	Acrotatus		35	Eudamidas	
38	Areus	8	36	Agis	
39	Leonidas				
40	Cleombrotus	40	37	Eurydamidas	
41	Cleomenes		38	Epiclidas	

The wiſe conduct of Lycurgus, protector of Sparta.

Lycurgus, at firſt, held the ſceptre in his own right, till it was known that his ſiſter-in-law, the relict of Polydectes, was with child: he then declared that he acted only as guardian, or protector of the prince, who ſhould be born of the queen, in caſe ſhe ſhould be delivered of a ſon. She, being an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to Lycurgus, that ſhe would make uſe of means to procure abortion, if he would promiſe to marry her. Lycurgus affected to approve her propoſal, but intreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any ſuch violent method; aſſuring her, that for her ſake he would take upon himſelf the trouble of deſtroying the child. The queen, amuſed by his ſpecious promiſes, reckoned on her project as already accompliſhed. When ſhe fell in labour, ſhe immediately gave notice to Lycurgus, who ſent ſome of his confidants to be preſent, with inſtructions, if the iſſue was a ſon, to bring it to him wherever

wherever he was, or whatever he was about; but, if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women: accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at ſupper with ſome of the principal perſons of the city. Lycurgus taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table: "My lords of Sparta, ſaid he, here is a king born unto us:" then laying the child down on the chair of ſtate, when he obſerved that all preſent were overjoyed at ſuch a diſintereſted action, he called the young prince Charilaus, i. e. *the joy of the people.* He then laid aſide all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exerciſed for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct, as it conciliated the eſteem and admiration of the people, ſo it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; inſomuch that they immediately began to calumniate Lycurgus, and to allege, that, notwithſtanding all this fair ſhew, he intended nothing leſs than to reſign the crown to his nephew. Lycurgus, alarmed at theſe inſinuations, and deſiring to avoid not only evil, but the very ſuſpicion of evil, reſolved to ſtifle the voice of malice itſelf, by going into a voluntary exile; which reſolution he carried into execution ſoon afterwards, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the people.

The injuries which he had received, and the baſe conſtructions which had been put on his beſt actions, did not hinder Lycurgus from applying himſelf with the ſame diligence abroad to the ſtudy of that ſcience which might render him uſeful to his country, that he was wont to practiſe while at home: to this end he devoted all his travels; and, like a true patriot, was careful that neither time nor place ſhould alter his attachment to his fellow-citizens. Full of theſe noble ſentiments he firſt viſited Crete, an iſland famous, in the moſt ancient times, for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been eſtabliſhed there in the moſt early ages. It was, at this time, governed by ſeveral princes, or, at leaſt, cantoned into various independent ſtates, through all which Lycurgus travelled, procuring the acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank; and, by their means, a perfect knowlege of their laws; ſome of which he greatly approved, others he deſpiſed. Amongſt all the friendſhips which he contracted in Crete, that which ſtood him in moſt ſtead, was his intimacy with Thales, the lyric poet, whom he perſuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to Sparta.

He travels into Crete.

Sparta. This writer employed his poetic talents to recommend temperance, modeſty, obedience, and civil harmony, and his poems paved the way to the admiſſion of Lycurgus's laws, by removing that ferocity, and querulous diſpoſition, to which the Lacedæmonians had till then been addicted. From Crete, Lycurgus paſſed over to the continent of Aſia, that he might ſtudy the Ionian conſtitution, which differed greatly from that of Crete. Here this noble inquirer after truth and virtue, found the works of Homer, which he eagerly tranſcribed, and brought over with him into Greece, where hitherto that poet had been known by ſome detached rhapſodies only. From Ionia Lycurgus travelled into Egypt, where he collected many hints of legiſlation, particularly that of diſtinguiſhing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at Sparta. As to his voyages to Spain, Africa, and the Indies, Plutarch ſays, the credit of them reſts ſolely upon one author: at this diſtance of time, therefore, we can affirm nothing concerning them. Inſtead of entering into a field of conjectures, where the author might be bewildered, we will paſs to the affairs of Sparta, during his abſence [x].

Finds there, and brings over into Greece, the works of Homer.

Goes into Egypt.

The inhabitants of Lacedæmon, naturally bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongſt themſelves, or treſpaſſing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, ſometimes joining with the prevailing faction, exerciſed a kind of tyranny; and at other times could ſcarce ſupport a legal authority: theſe confuſions were greater, or leſs, according as the princes were endowed with abilities to govern. At this time neither of the kings poſſeſſed any ſhining genius; Archelaus had the more extenſive underſtanding; but Charilaus was the more virtuous man, more affable, and better beloved. The people, however, regarded neither of them ſo much as they reverenced Lycurgus; and conceiving, that the whole frame of government was out of order ſince this great man's departure, they ſent ambaſſadors to ſolicit him to return. The ambaſſadors told him, that they had indeed kings, diſtinguiſhed by their birth, their title, and their robes; but deſtitute of thoſe royal qualities, and that diſpoſition of mind which gives the beſt title to domination. The kings, themſelves, were far from being averſe to his return; hoping that his preſence would ſerve as a bulwark to defend them from the growing inſolence of the

Is recalled by the people.

[x] Plut. in Vit. Lycurg.

people.

people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens, Lycurgus determined on returning home, in order to put in practice that plan of government which with ſo much induſtry and pains he had prepared. On his arrival at Sparta, he found all things in confuſion; the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durſt interpoſe between them. He acted, in this caſe, like a great phyſician; for knowing that palliatives would do little or nothing, he reſolved to alter the whole political conſtitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging away all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with great difficulties, and no leſs danger. He endeavoured, firſt, to gain the confidence of the moſt eminent men in Sparta, by communicating to them his ſcheme, and ſhewing them the reaſons upon which it was founded; and, ſecondly, he ſought to ſecure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the ſanction of divinity, and aſcribing all he did to the counſels of the Delphian Apollo. Having made a journey to Delphi, and there offered ſacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which ſtyled him, "Beloved of God, and rather God than man; declared the laws he had framed perfectly good; and promiſed to make the commonwealth, wherein they were obſerved, the moſt famous in the world." This divine manifeſto having ſecured the implicit veneration of the people, the next thing he had to do was to publiſh theſe laws, which, that he might perform with ſecurity, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day, armed, in the market-place: but of theſe, twenty-eight only appeared. At the news of theſe preparations, Charilaus, who, though honeſt, was very timid, fled to the temple of Minerva the protectreſs, fearing that it was ſome conſpiracy againſt his perſon; but when Lycurgus ſent to inform him of his real deſign, the king not only quitted the ſanctuary, but repaired to the market-place, and entered into the confederacy. The firſt ſtep taken was, the eſtabliſhing a ſenate, conſiſting of twenty-eight perſons, or of thirty, including the two kings: this alone was of very great conſequence, ſince it fixed the form of the government, which had hitherto fluctuated between tyranny and democracy; the ſenate poiſing the authority, both of the kings and the people; joining with the former, if the latter were ſeditious; and with the latter, if the former were too enterpriſing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worſe than it was before, Lycurgus allowed

The laws he had framed approved by the oracle of Delphi.

Yr. of Fl. 1643. Ante Chr. 705.

them to meet in a general aſſembly, which was to be held ſub dio, and wherein they were not permitted to deliberate, but had barely a power of aſſenting or diſſenting to or from what the kings and ſenate propoſed.

He new-models the commonwealth.

When Lycurgus, by conſtituting a ſenate, had ſecured to himſelf an acceſſion of power, he proceeded entirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjuſt all things to the ſcheme he had formed, without any reſpect whatſoever to their former ſtate and condition. The laws of Lycurgus may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the ſubjects of which they treated.

The laws of Lycurgus divided into twelve tables.

Table I. *Laws regarding religion.*

With reſpect to religion. The ſtatues of all the gods and goddeſſes, worſhipped by this people, were repreſented armed, even Venus herſelf; that the people might conceive a military life the moſt noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, ſloth and luxury to the gods. As to ſacrifices, they conſiſted of things of very ſmall value; that indigence might never hinder them from worſhipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or raſh prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to aſk no more, than that they might live honeſtly, and diſcharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of the Greek nations; nay, they buried cloſe by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it ſuch a dreadful thing as it was generally eſteemed elſewhere: on the ſame account, no perſon was held unclean by touching dead bodies, or aſſiſting at funerals. As to the mode of burying, it was alſo rendered ſimple and unexpenſive by law: there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body; magnificent ſepulchres were forbidden; neither was there ſo much as an inſcription, however plain or modeſt, permitted. Tears, ſighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, becauſe they were thought diſhonourable in Spartans, who ought to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were reſtricted to eleven days; on the twelfth, the mourners ſacrificed to Ceres, and threw aſide their mournings garments. In favour of ſuch as were ſlain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themſelves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules before mentioned; for ſuch had a ſhort and decent inſcription on their tombs. When a number of Spartans fell in battle, at a diſtance from their country, many of them were buried together, under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontier

tiers of their own ſtate, then their bodies were carefully carried back to Sparta, and interred in their family ſepulchres.

II. *Laws relating to the lands, and to the city.*

Under the ſecond table, let us place the ſtatutes relating to the lands, and to the city. Lycurgus divided all the country of Laconia into thirty thouſand equal ſhares; that property ſhould be equally diffuſed amongſt his citizens; ſo that none might be powerful enough to oppreſs his fellows, or any be in ſuch neceſſity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption: with the ſame view, he forbad the buying or ſelling theſe poſſeſſions. If a ſtranger acquired a right to any of theſe ſhares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he ſubmitted to the laws of the republic. The city of Sparta was unwalled, Lycurgus truſting it rather to the virtue of its citizens than to the art of maſons. As to the houſes, they were very plain; for their cielings could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only by the ſaw; and their utenſils were to be of a like ſtamp, that luxury might have no inſtruments among them.

III. *Laws regarding citizens.*

As to the laws regarding citizens, in the firſt place, the number was to be neither more nor leſs than that of the city-lots; and if, at any time, there happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies. As to children, their laws were equally harſh and unreaſonable. A father was directed to carry his new-born infant to a certain place, where the graveſt men of his tribe looked upon the infant; and, if they perceived its limbs ſtrait, and thought it had a wholeſome look, then they returned it to its parents, to be educated; otherwiſe, it was thrown into a deep cavern, at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. This law ſeems to have been calculated, in one reſpect, to render women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exerciſing to exceſs: it made them alſo excellent nurſes, for which employment they were celebrated throughout Greece. Strangers were not allowed to reſide long in the city, that they might not corrupt the Spartans, by teaching them foreign cuſtoms. Citizens were alſo forbid to travel, for the ſame reaſon, unleſs the good of the ſtate required it. Such as were not bred up, in their youth, according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city; becauſe they held it unreaſonable, that one who had not ſubmitted to the laws in his youth, ſhould receive the benefit of them in his more advanced age. They never preferred any ſtranger to a public office; but if, at any time, they

had occaſion for a perſon not born a Spartan, they firſt made him a citizen, and then veſted him with the employment.

IV. *Laws relating to marriage.* Their laws relating to marriage may be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and puniſhed in a moſt extraordinary manner; for, in the firſt place, the old bachelor was conſtrained to walk naked, in the depth of winter, through the market-place: ſecondly, while he performed this penance, he was obliged to ſing a ſong in diſparagement of himſelf; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwiſe belonged to old age; it being held unreaſonable that the youth ſhould venerate him, who was reſolved to leave none of his progeny behind him, to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was alſo fixed; and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were ſuch alſo as married above or below themſelves. Such as had three children, had great immunities; but thoſe who had four, were free from all taxes whatſoever. Virgins were married without portions, becauſe neither want ſhould hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the huſband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children. Huſbands went, for a long time, ſecretly to the beds of their wives, that their love might not be quickly and eaſily extinguiſhed. Huſbands were allowed to lend their wives; but the kings, however, were forbid to take this liberty. Some other laws, of the like nature, there were, which it is not neceſſary for us to dwell on, becauſe, as they were evidently againſt modeſty, ſo they were far from producing the ends for which Lycurgus deſigned them; ſince, though the men of Sparta were generally remarkable for their virtue, the Spartan women were as generally decried for their boldneſs, and contempt of decency.

V. *Laws relating to eating.* Under the fifth table, we compriſe the laws relating to eating. It was the care of Lycurgus, that, from their very nonage and infancy, the Lacedæmonians ſhould be inured to conquer their appetites: for this reaſon he directed, that nurſes ſhould accuſtom their children to ſpare meals, and now and then to faſting; that they ſhould carry them, when twelve or thirteen years old, to thoſe who ſhould examine their education, and who ſhould carefully obſerve whether they were not afraid to remain

alone

alone in the dark; and whether they had got over all other prejudices and weakneſſes incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks ſhould be brought up in the ſame way; that none ſhould be more favoured in food than another; that they might not, even in their infancy, perceive any difference between poverty and riches; but conſider each other as equals, and even as brethren, to whom the ſame portions were aſſigned, and who, through the courſe of their lives, were to fare alike. The youths only were allowed to eat fleſh; older men eat their black broth and pulſe. The lads ſlept together in chambers, and after a manner ſomewhat reſembling that ſtill in uſe in Turky for the Janizaries: their beds, in the ſummer, were very hard, compoſed of the reeds plucked from the banks of the Eurotas: in winter their beds were ſofter, but by no means downy, or fit to indulge immoderate ſleep. They eat all together in public; and, in caſe they abſtained from coming to the tables, they were fined. Xenophon remarks of this inſtitution, that it was intended to ſerve for a kind of ſchool, or academy, where the young were inſtructed by the old; the former relating the great actions that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation to the like atchievements. Individuals were ſtrictly prohibited from eating or drinking at home, before they came to the common meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing there might be tranſacted with gravity and decency. The principal diſh was the celebrated black broth, compoſed of vinegar, blood, ſalt, and ſome other ingredients, not at all calculated to indulge the taſte of a voluptuary. If they were moderate in their eating, they were ſo in their drinking alſo; the Lacedæmonians drank only to quench thirſt: as for drunkenneſs, it was both infamous, and ſeverely puniſhed; and, that young men might conceive the greater abhorrence for this ſpecies of debauchery, the ſlaves were compelled to drink to exceſs, that the beaſtlineſs of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, becauſe it was expected, that men who were perfectly ſober, ſhould be able to find their way in the dark: beſides, this practice gave them a facility of marching without light, a quality very uſeful to them in time of war.

VI. *Laws relating to their apparel.*

The laws relating to their apparel fall under the ſixth table. There was no diſtinction in dreſs between the rich and the poor: they neither changed their faſhion, nor

nor the materials of their garments; they were made for warmth and ſtrength, not for gallantry and ſhew: and to this cuſtom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their virtue, rather than by their robes. The young lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloak given them, which was to ſerve them a year; and their cloathing was, in general, ſo thin, that a Lacedæmonian veſt became proverbial. Boys were always uſed to go without ſhoes; but, when they grew up, they were indulged with the convenience, if the manner of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run and to climb bare-foot; the ſhoes they wore were of a particular form, plain and ſtrong, and denominated Laconic. Boys were not permitted to wear their hair; but when they grew up, it was never cut. Baths and anointing were not much in uſe among the Lacedæmonians; the river Eurotas ſupplied the former, and exerciſe the latter. In the field, however, their ſumptuary laws did not take place ſo ſtrictly as in the city; for, when they went to war, they wore purple habits; they put on crowns, when they were about to engage the enemy; they had alſo rings of iron, which metal was moſt eſteemed by this nation. Young women wore their veſts, or jerkins, only to their knees, or, as ſome think, not quite ſo low; a cuſtom which both Greek and Roman authors cenſure as indecent. Gold, precious ſtones, and other coſtly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which permiſſion was the ſtrongeſt prohibition to women of virtue, or ſuch as valued their reputation. Virgins went abroad without veils, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered. In certain public exerciſes, to which girls were admitted, they, as well as the young men, were obliged to perform naked.

VII. *Laws regarding diſcipline and manners.*

Strict obedience to their ſuperiors was the great maxim inculcated in Sparta. This they looked upon as the very baſis of government, without which neither laws nor magiſtrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour. To the old men the youth roſe up, whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they met them in the ſtreets, and were ſilent whenever their elders ſpoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the ſtate, ſo all the old men had the authority of parents: they reprehended whatever they ſaw amiſs, not only in their own, but in other people's children;

dren; and by this method Lycurgus provided, that, as youth are every where apt to offend, they might be no where without a monitor. The laws went ſtill farther: if an old man was preſent where any youth committed a fault, and did not reprove him, he was puniſhed equally with the delinquent. Amongſt the youths there was one of their own body, or, at moſt, two years older than the reſt, who was ſtyled iren: he had authority to queſtion all their actions, to look ſtrictly to their behaviour, and to puniſh them, if they did amiſs; neither were their puniſhments light, but, on the contrary, very ſevere, ſo that they were made hardy, and accuſtomed to bear ſtripes, and rough uſage. Silence was a thing highly commended at Sparta, where modeſty was held to be a moſt becoming virtue in young people; nor was it reſtrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and geſtures, Lycurgus having particularly directed, that they ſhould look forward, or on the ground, and that they ſhould always keep their hands within their robes. A ſtupid, inconſiderate perſon, one who would not liſten to inſtruction, but was careleſs of whatever the world might ſay of him, the Lacedæmonians treated as a diſgrace to human nature.

VIII. *Laws regarding ſtudies and learning.*

The ſtudies and learning of this people we compriſe in the eighth table. The plainneſs of their manners, and their propenſity to war, rendered the Lacedæmonians leſs fond of the ſciences than the reſt of the Greeks. They meaſured the value of all things by their uſefulneſs; and therefore, if they wrote to be read, and ſpoke to be underſtood, it was all they ſought. For this the Athenians, who were exceſſively vain of their learning, held the Spartans in great contempt; inſomuch that Thucydides himſelf, in drawing the character of Braſidas, ſays, "he ſpoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian." Theſe, on the contrary, valued themſelves no leſs on their roughneſs, and their ſteady adherence to the maxims of their anceſtors, as, among other inſtances, appears from this anſwer of a Spartan to one of the learned Athenians, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country; "All you ſay may be true; yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongſt the Greeks have learned no evil cuſtoms from you." Arts were in no greater credit with them than ſciences. A ſoldier was the only reputable profeſſion in Sparta; a mechanic, or huſbandman, was looked upon with contempt. Such occupations as were neceſſary for the benefit of the community, as huſban-

dry, agriculture, and the like, were left to their ſlaves, the Helotes; but, for curious arts, that were ſubſervient to luxury, they would not ſo much as ſuffer them to be introduced in their city. Thus orators, or rhetoricians, augurs, bankers, and dealers in money, were excluded. The Spartans admitted no theatrical diverſions among them; they would not bear the repreſentation of evil, even to produce good; but other kinds of poetry were allowed, provided the magiſtrates had the peruſal of pieces, before they were introduced to the public.

Above all things, they affected brevity of ſpeech, and accuſtomed their children from their very infancy, never to expreſs themſelves in more words than were ſtrictly neceſſary; whence a conciſe and ſententious manner of ſpeaking is to this day ſtyled Laconic. In writing they uſed the ſame conciſeneſs; of which we have a ſignal inſtance in a letter of Archidamus to the Eleans, when he underſtood, that they had ſome thoughts of aſſiſting the Arcadians: it ran thus; "Archidamus to the Eleans; it is good to be quiet." And therefore Epaminondas thought, that he had reaſon to glory in having forced the Spartans to abandon their monoſyllables, and to lengthen their diſcourſes.

Their education conſiſted chiefly in giving their youth right ideas of men and things: the iren, or maſter, propoſed queſtions; and either commended the anſwers that were made him, or reproved ſuch as anſwered weakly. In theſe queſtions all matters, either of a trivial or abſtruſe nature, were equally avoided; and they were confined to ſuch points as were of the higheſt importance in civil life; ſuch as, Who was the beſt man in the city? Wherein lay the merit of ſuch an action? and, Whether this or that hero's fame was well founded? Harmleſs raillery was greatly encouraged; and this, joined to their ſhort manner of ſpeaking, rendered Laconic replies univerſally admired.

Muſic was much encouraged; but they adhered to that ſpecies which had been in favour with their anceſtors; and they would not permit their ſlaves to learn either the air or the words of their moſt admired pieces. Though the youth of the male ſex were much cheriſhed and beloved, as thoſe that were to build up and continue the future glory of the ſtate, yet, in Sparta, it was a virtuous and modeſt affection, untinged with that ſenſuality which was ſo ſcandalous at Athens. The good effects of this part of Lycurgus's inſtitutions were ſeen in the union that reigned

reigned among his citizens; and which was so extraordinary, that, even in cases of competition, it was hardly known, that rivals bore ill-will to each other; but, on the contrary, their love to the same person begat a secondary friendship among themselves, and united them in all things, which might be for the benefit of the person beloved.

Young men were encouraged to steal, as an exercise of stratagem and dexterity; but if they were detected in the conveyance, the miscarriage was punished with great severity; not only to render them more cautious for the future, but also to accustom or inure them to bear pain without flinching.

IX. *Laws relating to exercises.*

The exercises instituted by law we rank under the ninth table. In these all the Greeks were extremely careful; but the Lacedæmonians beyond the rest: for, if a youth, by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for these exercises, he incurred the public contempt, if not banishment. Hunting was the usual diversion of their children; nay, it was made a part of their education, because it had a tendency to strengthen their limbs, and to render those who practised it, supple and fleet: they likewise bred up dogs for the chace with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, common alike to virgins and young men: indeed, in all their sports, girls were allowed to divert themselves with the youths; insomuch that, at darting, throwing the quoit, pitching the bar, and the like robust diversions, the women were as dextrous as the men. For the manifest peculiarity of this proceeding Lycurgus assigned no other reason, than that he sought to render women, as well as men, strong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be so too. Violent exercises, and a laborious kind of life, were only enjoined the youth; for, when turned of thirty, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themselves wholly either in affairs of state, or in war. They had a method of scourging young lads in the temple of Diana, which, however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel. It was esteemed a great honour to sustain these flagellations without weeping, groaning, or shewing any sense of pain; and the thirst of glory was so strong in these young minds, that they very frequently suffered death, without shedding a tear, or breathing a sigh. A desire of overcoming all the weaknesses of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only superior to their neighbours,

bours, but to their own species, runs through the institutions of Lycurgus; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly accounts for them, and without attending to which it is impossible to account for them at all.

X. *Laws respecting contracts and money matters.*

The tenth table shall comprehend the laws respecting contracts and money matters. Gold and silver were, by the constitutions of Lycurgus, made of no value in Sparta. He was so well apprised of the danger of riches, that he made the very possession of them penal; but, as there was no living without some sort of money, as a common measure or standard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the Spartans were supplied with the useful money, and, at the same time, had no temptation to avarice; for a very small sum was sufficient to load a couple of horses, and a great sum must have been kept in a barn or warehouse. The importation of all foreign money was also prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The most ancient method of dealing, by barter, or exchange of one commodity for another, was preserved by law in Sparta, long after it had been out of date in every other state. Interest was a thing forbid in the Spartan commonwealth, where they had also a law against alienation of lands, accepting presents from foreigners, even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well seem to excuse them. Thus, by all possible methods, Lycurgus sought to shut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live simply and innocently, without admitting amongst them those seeds of luxury and dissension, which, he saw, had produced such fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

XI. *Laws relating to courts of justice.*

Such of the laws of Sparta, as related to courts of justice, may be brought under the eleventh table. No Spartan was admitted to any concern in their judicial proceedings under thirty years of age. Young men were thought unfit for them; and it was even held indecent, and of ill repute, for a man to busy himself at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own. By these rules, Lycurgus thought to shut out litigiousness, and to prevent that multiplicity of suits, which is always fatal in a state. As young people were not permitted to enquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their own courts, so they were likewise forbidden to make any enquiries concerning, or to endeavour to discover, the reasons of the laws by which themselves were governed. Obedience was their duty,

duty, and that alone they were exhorted to learn. Men of abandoned characters, loſt all right of giving their votes in reſpect of public affairs, or of ſpeaking in public aſſemblies; for the Spartans would not believe, that a man of a baſe character in private life, would ſerve his country from motives of true patriotiſm.

XII. *The military laws.*

The military laws of Sparta ſhall compoſe the twelfth table. The military age is not well aſcertained by ancient writers: ſome allege that no man was capable of ſerving in the army before he had attained his thirtieth year; but this muſt be a miſtake, as the inſtitution itſelf implies a flagrant abſurdity. They were forbidden to march at any time before the full-moon; the reaſon of which law is very difficult to be diſcovered, if indeed it had any reaſon at all; or was not rather founded on ſome ſuperſtitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewiſe forbidden to fight often againſt the ſame enemy; which was one of the wiſeſt maxims in the political ſyſtem of Lycurgus: and we ſhall ſee, that Ageſilaus, by offending againſt it, deſtroyed the power of his country, and loſt her that authority, which, for many ages, ſhe maintained over the reſt of Greece; for, by continually warring againſt the Thebans, to whom he had an inveterate hatred, he at laſt beat them into the knowlege of the art of war, and enabled them, under the command of Epaminondas, to maintain for a time the principality of Greece. Maritime affairs they were forbidden to meddle with; though the neceſſity of things compelled them, in proceſs of time, to tranſgreſs this inſtitution, and, by degrees, to transfer to themſelves as well the dominion at ſea as at land, as has been already ſhewn in the Athenian hiſtory: but, after the Peloponneſian war, they again neglected naval affairs, from a perſuaſion, that ſailors and ſtrangers corrupted thoſe with whom they converſed. As they never fortified Sparta, they were not ready to undertake ſieges: fighting in the field was their proper province, and, while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived, that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war, they relaxed ſomewhat of their ſtrict manner of living, in which they were ſingular. The true reaſon for this was, in all probability, that war might be leſs burdenſome to them; for, as we have more than once obſerved, a ſtrong deſire to render them bold and warlike was the reigning paſſion of their legiſlator. They were forbidden to remain long encamped in the ſame place, as well

well to hinder their being ſurpriſed, as that they might be more troubleſome to their enemies, by waſting every corner of their country. They ſlept all night in their armour; but their outguards were not allowed their ſhields, that, being unprovided of defence, they might not yield to the temptation to ſleep. In all expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites; and, after their evening meal, the ſoldiers ſung together hymns to their gods. When they were about to engage, the king ſacrificed to the Muſes, that, by their aſſiſtance, they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to lateſt times. Then the army advanced in order to the ſound of flutes, which played the hymn of Caſtor. The king himſelf ſung the pæan, which was the ſignal to charge. The ſoldiers were ſure either to die or conquer: indeed they had no other choice; for, if they fled, they were infamous, and in danger of being ſlain even by their own mothers, for diſgracing their families. Hiſtory informs us, that a Spartan lady, on the news of her ſon's having fled from a battle, wrote him this ſhort letter, "Fame ſpeaks ill of you: efface it, or be no more." The Spartan women never lamented over huſbands or ſons, if they died honourably in the field; but deplored the ſhame brought on their houſe, if either eſcaped by flight. The throwing away a ſhield alſo induced infamy; and mothers, when they embraced their departing ſons, were wont to caution them, that they ſhould either return armed as they were, or be brought back ſo when they were dead; for, as we have obſerved, ſuch as were ſlain in battle were nevertheleſs buried in their own country. When their enemies began to fly, they purſued no longer than till victory was aſcertained; becauſe they would ſeem to fight rather for the honour of conquering, than of putting their enemies to death. According to their ancient rules of war, they were bound not to ſpoil the dead bodies of their enemies; but, in proceſs of time, this, and indeed many others of their moſt excellent regulations, fell into diſuſe. He who overcame by ſtratagem, offered up an ox to Mars; whereas he who conquered by force, offered up only a cock; the former atchievement being eſteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years ſervice, a man was, by law, no longer required to go into the field; and conſequently, if the military age was thirty, the Spartans were not held invalids till they were ſeventy. Thus we have compriſed the moſt conſiderable of the Spartan laws in twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted,

omitted, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to ſpeak of their being enacted elſewhere [y].

On the whole, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in praiſe of theſe inſtitutions, both by ancients and moderns, we cannot help thinking they were planned by a man who had but a confined knowlege of human nature in general; and was an utter ſtranger to the finer ſenſations of the ſoul. In this ſcheme, there was very little, if any, room left for the cultivation of the mind or underſtanding; all decency was proſcribed; barbarity rendered familiar; and all thoſe tenderneſſes that humanize ſociety, were ſtrangled as it were in the birth. The conſtitution was a moſt unnatural effort of ſpeculation, founded upon the miſery of the individuals that conſtituted the community: for if the Spartans were free, with reſpect to other nations, they were ſlaves to their own legiſlature. In a word, it was a diſcipline calculated, not for a free people who had a right to cultivate the powers of reaſon, and taſte the nobleſt enjoyments of life but, for the deſperate militia of a deſpotic tyrant, who wants to extinguiſh every ſentiment of humanity, and produce a contempt of life by ſtripping it of all its comforts.

Lycurgus did not commit his laws to writing, but obliged all individuals to learn them by heart; and that they might make the ſtronger impreſſion, he ſtyled them rhetræ, or *divine ſanctions*, communicated to him by Apollo. It is not clear, whether or not he was the author of that political expedient for leſſening the number of their ſlaves, called cryptia, i. e. the *ambuſcade*, when the ſlaves were thought too numerous. Such as had the care of educating the Spartan youth, ſelected the ſtouteſt of them, and, having armed them with daggers, ſent them out to deſtroy their unhappy ſlaves, either by ſurpriſing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day when they were at their work, and defenceleſs. Plato condemns this law; and Plutarch denies, that it was made by Lycurgus, whereas Ariſtotle expreſly lays it to his charge; but, when or however it was made, it was indubitably a cruel, unneceſſary expedient, in all reſpects unworthy of a virtuous people [z] (X).

The cryptia, what, and how publiſhed.

It

[y] Plutarch. in Vit. Lycurg. & in Inſtitut. Lacon. Ariſtot. Polit. Plat. de Legib. & de Repub. Xenoph. Inſtit. Lac. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Herac. Pont. in Fragm. de Legib. lib. i. p. 633.

[z] Plut. in Vit. Lycurg. Plato

(X) The ſlaves of Lacedæmon were called Helotes, originally a free people, whom the Spartans ſubdued and enſlaved.

Sedition in Sparta.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſuch extraordinary changes could be wrought in a country without any oppoſition; neither indeed were they: for, when Lycurgus proceeded to the diviſion of property, a great ſedition aroſe, wherein at laſt the people proceeded to blows; and he found himſelf obliged to quit the aſſembly, in order to fly to a ſanctuary. Some of them, however, cloſely purſued him, and, amongſt the reſt, one Alcander, a young nobleman of a generous, but too haſty diſpoſition, who ſtruck him on the eye, and, as ſome ſay, beat it out. The legiſlator then ſtopped, and, ſhewing his face all covered with blood, the people were ſhocked; immediately aſked

Lycurgus wounded in the eye.

ſlaved. Liberty and ſlavery were ſaid to be in extremes at Sparta; none were ſo perfectly free as the citizens of Lacedæmon, nor any ſuch deſpicable ſlaves as theſe Helotes. They wore dog-ſkin bonnets, and ſheep-ſkin veſts; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their maſters: when their lords were ſo diſpoſed, theſe poor men were obliged to drink themſelves drunk, that the free-born Spartans might ſee the beaſtlineſs of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of ſtripes, leſt they ſhould forget they were ſlaves; and to crown all, they were liable to this cryptia, which was ſure to be executed on all ſuch as ſpoke, looked, or walked like free men. The ephori, after they were inſtituted, at their coming into office, declared war againſt them; againſt whom? Againſt poor naked ſlaves, who tilled their lands, dreſſed their food, and did all thoſe offices for them which they were too proud to do for themſelves. Plutarch, according to cuſtom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus; and alleges, that it was introduced on account of the Helotes joining with the Meſſenians after a terrible earthquake, whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown; but Ælian tells us expreſly, that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgement from heaven upon the Spartans for treating theſe Helotes with ſuch inhumanity (1). Thucydides gives us a glaring inſtance of the inhumanity of the Lacedæmonians towards theſe poor men; he ſays, that about two thouſand of them, being manumitted by law, for their great ſervice in the Peloponneſian war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with ſhews; after all which they diſappeared on a ſudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (2).

(1) Vide Ælian. Hiſt. Var. lib. iii.

(2) Thucyd. de Bello Peloponneſ. lib. iv.

his

his pardon, and delivered up Alcander into his hands, to be treated as he ſhould think fit. Lycurgus accepted the propoſal, and carried Alcander home with him, where, inſtead of puniſhing, or even reproving him harſhly, he received him as his attendant, cauſed him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his perſon. This mildneſs was of great ſervice to them both; for Alcander, won by his affability, became his greateſt admirer; a change which wrought effectually on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the inſtructions of Lycurgus. A new law was immediately enacted, that no weapon whatſoever, not even ſo much as a ſtaff, ſhould be brought into their aſſemblies, or public councils [a].

Method taken by this legiſlator to ſettle his laws.

When Lycurgus had fully perfected his plan, and moulded the commonwealth into that form, which he thought moſt eligible, his next care was to render this fixed and ſtable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that ſtructure which he had raiſed, and relapſing into that ſtate which he had been at ſuch pains to new-model. After ſome time, he deviſed a method of effecting it, which was this: he called a general aſſembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained but one point to be ſettled, which was indeed of the higheſt importance, and what he could not acquaint them with, till he had conſulted the oracle at Delphi; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themſelves to obſerve his rhetræ inviolably till his return. To this propoſal all ranks and degrees of people readily aſſented; and, to bind their aſſent, Lycurgus took an oath upon the ſpot from the two kings, the ſenate, and the commons; then he ſet out for Delphi. There he propoſed this queſtion to the oracle: "Will the laws eſtabliſhed in Sparta make that city virtuous and happy?" The reſponſe was, "The laws given to Sparta are excellent, and the city ſhall continue in the higheſt renown, while it obſerves the polity of Lycurgus." This declaration he took in writing, and ſent to Sparta; when he had ſacrificed a ſecond time to Apollo, and ſolemnly taken leave of his friends, and ſon, he determined with himſelf to put an end to his life by faſting, that the Lacedæmonians might never have it in their power to free themſelves from the oath which they had taken. He accordingly ſtarved himſelf to death, and

His death.

[a] Plut. ubi ſupra.

died

died a victim to all the enthuſiaſm of patriotic zeal for the laws he had eſtabliſhed. His bones were carried to Sparta, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, Plutarch ſays, was afterwards blaſted with lightning; an accident peculiar to Lycurgus, and Euripides, the poet. The Spartans, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, where they ſacrificed annually. But, after all this pompous account, Plutarch himſelf acknowleges, that authors are not well agreed, how or where this good man died. Some ſay he ended his days at Cirrha; Apollothemis affirmed, that he died at Elis; Timæus and Ariſtoxenus agree, that he finiſhed his days in Crete: the latter ſays, the inhabitants ſhewed his tomb. Ariſtocrates, the ſon of Hipparchus, wrote likewiſe, that he died in Crete; but he added, that by the direction of Lycurgus, the perſons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and ſcattered the aſhes in the air, and on the ſea, that they might never be tranſported to Lacedæmon, to prevent the people from imagining themſelves releaſed from their oath. He left one ſon, named Antiorus; who dying without iſſue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual aſſembly in commemoration of him, and that they might celebrate his virtues, and mutually exhort each other to the imitation of them. The days of this meeting were, in honour of the legiſlator, ſtyled Lycurgides[a] (Y).

The reign of Charilaus and Teleclus.

From the death of Lycurgus, the Lacedæmonian hiſtory is, for a long time, very perplexed, there being no other materials from whence it may be collected, than ſcattered paſſages of ancient authors, which we ſhall collect and arrange as well as we are able. Charilaus made war on the Argives; but with little ſucceſs. He afterwards fell on the Tageatæ, a people of Arcadia: but, in this war, alſo, he proved unſucceſsful; for he was taken priſoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the valour of the women; and, to purchaſe his freedom, was conſtrained to take a ſolemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more; which oath, however, he did not

[a] Plut. in Vit. Lycurg.

(Y) The life of Lycurgus was the firſt which Plutarch publiſhed, who ſeems to have had a great opinion of the Spartans, and their cuſtoms; for, beſides this life, and thoſe of ſeveral other Spartan chiefs, we have a treatiſe of his on the laws and cuſtoms of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic apophthegms.

ſtrictly

ſtrictly obſerve [b]. He then turned his arms againſt the Achæans, who had taken from the Lacedæmonians ſeveral frontier towns, which he and his colleague Teleclus recovered. Among theſe were Amyclas, Pharis, and Geronthra: they firſt they razed; the inhabitants of the other two cities, by agreement, were permitted to retire out of Peloponneſus. Such were the military exploits of Charilaus or Charillus. He retained always a great reſpect for his tutor Lycurgus, as appears from ſeveral of his ſayings, which have reached our times; for, being once aſked why Lycurgus had made ſo few laws, he anſwered, "Men of few words need but few laws:" and, it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be moſt complete, "That," ſaid he, "wherein moſt of the citizens contend in virtue, without diſturbing each other [c]." His colleague, of the other regal houſe, was Teleclus, a prince of no ſhining qualifications, and unfortunate. Being told, before he ſucceeded to the crown, by ſome who ſought to flatter him, that his father had ſpoken ſlightingly of him, he anſwered, "That he was ſorry for it; becauſe he would not have ſpoken in that manner without cauſe [d]." His death gave occaſion to the Meſſenian war; but, after what manner, cannot eaſily be determined. There was, it ſeems, a temple of Diana ſeated on the marches between Laconia and Meſſenia, to which the inhabitants of both countries reſorted. Some Spartan virgins, repairing thither, were violated by the Meſſenians; and Teleclus, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was ſlain: the women alſo famiſhed themſelves to death: this is the Spartan account of the tranſaction. The Meſſenians report it thus; that Teleclus, intending to ſurpriſe ſome of the principal perſons of their country, went thither, with a number of his friends, in female habits, with poniards concealed under their cloaths; and that a fray happening, Teleclus and ſome of his aſſociates were ſlain. The original quarrel betwixt the Spartans and Meſſenians, aroſe from a private fraud, in the ſale of certain cows by Euephnes, a Lacedæmonian, who aggravated his breach of truſt by murdering the ſon of Polychares, the Meſſenian, who was the proprietor of the cattle. This man went ſeveral times to demand juſtice at Sparta, but met with nothing but inſults and harſh uſage. Thus provoked,

What gave riſe to the Meſſenian war.

[b] Pauſan. in Arcad. [c] Plut. in Apophth. Lacon. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

he reſolved to take vengeance on the whole nation; and accordingly aſſaſſinated all the Lacedæmonians who fell in his way. Theſe private outrages naturally produced national animoſity, and paved the way for a rupture between the two ſtates.

The reigns of Nicander and Alcamenes.

To Charilaus ſucceeded his ſon Nicander, who reigned thirty-nine years; and in the thirty-fourth year of whoſe reign was celebrated the firſt Olympiad. He is ſaid to have carried on the war with the Argives, and to have obtained many advantages over them; but, for other great actions of his life, they are not recorded. Teleclus had for his ſucceſſor his ſon Alcamenes, who, with his colleague before mentioned, ſent to the Meſſenians to demand juſtice againſt Polychares, and that he ſhould be delivered up. The Meſſenians were at that time governed by Androcles and Antiochus, brothers. The former was much againſt complying on any terms with the requeſt of the Lacedæmonians, alleging, that they were the aggreſſors, and therefore ought firſt to do juſtice. The latter was averſe to hazarding the public ſafety, on account of a private perſon; and therefore declared, that he would give up Polychares, rather than break with the Spartans. The diſputes on this occaſion roſe ſo high, that from words they came to blows, and Androcles was ſlain in the conteſt. Antiochus, now reigning alone, immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, beſeeching the king and ſenate to conſider, that they were originally of the ſame ſtock, and that therefore they ought to avoid making war on every ſlight provocation; offering, in the preſent caſe, to leave the deciſion of this matter either to the Argives, who were their common allies, to the Amphictyonian council, or to the ſenate of areopagus, at Athens. The Spartans made no reply to theſe deputies; and, while things were in this ſituation, Antiochus died, and was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon Euphaes. To him the Lacedæmonians made no complaint; neither did they renounce their correſpondence with the Meſſenians; yet were they all this time providing ſecretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it, without giving the leaſt notice. Before they proceeded to hoſtilities, the kings and ſenate called a general aſſembly; in which the troops, appointed for the war, took a ſolemn oath never to return home, till they had entirely conquered Meſſenia; a circumſtance which ſhewed, that this was a war of ambition rather than juſtice, and intended not to repair

pair their own injuries, but to ſubdue the country of their neighbours *.

Alcamenes, king of Sparta, at the head of a complete army, entered the Meſſenian territory ſuddenly, and by night; in conſequence of which irruption he eaſily ſurpriſed the city of Amphea, the gates of which were opened as uſual, the inhabitants not having the leaſt ſuſpicion of what afterwards happened. The Spartans behaved, on this occaſion, very cruelly; they ſlew, without diſtinction, all who came in their way; nor did even temples or altars afford a ſanctuary to ſuch as fled thither for protection. The convenient ſituation of the city, which the Lacedæmonians knew would ſerve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and, in all probability, engaged them to treat the people thus harſhly, that they might make themſelves abſolutely maſters of it and its diſtricts. Euphaes, the Meſſenian king, on the firſt news of this extraordinary ſtroke, aſſembled his people, and, having encouraged them to keep up their ſpirits, and not to ſuppoſe that all was loſt becauſe Amphea was in the hands of the Lacedæmonians, he likewiſe gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might carry it on with a probability of ſucceſs: he obſerved, that the Lacedæmonians were not only brave, but were alſo bred to war as to a trade; nay, were indeed unacquainted with any thing elſe; whence he inferred, that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with ſuch an enemy. Wherefore his counſel was, that they ſhould carry on a defenſive war, in the beſt manner they were able, till, by degrees, they acquired experience enough to fight the Spartans upon equal terms. The Meſſenians, following his advice, maintained a defenſive war for three years, in which they ſuffered the Spartans to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year Euphaes ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumſpection; for, having entrenched his beſt troops, he drew out his horſe and light-armed forces, ſkirmiſhing with theſe; and when the Spartans drew nearer, and thought to have brought him to a general battle, he withdrew his army behind his entrenchments. As the Spartans had no materials for filling up the ditch which lay before his works, they were conſtrained to retire; and, ſhortly after, returned to their own country, where they met with a very cool reception, on

Yr. of Fl. 1696. Ante Chr. 652.

The Meſſenian war commences.

* Pauſan. & Juſt. ubi ſupra.

account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced Messenia[f]. A very short time after this event, both the kings died. As to Nicander, we find little of him in ancient authors more than has been already mentioned; with respect to Alcamenes, Plutarch hath preserved some passages of his life, which shew that he was a wise and gentle prince[g].

Polydorus and Theopompus.

Alcamenes and Nicander were succeeded by their sons Polydorus and Theopompus. With these princes the Spartans entrusted a new army, with express instructions not to act as their predecessors had done, but to put their country in possession of a prize which she had so long desired. The Messenians, under the command of Euphaes their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto had been their custom, but prepared to give them battle as soon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occasion to make trial of each other's valour: the Lacedæmonians then marched towards the enemy in battalia; Theopompus commanding the right wing, and Polydorus the left. The Messenians disposed their army so as best to oppose the Spartans, Antander, and their king Euphaes, commanding their left, and Pytharatus their right. The engagement was very obstinate, the center in both armies remaining firm; the right wing of the Spartan army was routed by Euphaes, as was the right wing of the Messenian army by Polydorus, Pytharatus, their general, being slain. These advantages, however, were so inconsiderable, that neither party dared to pursue the other; and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both sides might have leisure to withdraw and bury their dead: after which the Spartans, notwithstanding the instructions they had received, thought proper to return home, the conquest of Messenia appearing, by this time, a thing impracticable for the present[h]. The great resistance the Messenians made on this second invasion, determined the Spartans not to carry on the war any longer in the same manner, but to content themselves with harassing and plundering the country, whereby the spirits of their own troops might be kept up, and the Messenians worn out and destroyed; for in this circumstance lay the great advantage of the Spartans, that war was their business, in which, if they were not engaged, they

Battle between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians.

The Spartans alter their method of carrying on the war.

[f] Pausan. in Messen. Justin. lib. iii. cap. 4. [g] Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Laconic. [h] Pausan. ubi supra.

were

were idle; whereas the Meſſenians, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and deſtroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garriſons, beſides a ſtanding body of troops in the field. To add to theſe misfortunes, which were already almoſt inſupportable, a diſtemper raged in Meſſenia, which differed little from the plague. Theſe misfortunes produced a long and ſerious conſultation among the chief perſons in the kingdom, who, at length, came to a reſolution to abandon ſuch villages and little towns as were leaſt capable of defence, and to fortify a city which ſtood on the top of the mountain Ithome, to which the inhabitants of the demoliſhed places might repair: from this expedient they promiſed themſelves two things; firſt, that they ſhould be releaſed from the expence of garriſons; ſecondly, that, in time of diſtreſs, this might be made a place of certain ſafety [i].

The Argive, or Thyrean war.

The Spartans were, about this time, called off from the Meſſenian war to engage with the Argives. The diſpute was concerning the city Thyrea, and its diſtrict, which, lying on the borders of Argolis and Laconia, had occaſioned great contention between thoſe ſtates [k]. To avoid effuſion of blood, it was, by both parties, agreed, that three hundred Argives, and as many Lacedæmonians, ſhould decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both ſides retiring. In conſequence of this agreement, theſe ſix hundred men engaged, and fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that, when night came on, there were but two Argives, viz. Alcinor and Chromius, and one Spartan, whoſe name was Othryades, left alive. The Argives ran home to their city, to carry the news of the victory. Othryades remained in the field of battle, and erected a trophy: hence a new diſpute commenced, both parties claiming the victory; the Argives, becauſe two of their men were left; the Spartans, becauſe the Argives fled, and left Othryades in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. This diſpute produced a new war, in which the Lacedæmonians were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of Polydorus, and that of the Argives, with a prodigious ſlaughter of the latter. Some would have perſuaded the Spartan king to purſue this victory, and to attack Argos itſelf; but he anſwered with a generoſity becoming his character, that the Spartans ſent him to aſſert their rights, but not to

[i] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [k] Herodot. lib. i. Pauſan in Argol.

rob others[l]. Thus ended the Argive war, some circumstances of which are variously reported. Let us now return to the affairs of the Messenians, after their fortifying Ithome.

The measures taken by the Messenians.

The desire of freeing themselves from this burdensome war with Sparta, prompted them to send a person to consult the oracle at Delphi. The name of this man was Tisis, who, on his return, was attacked by a party of the Lacedæmonian garrison in Amphea, from whom, however, he escaped, though grievously wounded; of which wounds, having first revealed the oracle to the king, he died. The purport of it was, that, unless a virgin of the house of the Epytidæ, that is, the royal family, was sacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation. This oracle struck the Messenians, and especially the royal family, with the utmost consternation. Lots however were cast, and the daughter of Lyciscus taken; but when she should have been sacrificed, Ephebolus, the soothsayer, declared that she was not Lyciscus's daughter, but imposed upon him by his wife, who sought, by that means, to escape the imputation of barrenness. While the soothsayer was setting forth this matter to the people, Lyciscus withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to Sparta. Upon this occasion Aristodemus, one of the royal house, freely offered his daughter. A young man, who was present, alleged that he was contracted to her, and that, therefore, her father had no power over her; which plea being over-ruled, he set up another, that he had consummated his marriage, and that she was actually with child by him. Aristodemus, conceiving this to be a dishonour to his family, slew his daughter instantly; then opening her womb, exposed it to the people. The soothsayer insisted, that another should be sacrificed, the daughter of Aristodemus having rather died by the passion of her father than as a victim; but all the family of the Epytidæ joined with the king, who persuaded the people that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of Aristodemus's daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the Messenians concluded, that whenever the war should be renewed they would be victors[m]. Such a transaction could not have happened but under the gloom of the most execrable superstition, and among a people who knew not how to distinguish between virtue and brutality.

[l] Suidas in voce Ὀβριάδης. Pausan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. [m] Pausan. in Messen.

Six

Six years after the fight of Lyciſcus, and eight from the fortifying of Ithome, the Lacedæmonians invaded Meſſenia again with a great army. The Meſſenians might undoubtedly have received great aſſiſtance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war defenſively; but they confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement; which, ſuiting the Spartan method of making war, quickly enſued. This battle, like the former, though obſtinately fought, was not deciſive, night parting them. Euphaes, however, venturing too far againſt Theopompus, the Spartan king, was mortally wounded, and fell. This accident, far from checking the ſpirit of the Meſſenians, made them more eager; inſomuch that a warm conteſt began about carrying off the expiring king; in which the Meſſenians prevailed, though with the loſs of Antander, one of their beſt officers. Euphaes, being carried back to Ithome, died in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual ſcene of war and confuſion. As he left no iſſue, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family; whereupon Cleonnis, Damis, and Ariſtodemus, put in their claims. The people elected the laſt, though the ſoothſayers alleged he was incapable, on account of his having ſlain his daughter. This new monarch was no ſooner ſeated on his throne, than he entered into a negociation with the Arcadians, Argives, and Sicyonians, in order to obtain their aſſiſtance againſt the Lacedæmonians; and, in this reſpect, his endeavours were ſucceſsful, almoſt all the Peloponneſians beginning to be apprehenſive of the great power, and warlike genius of the Spartan nation. At the ſame time Ariſtodemus laboured inceſſantly to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which ſo nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended whether, for the future, they ſhould be free men or ſlaves. With this view he beſtowed his favours upon all; he raiſed his competitors to the chief dignities in the kingdom; he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and diſtributed money amongſt the people [a].

The Spartans renew the war with the Meſſenians.

About this time, as the beſt authors agree, a great change was made in the Spartan republic, which is aſcribed to Theopompus. Seeing the neceſſity of leaving magiſtrates to execute the laws, when the kings were

The ephori created at Sparta.

[a] Pauſan. in Lacon. & Meſſen.

obliged to be in the field, he appointed the ephori, who afterwards made ſo great a figure in the Spartan ſtate[o]. Some think they were at firſt the king's friends, to whom he delegated authority; but they ſoon became independent of their ſovereigns, and even obliged them to ſubmit to their power. They were five in number, choſen by the people from their own body, ſometimes of the very dregs of it; for any bold, factious, talkative citizen, was moſt likely to be elected into this office. They were a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the ſenate and kings. They were annually elected, and, in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requiſite. As to their authority, it was, in a manner, boundleſs; they preſided in popular aſſemblies; collected the ſuffrages; declared war; made peace; treated with foreign princes; determined the number of forces that ſhould be raiſed; appointed the funds to maintain them; and diſtributed rewards and puniſhments in the name of the ſtate. They likewiſe held a court of juſtice; enquired into the conduct of all magiſtrates; inſpected into the behaviour and education of youth; had a particular juriſdiction over the Helotes; and, in ſhort, by degrees, drew the whole adminiſtration into their own hands. This power the queen of Theopompus is ſaid to have foreſeen, when they were firſt appointed; and to have reproached her huſband with ſuffering the regal authority to deſcend to his children mutilated, and in a worſe condition than that in which he received it from his anceſtors. Theopompus anſwered her with great prudence, that, far from having leſſened or injured the regal authority, he had ſtrengthened and ſecured it; becauſe the people, being ſatisfied by this inſtitution, would have leſs inclination to raiſe tumults and ſeditions, in which princes are never ſafe[p]. One great privilege of the ephori was, that they did not riſe up at the entrance of the kings, as all other magiſtrates did[q]; another, that, from firſt electing of theſe magiſtrates, the year was denominated, as at Athens, from the firſt of the archons[r]: the third diſtinguiſhing mark of their authority was, that, if the kings offended againſt the laws, or were guilty of any ex-

[o] Ariſt. Polit. lib. v. cap. 11. Plut. in Vit. Cleom. Valer. Max. lib. iv. [p] Ariſt. Polit. lib. ii. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Plat. de Legib. lib. iii. Polyb. lib. iv. [q] Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæmon. [r] Pauſan. Lacon.

ceſs,

ceſs, the ephori took cognizance thereof, and puniſhed them[s] (Z).

The adminiſtration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the Spartan kings renewed the Meſſenian war; and, having obtained ſome aſſiſtance from the Corinthians, they marched with a great army towards Ithome. Ariſtodemus diſpoſed his own forces, and thoſe of his confederates, in the beſt manner poſſible: himſelf, and Cleonnis, commanded the heavy-armed forces, the light-armed being committed to the conduct of Damis; the Argives and Sicyonians he oppoſed to the Corinthians; and the choiceſt of the Arcadian troops, with the flower of the Meſſenian infantry, he ranged againſt the Lacedæmonians; the light-armed troops were poſted behind the hills; and, all things thus diſpoſed, the battle began, with great vigour on both ſides. The Lacedæmonians, though hard preſſed, firmly maintained their poſts, and the Corinthians behaved very bravely for a long time; but when, on a ſignal given, the light-armed forces, commanded by Damis, took them in flank, and, by a ſhower of miſſive weapons, deſtroyed a great many men, they were, at laſt,

Yr. of Fl. 1625. Ante Chr. 723.

The Spartans again invade Meſſenia.

The Spartans defeated.

[s] Plut. Inſtitut. Lacedæmon.

(Z) Not only Herodotus, in his hiſtory (1), but Xenophon alſo, treating expreſsly of the republic of Lacedæmon, aſcribe the ſettling the ephori to Lycurgus (2); but Ariſtotle is expreſs in placing their inſtitution lower (3). Plutarch, in his life of Cleomenes, introduces that prince, aſſigning them the ſame inſtitution which we have done; beſides Theopompus's anſwer to his queen is recorded by authors of the beſt credit (4). Undoubtedly their power grew by very ſlow degrees; ſo that, at their firſt inſtitution, they were far from having that authority, which, in after-times, they exerciſed with ſo high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at firſt appointed by the kings at their pleaſure; but that afterwards the people obtained the power of electing them. Cleomenes, in his ſpeech, recorded by Plutarch, alleges, that they were originally appointed by the kings; though he does not aſcertain the time when their election was veſted in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known: the truth ſeems to be, that the election was always in the people; but that king Theopompus firſt deviſed this expedient of creating ephori, for the preſervation of the public peace.

(1) Herodot. lib. i. cap. 65. (2) Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæmon. (3) Ariſt. Polit. lib. v. (4) Plutarch. in Vit. Lycurg. Valer. Max. lib. iv.

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conſtrained to betake themſelves to flight, with very conſiderable loſs. The Spartans were exceedingly afflicted at this miſcarriage, and the Corinthians greatly diſtreſſed; for they knew not which way to retreat, having, on every ſide, an enemy's country to paſs through before they could reach home[t]. The Lacedæmonians continued the war, and ſent deputies to conſult the oracle at Delphi, on its event; the Meſſenians did the ſame: to the former, the oracle anſwered to this purpoſe; "By fraud (i. e. of Creſphontes) Meſſenia was obtained, and by fraud it muſt be ſubdued." To the latter the oracle alſo gave an anſwer, but ſo perplexed and obſcure, as to render it utterly inexplicable. The Spartans, in purſuance of their reſponſe, contrived many ſtratagems, and at laſt fixed upon this: they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treaſon, ſecretly inſtructing them to fly to Ithome, as ſuppliants; from whence they might eaſily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemy's counſels: in this contrivance they followed the example of Ulyſſes, but not with the like ſucceſs; for Ariſtodemus, immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deſerters to return home; and directed them to tell the Spartans, "That though their injuſtice was new, yet their trick was ſtale[u]." Some time after, they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at Ithome: Ariſtodemus himſelf had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him, and upbraided him with her death. They had recourſe to the uſual remedy, ſending deputies to Delphi; and theſe deputies brought them advice, that whoever firſt dedicated a hundred tripods, in the temple of Jupiter, at Ithome, ſhould remain maſters of the place. This ſentence raiſed the ſpirits of the Meſſenians again, who, having no money to make the tripods of braſs, immediately ſet about cutting them out in wood. The oracle being ſent from Delphi to Sparta, one Œbalus, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and, diſguiſing himſelf like a fowler, got into Ithome; and, having placed them in the temple of Jupiter, eſcaped. The Meſſenians, at this event, were again ſtruck with deſpair, eſpecially when they found the city inveſted by a great army from Sparta. Ariſtodemus encouraged them a while; but perceiving all their efforts could not prevent the city falling into the hands of the enemy, he was ſeized with a deep melancholy, and going one night

Both parties conſult the oracle of Delphi, and the oracle's anſwer.

Ariſtodemus lays violent hands on himſelf.

[t] Pauſan. Meſſen. [u] Pauſan. Lacon.

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to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himſelf [w]. On his demiſe, the Meſſenians did not elect any other king, but choſe Damis their chief, by the title of general only. He exerted himſelf in making a vigorous defence, but all proving ineffectual, ſuch of the Meſſenians as had any hopes of a good reception, fled into the adjacent countries; the reſt, together with the city of Ithome, were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the Spartans, who treated them with great rigour. Polyænus, indeed, tells us, that Ithome was taken by the following ſtratagem: Theopompus, with part of the army, pretended to deſert his colleague, actually removing from the camp, and pitching behind the city: the Meſſenians greedily ſeized this opportunity of falling on Polydorus, with whom they were no ſooner thoroughly engaged, than Theopompus, with his forces, attacked the city, and took it by ſtorm [x]. However this matter happened, Ithome was certainly razed by the Lacedæmonians; and the Meſſenians who were ſuffered to remain in their own country, were obliged to accept the following conditions: firſt, that they ſhould cultivate their lands with all diligence, and render half their fruits to the Spartans; and, ſecondly, when any of the nobles of Sparta, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives ſhould attend at the funeral proceſſion, in their weeds, on pain of ſuffering the ſevereſt penalties, if they neglected. Beſides, the Spartans diſpoſed of part of their territories, which bordered on the ſea, to the Aſinei, and another diſtrict to the deſcendants of Androcles [y]. This was the end of the famous Meſſenian war, which makes ſuch a figure in the Greek hiſtorians at this period; for we ſhall hereafter ſee it break out again, and create new troubles to the Spartans.

The Meſſenians ſubmit to the Spartans.

Some time after this war was ended, the Spartans loſt both their kings; whoſe characters, therefore, we ſhall take this opportunity of giving our readers. Theopompus was a wiſe and mild prince, as, in a great meaſure, appears from an anſwer he made to the following queſtion: "By what means a monarch might live with the greateſt ſafety?" "Let him (anſwered the king) permit his friends to adviſe him freely, and be himſelf always ready to puniſh the wicked ſtrictly, and with a good will [z]." He loſt his ſon Archidamus a little before the

Sparta loſes both her kings, after the Meſſenian war. Their characters.

[w] Pauſan. Meſſen. & Lacon. [x] Stratag. lib. ii cap. 15.
[y] Pauſan. Lacon. [z] Plut. Apoththegm. Lacon. & Inſt. Lacon.

Argive

Argive war, which was the reaſon of committing the conduct of it to his colleague. It is very probable, that there were great diſputes in Sparta during their reigns; for, beſides eſtabliſhing the ephori, theſe kings had recourſe to the contrivance before mentioned, of ſubſtituting a new clauſe in the rhetra concerning laws, whereby they reſtrained the power of the people [a]. The Pylians, having received great favours from this prince, were inclined to pay him exceſſive honours, which he declined, by this ſhort meſſage: "Moderate honours time increaſes, but takes the immoderate away." He died in peace, a natural death, after a long and glorious reign [b]. Polydorus was a prince of the moſt amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and juſt in both: he was univerſally beloved by his people, yet, in the end, died a violent death; for one Polemarchus, a Spartan of a conſiderable family, and who was himſelf eminent in the ſtate, killed him, for what reaſon is unknown [c]. The Lacedæmonians, as a grateful teſtimony of their juſt ſenſe of his merit, honoured his memory with a ſtatue, and ordered his effigies to be engraven on the ſeal which their public magiſtrates were to make uſe of for the future, as if they were deſirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble inſtance of their gratitude, and his virtues [d].

Eurycrates and Zeuxidamus.

Eurycrates ſucceeded his father Polydorus; and Zeuxidamus, the ſon of Archidamus, filled the place of his grandfather Theopompus. Theſe princes reigned with great tranquillity. Neither the Meſſenians nor the Argives having yet recovered ſpirit enough to begin any new diſturbances. At home, however, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the ſtate: the accounts we have of it are variouſly related by different authors; but to us it ſeems reaſonable, that the relation of Ephorus the hiſtorian ſhould be preferred [e]. The Spartans, when they were engaged in the Meſſenian war, having been ten years abſent from the city, on account of the oath they had made, not to return till they had entirely ſubdued that country, the women ſent to them, to put them in mind, that, while they were ſo careful to ſubdue their enemies, they neglected the city. In conſequence of this meſſage they decreed, that ſuch

Yr. of Fl. 1641. Ante Chr. 707.

[a] Plut. in Vit. Lycurgi. [b] Pauſan. Lacon. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. Hiſt. lib. vii. Plut. in Apophtheg. [e] Apud Strabon Geogr. lib. vi. Juſtin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

young

young men amongſt them as came out of Sparta under age, and ſo were not obliged by the oath, ſhould return; and, aſſociating themſelves promiſcuouſly with the unmarried women, preſerve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, ſuch as were born of theſe young women were ſtyled partheniæ, i. e. *ſons of virgins.* When the Lacedæmonians returned, after the reduction of Meſſenia, they viſibly neglected theſe young men, who, at the ſame time, found themſelves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inheritance to expect; they, therefore, began to intrigue with the Helotes, who were as unhappy as themſelves, determining to fall upon the citizens at a general aſſembly, and to open a path to riches and honours with their ſwords. They went ſo far as to appoint the ſignal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but ſome of the Helotes, dreading the conſequences, diſcovered the conſpiracy. When the time was come for the aſſembly, in which it was to be executed, the crier, by command of the ephori, made proclamation, that no man ſhould throw up his cap; whereby the partheniæ underſtood, that their deſign was diſcovered. The Lacedæmonians did not, however, treat them harſhly; but, conſidering the hardſhips they were under, and reflecting at the ſame time on their numbers, and their intrigues with the Helotes, they prudently agreed to treat them with lenity; and, by a public decree, permitted Phalantus, who had been the ringleader in this plot, to ſail with them into Italy, where they ſettled themſelves in Tarentum[f]. Farther particulars of theſe kings we have none, except a few ſayings of Zeuxidamus, which are of no great importance[g].

The partheniæ.

Plot againſt the ſtate.

Their plot diſcovered, and they ſent into Italy.

The ſons and ſucceſſors of Eurycrates and Zeuxidamus, were Anaxander and Anaxidamus. In their reign the ſecond Meſſenian war began; for theſe poor people, having for a long time borne the cruel treatment of their inſulting lords, grew deſperate at laſt. Ariſtomenes, the ſon of Nicomedes of Andania, deſcended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt: he was bold, enterprizing, intrepid; a man of ſtrong judgement, ſtrict honour, and enthuſiaſtically fond of liberty, and his country. He perceived that the Argives and Arcadians were friends only in appearance to the Spartans, waiting for

Yr. of Fl. 1663. Ante Chr. 685.

Anaxander and Anaxidamus.

The ſecond Meſſenian war.

[f] Strabo, ubi ſupra. Heracl. de Polit. Euſeb. in Chron. Can.
[g] Pauſan. in Lacon. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

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an opportunity to revenge the many injuries they had ſuſtained from this haughty nation. To theſe Ariſtomenes applied; and, receiving an anſwer more conformable to his wiſhes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimouſly to take up arms, thirty-nine years after the reduction of Ithome. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the Spartans and Meſſenians met at a village called Deræ, where an obſtinate engagement enſued: Ariſtomenes behaved ſo well on this occaſion, that he obtained the victory; and was conceived to have performed more than mortal atchievements: in gratitude, therefore, reſpect being alſo had to his deſcent from Epytus, his countrymen unanimouſly ſaluted him king; which title he modeſtly waved, alleging, that he took up arms to ſet them free, and not to gratify his ambition: he conſented, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of acting as he thought requiſite for the ſervice of the public. Knowing well the ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived, he reſolved to intimidate the Spartans, by exhibiting a ſpectacle, which he was ſure they would interpret as an ill omen. Diſguiſing himſelf, therefore, he went privately to the city, where, in the night, he hung up a ſhield on the wall of the temple of Minerva, with this inſcription: "Ariſtomenes dedicates this, out of the ſpoils of the Spartans, to the goddeſs." It was eaſily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody: the Lacedæmonians therefore ſent deputies to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle concerning its event: the anſwer they received was, "That it behoved the Spartans to ſeek a leader from Athens." The Athenians, naturally envious of the Spartan glory, granted their requeſt, indeed, but in ſuch a manner as manifeſted their diſpoſition; for they ſent as a general Tyrtæus, a ſchoolmaſter and poet, lame of one foot, and ſuſpected of inſanity. But they were diſappointed of their intention; for this perſon, notwithſtanding his deſpicable appearance, proved of great uſe to the Spartans, teaching them how to uſe proſperity, and how to bear misfortune [h].

The Spartans defeated.

Tyrtæus ſent by the Athenians to command the Spartan army.

In the mean time, Ariſtomenes had aſſembled a great army, the Eleans, Argives, Sicyonians, and Arcadians, having ſent troops to his aſſiſtance; the Spartans in this, as in the former war, having no ally but Corinth. The Spartan kings, according to the cuſtom of their city, no

[h] Strabo, Geogr. lib. viii.

ſooner

ſooner took the field, than, notwithſtanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle; which Ariſtomenes readily accepted: it was long, obſtinate, and bloody; but, in the end, the Meſſenians were victorious, and the Lacedæmonians put to flight, with great ſlaughter. Ariſtomenes purſued them, in oppoſition to the advice of Theocles, the ſoothſayer, who called him back, perceiving Caſtor and Pollux in a tree, by which there was a neceſſity of paſſing in the purſuit: this he continuing, notwithſtanding; but when he came to that tree, he loſt his ſhield, a circumſtance which gave the Lacedæmonians an opportunity of withdrawing, without farther loſs. It is ſcarce to be conceived how much the Spartans were ſtruck with this defeat: they grew weary of the war, diſſatisfied with their kings, diffident of their own power; and, in a word, ſunk into a ſtate of general uneaſineſs, and dejection. It was now that the Athenian general convinced them, he was capable of fulfilling all the promiſes of the oracle; he encouraged them by his poems; he directed them by his counſels; and recruited their broken armies with choſen men from among the Helotes; he ſhewed them the folly of diffidence, and rouſed them to the practice of thoſe virtues for which Sparta had been famous. Ariſtomenes, on the other hand, acted with no leſs prudence and vigour; he did not think it enough to reſtore the reputation of the Meſſenians, if he did not alſo reſtore their wealth and power: he therefore taught them to act offenſively againſt their enemies; and, entering the territories of Sparta, took and plundered Pharæ, a conſiderable borough in Laconia, putting all ſuch, as made any reſiſtance, to the ſword; carrying off, at the ſame time, an immenſe booty. This, however, was an injury which the Spartans could not brook with patience; they therefore ſent immediately a body of forces in purſuit of the Meſſenians, whom they overtook accordingly; but without ſucceſs: for Ariſtomenes routed theſe purſuers, and continued to make a terrible ſlaughter of them, till he was diſabled, by having a ſpear thruſt through his thigh, an accident which occaſioned his being carried off the field[1]. His cure, which took up ſome time, being completed, he reſolved to carry the war even to the gates of Sparta; and, to that purpoſe, raiſed a very great army; but, whether he found his deſign impracticable, or was really diverted by ſome dream, he gave

The Spartans again defeated.

Pharæ taken from them.

[1] Pauſan. Meſſen. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. ii. cap. 31.

out,

out, that Caſtor and Pollux, with their ſiſter Helena, had appeared to him, and commanded him to deſiſt. Going, in the ſequel, with a ſmall party to make an incurſion, and attempting to take priſoners ſome women, who were celebrating religious rites near Egila, a village in Laconia, thoſe zealous matrons fell upon him, and his ſoldiers, with ſuch fury, that they put them to flight, and took him priſoner: but he ſoon afterwards made his eſcape, and rejoined his forces [k]. In the third year of the war, the Spartans entered Meſſina with a powerful army, whither Ariſtocrates, king of Arcadia, was come, with a great body of troops, to the aſſiſtance of his allies: Ariſtomenes, therefore, made no difficulty of fighting when the Spartans approached; but they entering privately into a negociation with Ariſtocrates, engaged him with bribes and promiſes to betray his confederates. When, therefore, the battle began, the treacherous Arcadian repreſented to the forces under his command, the great danger they were in, and the difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in caſe of a defeat: he then pretended, that the ſacrifices were ominous; and having terrified his Arcadians into that diſpoſition of mind fittеſt to ſerve his purpoſe, he not only drew them off from both wings, but, in his retreat, forced through the Meſſenian ranks, and put them in confuſion. Ariſtomenes, and his troops, however, drew up in cloſe order, that they might defend themſelves in the beſt manner they could: indeed, they had need of all their valour and ſkill; for the Lacedæmonians, who expected this event, immediately attacked and ſurrounded them on all ſides. Fortune was, on this occaſion, too powerful, either for the courage or the conduct of the Meſſenians; ſo that, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, the greater part of their army were cut to pieces, and, amongſt them, the chief of their nobility. Ariſtomenes, with the poor remains of his ſhattered forces, retired as well as he could. Perceiving that it was now impoſſible to maintain the war againſt the Lacedæmonians upon equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount Era, and to make the beſt diſpoſitions poſſible for a long defence. He likewiſe placed garriſons in Pylus and Methone, on the ſea-coaſts; and into theſe three places he collected all the inhabitants, leaving the reſt of Meſſenia to the mercy of the Spartans. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as in a manner fi-

The Meſſenians overthrown by the treachery of Ariſtocrates, king of Arcadia.

[k] Idem. ibid.

niſhed;

niſhed; for which reaſon they divided the lands amongſt their citizens, and cauſed them to be carefully cultivated, while they beſieged Era. But Ariſtomenes quickly convinced them, that the war was far from being over: he choſe, out of all the Meſſenians, three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off a prodigious booty, and, when Meſſenia could no longer ſupply the wants of his garriſon, penetrated into Laconia, carrying off corn, wine, cattle, and whatever elſe was neceſſary, to the ſubſiſtence of his countrymen, ſhut up in Era; ſo that at laſt the Spartans were conſtrained to iſſue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation, not only of the Meſſenian territory in their hands, but alſo of Laconia in its vicinity. This regulation diſtreſſed themſelves more than their enemies, inducing at laſt a famine in Sparta, accompanied with its uſual attendant, ſedition. Here again all things would have run into confuſion, if the wiſdom of the poet Tyrtæus had not ſupported the Spartan courage; nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of Era, and to maintain a flying camp for the ſecurity of the country [1].

The Meſſenian war continued with vigour.

Ariſtomenes, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, committed terrible depredations with his ſmall corps, of three hundred men. Amongſt other places which he plundered, was the city of Amyclæ, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but alſo many carriages laden with proviſions. The kings of Sparta, lying with their troops in its neighbourhood, as ſoon as they were informed of this expedition, purſued Ariſtomenes with the utmoſt diligence; and, as the Meſſenians were incumbered with their booty, came up with them before they could reach Era. In this ſituation, Ariſtomenes, prompted rather by deſpair than prudence, diſpoſed his troops in order of battle; and, though they were ſo few, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance againſt the whole Lacedæmonian army. At length, however, numbers prevailed; the greateſt part of the Meſſenians were ſlain on the ſpot, and Ariſtomenes, with about fifty of his men, who ſurvived the ſlaughter, were taken priſoners, that chief having received ſo many wounds, that he was ſenſeleſs when they carried him off. The Lacedæmonians expreſſed the moſt extravagant joy at the ſight of this illuſtrious captive, who, for ſo many years, by his ſingle abilities, had enabled his exhauſted

The Meſſenians defeated, and their general taken.

[1] Pauſan. in Meſſen.

country to defend itſelf againſt the whole force of Sparta. When he was recovered of his wounds, they ordered him, and all his fellow-priſoners, to be thrown together into a deep cavern; which was the common puniſhment of the loweſt kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with the utmoſt ſeverity, excepting that Ariſtomenes had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this diſmal place, lying upon, and ſurrounded with dead bodies. On the third day, he was almoſt famiſhed through want of food, and almoſt poiſoned with the ſtench of corrupted carcaſes, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him. Upon this intimation he uncovered his face; and, perceiving the fox juſt by him, he, with one hand, ſeized one of its hind legs, and with the other defended his face, by catching hold of its jaw, when it attempted to bite him. Following, as well as he could, his ſtraggling guide, the fox at laſt thruſt his head into a little hole; when Ariſtomenes letting go his leg, forced his way through, and opened a paſſage to the welcome rays of light, from which he had been ſo long debarred. Feeble as he was, Ariſtomenes wrought himſelf an outlet with his nails; and, travelling by night, at length arrived ſafe at Era, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When the report of his eſcape was firſt ſpread abroad, the Spartans would have had it paſs for a fiction; but Ariſtomenes ſoon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the poſts of the Corinthians, who, as the allies of the Spartans, had a conſiderable body of troops before Era. Moſt of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he ſlew, pillaged their camp, and, in ſhort, did ſo much miſchief, that the Spartans, under the pretence of an approaching feſtival, agreed to a ceſſation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occaſion, Ariſtomenes, for the ſecond time, celebrated the hecatomphonia, or ſacrifice appointed for thoſe who had killed an hundred of the enemy with their own hands. He had performed the ſame before and after his ſecond battle, when he loſt his ſhield; and he lived to repeat it a third time, a circumſtance which will appear the more extraordinary, when we conſider, that, notwithſtanding this truce, certain Cretan archers, in the ſervice of the Spartans, ſeized Ariſtomenes as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away priſoner [m]. There were nine of them in all; two of

He is cruelly uſed.

His wonderful eſcape.

[m] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. ii. cap. 31. ſect. 2. Stephan. in voce Ἀδανία.

them

them immediately flew with the news to Sparta, and ſeven remained to guard their priſoner, whom they bound, and conducted to a cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. The young woman had dreamt the night before, that ſhe ſaw a lion without claws, bound, and dragged along by wolves; and that ſhe having looſed his bonds, and given him claws, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As ſoon as Ariſtomenes came into the cottage, and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, ſhe inſtantly concluded, that her dream was fulfilled. She therefore plied the Cretans with drink; and, when they were aſleep, took a poinard from one of them, cut the thongs with which Ariſtomenes was bound, and then put it into his hands. He preſently verified her viſion, by putting all his guards to death; and then carried her, and her mother, to Era, where, as a reward for her ſervice, he married the young woman to his ſon Gorgus, then about eighteen years of age.

Era falls into the hands of the Spartans.

After Era had held out near eleven years, it fell into the hands of Sparta by an accident: the ſervant of one Empiramus, a Spartan commander, driving his maſter's cattle to drink at the river Neda, met frequently with the wife of a Meſſenian, with whom he engaged in an amour. This woman gave him notice, that her huſband's houſe was without the wall; ſo that he could come to it without danger, when the good man was abroad; and ſhe likewiſe gave him intelligence when her huſband was upon duty in the garriſon. The Spartan failed not to come at the time appointed; but they had not been long in bed before the huſband returned; an interruption which put the houſe into great confuſion: the woman, however, ſecured her gallant, and then let in her huſband, whom ſhe received, in appearance, with great joy, repeating her inquiries, by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with his return. The innocent Meſſenian told her, that Ariſtomenes being detained in his bed by a wound, the ſoldiers, knowing that he could not walk the rounds, had agreed to retire to their houſes, to avoid the inclemency of the ſeaſon. The Spartan no ſooner heard this particular, than he crept ſoftly out of doors, and haſtened away to carry the news to his maſter. It ſo happened, that the kings were at this time abſent from the camp, and Empiramus had the chief command of the army. As ſoon as he received this information, he put the troops in motion, though it rained exceſſively, and there was no moon-light. The fellow guided them to the

ford, and managed matters ſo well, that they ſeized all the Meſſenian poſts; yet, after all, they were afraid to engage, darkneſs, a high wind, heavy rain, together with the dread of Ariſtomenes, keeping them quiet in the places they had ſeized. As ſoon as it was light, the attack began; and Era would have been quickly taken, if only the men had defended it; but the women fought with ſuch fury, and, by their mingling in the fray, brought ſuch an acceſſion of numbers, as made the event doubtful. Three days and two nights this deſperate conflict was maintained: at laſt, all hopes of preſerving the city being loſt, Ariſtomenes drew off his wearied troops. Early on the fourth morning, he diſpoſed the women and children in the centre, the Meſſenian youth in the front and rear, the leſs able men in the main body: he himſelf commanded the van; the rear-guard was brought up by Gorgus and Manticlus, the former the ſon of Ariſtomenes, the latter of Theocles, a Meſſenian of great merit, who fell with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cauſe of his country. When all things were ready, Ariſtomenes cauſed the laſt barrier to be thrown open, and, brandiſhing his ſpear, marched directly towards the Spartan troops, in order to force a paſſage. Empiramus, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left, and fairly gave them a paſſage; ſo that Ariſtomenes marched off in triumph, as it were, to Arcadia. It ſhould ſeem, that in proſecuting the hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians, we ſhould here have done with this valiant Meſſenian commander, the war being now at an end; but he continuing his utmoſt efforts to harraſs thoſe enemies of his country, it is neceſſary to relate his tranſactions againſt them to his laſt hour[n].

Ariſtomenes forces a paſſage out of the city.

Ariſtomenes kindly received and ſupplied by the Arcadians.

The Arcadians, when they heard that Era was taken, were very deſirous of ſuccouring their old confederates in this diſtreſs: they therefore intreated their king Ariſtocrates to lead them into Meſſenia; but he, corrupted by the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded them that it was too late; that the Meſſenians were all cut off; and that ſuch a ſtep would only expoſe them to the fury of the conquerors. When it was known, that Ariſtomenes was on the frontiers of Arcadia, they went in crowds to ſupply him with proviſions, and to teſtify their readineſs to afford him, and thoſe under his command, all the aſſiſtance in their power. Ariſtomenes deſired to be heard before a general

[n] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Juſtin. lib. iii. cap. 5.

aſſembly

assembly; which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldest and best-laid schemes recorded in history: he said, that he had yet five hundred undaunted soldiers, who, at his command, would undertake any thing; that it was very probable, most of the Spartans were employed in pillaging Era; and that therefore he was determined to march and surprise Sparta: a scheme which appeared so feasible, that all the assembly loudly commended his great capacity, and unshaken courage. Aristocrates, however, took care to betray him, having, by various pretences, retarded the execution of the project. The Arcadians, who began to suspect him, waited for, and surprised his messengers as they came back. They took the letters from him, and read them openly in the assembly. The purport of them was, that they acknowleged his great kindness both now and in the battle; and promised, that the Lacedæmonians would be grateful. As soon as the letters were read, the Arcadians began to stone their king, frequently calling upon the Messenians to assist them; but they waited for the orders of Aristomenes, who, far from triumphing in this spectacle, stood still, with his eyes fixed on the ground, which he wet with his tears, his soul pierced with sorrow to see a crowned head so shamefully and so deservedly put to death [o]. The Arcadians afterwards erected a monument over him, with an inscription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the Messenians under the command of Gorgus and Manticlus, they passed into Sicily; where they founded the city of Messene, one of the most famous in the island. Aristomenes remained, however, in Greece, where he married all his daughters, except the youngest, to persons of great rank. A prince of Rhodes, inquiring of the oracle at Delphi whom he should espouse, that his subjects might be happy under his posterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the most worthy of the Greeks; which answer was immediately understood to point at the virgin daughter of Aristomenes. Her therefore he demanded, and received her, Aristomenes accompanying him back to his dominions; where he formed a scheme of uniting the Lydians and Medes against the Spartans, resolving, with this view, to go into Media, and to the court of Sardis; but, while he meditated these great enterprizes, death surprised him, and thereby freed Lacedæmon from the most inveterate enemy she ever had.

Intends to surprise Sparta, but is again betrayed by the king of Arcadia;

who is therefore stoned by his own people.

Aristomenes dies.

[o] Pausan. in Messen. Polyb. lib. iv. p. 301.

His ſon-in-law honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent tomb. And hiſtory has tranſmitted his fame to the lateſt poſterity.

Meſſenia divided by the Lacedæmonians.

Meſſenia once more reduced, the Spartans treated the remaining inhabitants with a ſeverity that became proverbial, making them all ſlaves, and dividing the whole country among their own citizens, excepting the diſtrict of Methone, which they gave to the Argives; an acceſſion by which they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the ſovereignty of Greece. We find nothing farther which deſerves notice recorded of either of the Lacedæmonian kings, unleſs it be a ſaying of Anaxander, of whom it being demanded, why the Lacedæmonians kept no money in their exchequer, he anſwered, "That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves [p]."

The reigns of Eurycrates and Archidamus.

Eurycrates reigned after his father Anaxander, as Archidamus ſucceeded his father Anaxidamus. Of their reigns we know nothing more, than that they paſſed them in peace and quietneſs; for, though various authors have recorded the names of theſe princes [q], of their actions we find no detail, unleſs it be the following wiſe ſaying of Eurycrates, whom Plutarch calls Eucratides; who, when it was aſked him, "Why the ephori ſat every day to determine cauſes about contracts," anſwered, "That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies."

The reigns of Leo and Ariſto.

Eurycrates was ſucceeded by his ſon Leo, and Archidamus by his ſon Ariſto; princes concerning whom hiſtorians are not ſo ſilent. Leo was a man of great capacity, and very ſolicitous for the ſtrict execution of juſtice; for it being demanded of him, "Under what government a man might life ſafeſt," he anſwered immediately, "Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor; where integrity is ſure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none." At the Olympic games, when every body commended the victors, "How much better, ſaid he, would it have been, if theſe men had employed the pains they have taken to be ſwift, in learning to be honeſt!" Ariſto, his colleague, is remarkable in hiſtory for ſome extraordinary incidents which happened in his own family. He had two wives; but was ſo unfortunate as to have children by neither of them; a circumſtance which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend Agetus,

[p] Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. Pauſan. in Lacon. [q] Herodot. lib. i. cap. 65.

the

the moſt beautiful woman in Sparta. In order to obtain her, he contrived this ſcheme: he accoſted his friend Agetus one day in a gay humour, and, having firſt ſworn to give him whatever precious thing he choſe belonging to himſelf, drew from him a like oath; and, when Agetus had choſen, the king, in conſequence of that oath, demanded his wife. Agetus proteſted, that he did not comprehend his wife to be included in the promiſe that had paſſed between them; but Ariſto inſiſted, that an oath was to be underſtood in the ſenſe in which he who tendered it took it. Agetus ſubmitted; and the king accordingly took his wife. About ſeven months after this tranſaction, as he ſat with the ephori hearing cauſes, a ſervant came in great haſte to tell him, that the queen was brought to bed: upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped ſome expreſſions as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned the boy, and called him Damaratus [r]. During the reigns of Leo and Ariſto, the Lacedæmonians were engaged in a war with the Tegeatæ, wherein they were ſucceſsful.

Anaxandrides ſucceeds his father Leo.

Anaxandrides ſucceeded his father Leo, during the life-time of his colleague Ariſto. In his time, the body of Oreſtes, or rather his bones, were recovered, and removed. He is reported alſo to have had two wives, for whom he built ſeparate houſes. The ephori had commanded him to divorce his firſt wife, becauſe ſhe bore him no children; but he, without repudiating the firſt, contented himſelf with taking another, by whom he might have children. By her, not long after his marriage, he had Cleomenes. His firſt wife then alſo conceived, and brought him a child, who was called Dorieus. The ephori pretending to make ſome ſcruple, whether this was really her child or not, the buſineſs was quickly after effectually cleared up, by her bearing Leonidas and Cleombrotus [s]. This king Anaxandrides was certainly a very wiſe man, and had very juſt notions of government. It being demanded of him, "Why the Spartans were ſo cautious in paſſing capital judgements; and why, notwithſtanding his acquittal, they ſtill demanded a recogniſance of a perſon accuſed?" he anſwered, "Becauſe, in capital caſes, execution can never be recalled; and, in the other caſe, they kept that recogniſance, that, in caſe the guilt of the perſon acquitted ſhould afterwards ap-

[r] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 62. Plut. ubi ſupra.
[s] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. lib. v. cap. 39—42.

pear, he might be liable to a juſter judgement.[t] Ariſto was alſo a prince of great worth and probity, and, in conſequence thereof, greatly beloved by his people. In the reigns of theſe princes, Crœſus king of Lydia was vanquiſhed, taken priſoner, and an end put to his kingdom, by Cyrus.

The reigns of Cleomenes and Demaratus.

Anaxandrides was ſucceeded by his ſon Cleomenes, as Ariſto was by his ſon Demaratus. It was ſtrict regard to hereditary right which induced the Lacedæmonians to place Cleomenes on the throne; for he was known to be, at certain times, deprived of his ſenſes; and, when he had the uſe of them, was cunning, ambitious, and extremely deceitful, whereas his brother Dorieus was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleneſs of his temper, and his ſkill in the art of war: he was ſo much diſguſted, however, at Cleomenes being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony; whereby he obtained an honourable excuſe for quitting his country[t]. In the very beginning of his reign Cleomenes engaged in a war with the Argives, whom he defeated; and, having driven a conſiderable body of them into a wood, he cauſed the Helotes to ſet that wood on fire, whereby numbers of them were deſtroyed. In all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce, untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he ſought only victory, without inquiring whether the means by which he obtained it were juſt or not; yet he had ſometimes flights of fancy which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to ſay, that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, Heſiod of the Helotes, becauſe the former made war his ſubject, and the latter treated of huſbandry[u]. He was early ſuſpected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the ſtate; for, at his return from the war with the Argives, he was accuſed of having omitted manifeſt opportunities of taking Argos itſelf; but the anſwers he gave, when the matter came to be heard before the ephori, were ſo ſatisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to Cliſthenes the Athenian, and his party, at whoſe requeſt he drove the Piſiſtratidæ out of Athens; afterwards he joined with Iſagoras, whom the Athenians had baniſhed, and endeavoured by his influence to veſt in him the ſovereignty of that city; whereby he created great miſchiefs to the Greeks. The Corinthians, who, as we have elſewhere ſeen, were the ſtedfaſt

[t] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [u] Plutarch. Apophth. Lacon.

friends

friends and allies of the Lacedæmonians, diſguſted at the haughty behaviour of Cleomenes, and at his waſting the territory of Eleuſina, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deſerted them: Demaratus, his colleague alſo, who was a very worthy and excellent perſon, oppoſed his deſigns; while he was gone into Ægina, where he pretended to ſeize the principal perſons in the iſland, under pretence that they were in the Perſian intereſt, Demaratus accuſed him to the ephori and the ſenate, of being an enemy to peace, a diſturber of Greece, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring ſtates to look with a ſuſpicious eye on Sparta[w]. Theſe articles of accuſation had at firſt their effect; but when Cleomenes returned he found means not only to get himſelf acquitted, but alſo his colleague depoſed. He ſuggeſted, that Demaratus's birth was liable to great ſuſpicions, alleging the expreſſion of his father before mentioned. The Spartans ſent to the oracle at Delphi, in order to have this intricate queſtion decided: Cleomenes foreſeeing this ſtep, had taken care to corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies with the reſponſe, Demaratus, was depoſed, and Leotychides his couſin, the eighth in deſcent from Theopompus, was raiſed to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the depoſed king, that, inſtead of quitting his country, he ſtill endeavoured to render it all the ſervice in his power, content to execute inferior magiſtracies. But the intemperance of his ſucceſſor vanquiſhed, at length, his patience; for Leotychides, being one day informed, that Demaratus was ſitting as inſpector in the place of public exercife, ſent a ſervant to inſult him, by aſking him this queſtion, "How he liked his preſent office, after having executed that of king?" To which Demaratus fiercely anſwered, "That he himſelf knew the weight of both, which he who ſent him did not; but that this queſtion ſhould either prove the cauſe of great miſery, or of great felicity, to Sparta." Then, covering his head, he retired to his own houſe; where, having firſt ſacrificed to Jupiter, he ſent for his mother, and earneſtly intreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth, whether, as reputed, he was the ſon of king Ariſto; or whether, as his enemies ſuggeſted, Agetus was his father. She having, in the moſt ſolemn terms, aſſured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to Delphi; but, indeed, reſolved to quit Sparta

Demaratus depoſed.

[w] Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 52. Pauſan. Lacon.

for

for ever, and to retire where he might be abſolutely ſafe: with this view he went firſt to Elis, from thence to Zacynthus; at length he repaired into Perſia, where he was received by king Darius with the utmoſt civility, had large revenues aſſigned him, and was, in every reſpect, uſed as a prince. In his exile he behaved in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, and without ſhewing any rancour againſt his country. It is recorded of him, that when the Perſian monarch would have puniſhed a nobleman who had revolted, and afterwards, at Demaratus's perſuaſion, ſubmitted to the king, the Spartan generouſly interpoſed, addreſſing the Perſian king, in theſe words: "It is diſhonourable, O king, not to have had it in thy power to puniſh him when he was a rebel, and as diſhonourable to exert a power of puniſhing, now he is become thy friend[x]." When he found, that the Perſian was determined to make war on Greece, we are told he ſent the firſt advice thereof, cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of Sparta who ever proved victor in the Olympic games; in a word, he was a perſon of ſuch merit, that none of the Perſians envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his poſterity flouriſhed many ages[y].

Demaratus retires into Perſia, and is received there with great civility.

Yr. of Fl. 1863. Ante Chr. 485.

Leotychides, as he was raiſed to the kingdom by the craft of Cleomenes, ſo he was entirely governed by him in all that he did: he went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ſome of the principal inhabitants priſoners, and left them with the Athenians, their mortal enemies; for which cruelty he afterwards ſuffered, though he acted merely by the advice and under the influence of Cleomenes. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconſiſtently as formerly; that is, ſometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the leaſt regard to juſtice. When Ariſtagoras, the Mileſian tyrant, came to Sparta, with an intent to perſuade Cleomenes to make war upon the Perſian king, he heard his propoſals, both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himſelf: but he adviſed his country againſt the former, and abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the latter; wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity; for the ſame prince, prevailing with the Athenians, thereby kindled that war which had nearly brought on the total deſtruc-

Leotychides ſucceeds Demaratus.

[x] Plut. Apoph. Lacon. [y] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 239. Pauſan. Laconic.

tion

tion of Greece. He likewiſe reſiſted all the ſolicitations of Mæander, the tyrant of Samos, who alſo would have tempted him with money; and not only rejected his offers in private, but complained of him to the ephori, telling them, that if they did not baniſh this man out of their territories, he would teach the Lacedæmonians to be knaves. When, by degrees, his contrivances againſt Demaratus were diſcovered, and the Spartans began to ſhew ſome inclination to examine ſtrictly into that matter, he thought it beſt to fly firſt into Theſſaly, and then into Arcadia, where he immediately excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of Arcadians, and endeavouring, by a ſolemn oath, to bind them to his ſervice. The Spartans well knowing his enterpriſing genius, and being afraid leſt he ſhould excite the Arcadians to invade them, recalled, and reſtored him to his dignity: but, a ſhort time after he returned, he relapſed into his former madneſs, attacking the people he met with his ſceptre; ſo that there was a neceſſity to confine, and even put him in fetters. In this condition he was attended by a Helot, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a ſword, wherewith, beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himſelf up; and having at length cut his bowels out expired [z]. Many of the Spartans imputed this extraordinary fate to his corrupting the oracle of Delphi, and thereby procuring the depoſition of Demaratus; the Athenians attributed it to his ſacrilege at Eleuſina; the Argives were as poſitive, that it befel him for burning their ſacred grove. As for thoſe who were for aſcribing his end to natural cauſes, they alleged, that drinking immoderately with the Scythian ambaſſadors, his drunkenneſs terminated in madneſs [a]. He left behind him a daughter named Gorgo, one of the moſt celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of Ægina, upon his death, applied themſelves to the Spartans, complaining vehemently againſt Leotychides, for that he, in conjunction with Cleomenes, had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their iſland, and putting them into the hands of the Athenians. The Spartans who, as a nation, piqued themſelves very much upon their juſtice, diſclaimed the whole of this adventure; and offered the inhabitants of Ægina to deliver up Leotychides into their hands: but the deputies of that iſland wiſely declined carrying the king of Sparta away; they contented themſelves, there-

He flies to Theſſaly; but is recalled, and reſtored to his dignity.

His unhappy end.

[z] Pauſan. Lacon. Herodot. lib. v. cap. 48, 74, 75. [a] Ibid.

fore,

fore, with deſiring that he might go with them to Athens, there to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to rectify the miſchief he had done them, by procuring their hoſtages to be delivered up; he accompanied them thither accordingly: but his and their applications being fruitleſs, they ſuffered him to return again to Sparta, where he ſtill retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as is their cuſtom, regretted their abſent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the conſequences of all this we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to explain[b]. Let us, in the mean time, paſs to the ſtory of his colleague.

Leonidas ſucceeds Cleomenes.

Leonidas, the ſon of Anaxandrides, half brother to Cleomenes, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter Gorgo. He was a prince of great moderation, and of valour ſuperior to moſt men of his age: ſome of the Spartans, however, who diſliked his family, could not help ſpeaking diſreſpectfully to him; one of them particularly, told him publicly, "That, except being a king, he was no better than they." To which, Leonidas ſmiling, anſwered, "If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king[c]." When Miltiades, the Athenian, fought the famous battle of Marathon, the Spartans had promiſed an army, but ſent none: their troops arrived a little after the battle, went to the ſpot where it was fought, where, having conſidered attentively the prodigious difficulties the Athenians had overcome, after having highly commended them they returned home again to Sparta. When, as the wiſeſt of the Greeks had foreſeen, this battle at Marathon only excited the Perſians to attempt again the conqueſt of Greece, the Spartans, with a reſolution worthy the diſciples of Lycurgus, determined to oppoſe them. Demaratus, their king, was conſtrained to accompany Xerxes in this expedition, though, in reſpect to his country, he had ſent early notice thereof to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, and the daughter of his greateſt enemy. When it was apparent that Xerxes would enter Greece in perſon, with a prodigious army, a general aſſembly was held at the Iſthmus, the reſolutions of which were theſe: "That the ſtates of Greece ſhould unanimouſly join in defending its liberty againſt the Perſians; that, for the preſent, all their quarrels amongſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpended; that the tenth of the ſpoil ſhould be dedicated to Apollo; and that, of thoſe

The Spartans reſolve to oppoſe the Perſians,

[b] Pauſan. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[c] Plut. in Apophtheg.

who

who deſerted the common cauſe, a decimation ſhould be made; that is, a tenth part ſhould be put to death without mercy[d]." Warm and generous reſolutions, if the ſame ſpirit had accompanied them in the execution; but, when words were to be realized by deeds, of all the confederates, the Spartans and Athenians only ſeemed ready to fulfil their promiſes. The Theſſalians were the firſt who were to feel the weight of Xerxes and his myriads; they, therefore, ſent to the Greeks, to beſeech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they ſubmitted to an enemy they could not reſiſt. Upon this intimation ten thouſand men were ſent by ſea to Theſſaly, under the command of Evenetus, a Spartan, and Themiſtocles, the Athenian: but, when they arrived, they were convinced that this meaſure would prove ineffectual; for, in a plain country, as Theſſaly is, there could be no hopes of oppoſing ſuch multitudes of men with a handful of troops, eſpecially when it was known that the Theſſalian princes could not be depended on; and that many of the paſſes into Theſſaly were in the power of Alexander, king of Macedon: the army, therefore, returned, without having done any ſervice. At the next general council, however, it was reſolved to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; in purſuance of which reſolution ſix thouſand foot were appointed for that ſervice, and the command of them was given to Leonidas[e]. Of theſe three hundred only were Spartans, according to the direction of the king; and when ſome principal perſons demanded of him, whether he had not ſome ſecret deſign in his head, he anſwered frankly, "I pretend to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; but, in truth, I go to die for my country:" and, when they ſtill wondered at the ſmall number of men he took with him, he, turning to thoſe to whom he had communicated his ſecret, ſaid, "There is enough, conſidering the deſign we go upon." When he took his leave of his wife, ſhe aſked him if he had nothing particular to ſay to her: "Marry ſome brave man, ſaid he, and bring him brave children[f]." But of this memorable action we have ſpoken at length elſewhere[g]. Leonidas not only repulſed the Perſians with great ſlaughter, at the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, but, being informed that they had marched round the mountain, and were advancing to fall on his rear, he reſolved not to

and to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ.

The intrepidity of Leonidas.

[d] Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 177. Diod. Sic. lib. xi. [e] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. ubi ſupra. [f] Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. [g] Vide Hiſt of the Perſians.

wait

wait their attack, but to go and find them out: yet, looking on his Spartans, and obſerving ſome ſtriplings, who had ſcarce attained the age of men, his heart relented: calling them, therefore, to him, one by one, he pretended to ſend by each of them a billet to the ephori: he would have afterwards done the ſame in favour of ſome perſons of extraordinary merit; but they, penetrating his deſign, refuſed to obey him, one of them anſwering, "Sir, I came to ſerve you as a ſoldier, not as a courier." Another, "Let us fight firſt, ſir, and then I will carry your account of the battle." Having made the proper diſpoſitions, he paſſed the ſtreights, and fell upon the enemy: he, and all his Spartans, were ſlain, together with the Theſpians; but the Thebans, holding up their targets, cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were ſtigmatized. This victory, if we muſt call it ſo, coſt the Perſians twenty thouſand men. The body of Leonidas being found, Xerxes ordered it to be nailed to a croſs; an action which reflected diſhonour upon himſelf, and could do no hurt to the deceaſed. As to the fame of Leonidas, it was out of the reach of Xerxes, and hath remained untarniſhed three thouſand years after his deceaſe (A). The Perſian, after this check, conſulted

Leonidas and all the Spartans ſlain.

(A) In fighting at Thermopylæ, Leonidas made uſe, at firſt, of all the advantages of ground afforded him by his own ſituation, and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narroweſt part of the paſs; and when he retired from the field of battle, he diſpoſed his battalions in ſuch a manner, that they readily wheeled about, and received the enemy, who attempted to harraſs them, in ſuch a manner, that there were more ſlain in the retreat than in the fight. If Ephialtes had not led the Barbarians round the mountains, Leonidas would have carried his firſt point, that is, he would have conſtrained Xerxes to retire. But when the augur Megiſtias, upon inſpecting the ſacrifices, declared, that all the Grecians were threatened with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence, that the enemy were actually paſſing the mountains, Leonidas put in practice his ſecond reſolution, which was the devoting his Spartans and himſelf to death for the ſafety of Greece in general, and of Sparta in particular. This reſolution was founded upon two reaſons; the firſt, that the ſtreights of Thermopylæ ought not abſolutely to be abandoned, but ſold to the enemy as dear as might be; the ſecond reſted it upon this oracle which the Lacedæmonians had received:

Thy

ed Demaratus again, adjuring him, by the kindneſs he had ſhewn him, to give his ſentiments ſincerely as to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The Spartan thereupon propoſed to him ſeizing the iſle of Cythera, which was oppoſite to Laconia; and from whence he might have made the Spartans ſo uneaſy, as would infallibly hinder their ſending aſſiſtance to the Athenians, or impeding him in his deſign of penetrating into Greece; but Achæmenes, the king's brother, being quite of a different opinion, fearing, that if the fleet parted from the land army, both might be ruined, Xerxes preferred his counſel, and thereby failed in his deſign [h]. The Grecian fleet, in the mean time, lay at Artemiſium, under the command of Eurybiades, a Spartan, a man of great perſonal courage, but timorous as a commander, and unexperienced in ſea-affairs. But, of the battle fought there between the two fleets, we have given an account in the hiſtory of Perſia. The firſt ſtep that was taken afterwards was to prepare a great fleet, to proſecute this victory, the command of which was given to Leotychides, king of Sparta: but it ſoon appeared, that the Perſians had not totally abandoned their deſign, Mardonius remaining in Greece, at the head of a very conſiderable army, with which he threatened, in the ſpring, to reviſit Attica; the

[h] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra, & in Vit. Themiſt.

> Thy plains, O Sparta, Perſian rage ſhall feel;
> Thy ſons ſhall ſlaughter'd fall by foreign ſteel,
> Unleſs a king of the Herculean race,
> In war, to ſave the reſt, ſhall death embrace.

This prompted Leonidas to receive that death which he knew muſt ſome time or other happen to him, when it might avert evil from his country: it was to prevent an unneceſſary carnage that Leonidas diſmiſſed the greateſt part of the allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, viz. three hundred Spartans, ſeven hundred Theſpians, and four hundred Thebans; he then advanced without the narrow paſſage, becauſe he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might moſt injure the enemy; and in that deſperate attack he fell. Xerxes loſt two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raiſed (1).

(1) Vide Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. cap. 32. Plut. in Apophth. Lacon. & in Vita Ariſtid.

Greeks

Greeks therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing a land army alſo.

Pauſanias, the ſon of Cleombrotus, took upon him the character of tutor or protector to Pliſtarchus, the ſon of Leonidas; and, in right thereof, was the firſt magiſtrate in Sparta, the other king, as we have ſaid, being abſent, at the head of the confederate fleet. In this ſituation of things, the dilatorineſs of popular counſels eminently appeared; for, when the army ought to have been in the field, the Athenian ambaſſadors found the Lacedæmonians celebrating the Hyacinthia: in vain theſe miniſters repreſented, that the common cauſe was neglected; and that the Athenians had reaſon to expect more ſpirited conduct, ſince they had hazarded all for the ſervice of Greece; the ephori and ſenate, confiding too much in the ſtrong wall, which, by this time, was erected acroſs the iſthmus, thought but little of raiſing troops, till Chilæus, a Tegeatan, who had a great reputation amongſt them, demonſtrated the folly and diſhonour of ſuch conduct; obſerving, that if the Athenians were ruined through their delay, the Perſians, being maſters at ſea, might land what forces they would in Laconia, and bring the war home to their doors, the wall croſs the iſthmus being, in ſuch a caſe, uſeleſs[1]. Rouſed by this repreſentation, they ſent five thouſand Spartans, and armed ſeven thouſand of their Helotes, Pauſanias commanding in chief. This reinforcement, however, did not hinder Mardonius from taking Athens, or from ſeeking the Greek army, and offering battle. Pauſanias had the command in chief of the whole Grecian forces, which amounted to one hundred thouſand men. The Perſians were certainly double their number; nay, according to Diodorus's account, Mardonius's army conſiſted of five hundred thouſand men. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Platæa, an engagement happened between a great body of Perſian horſe, commanded by Maſiſtius, and a corps of Greeks, wherein, after a great effuſion of blood, the Perſians were routed, and their commander killed. A general battle being delayed, the Greek army ſuffered much by deſertion, as, on the other hand, did the Perſians, for want of proviſions. Pauſanias, at length, thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army freſh and more advantageous quarters; in which motion, however, he was oppoſed by Amompharetus, an old Spartan commander,

Mardonius attempts the conqueſt of Greece.

[1] Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. xii. Pauſan. in Lacon.

who

who inſiſted, that it was derogatory to the Spartan honour to retire, in ſight of an enemy. Pauſanias, like a wiſe man, and a great captain, anſwered, that marching this way or that, was not diſhonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but, when he found all his intreaties were in vain, and that Amompharetus would not be perſuaded, he gave the ſignal, and immediately the Lacedæmonian and Tegetæan foot began to move. Amompharetus, who had been hitherto of opinion, that Pauſanias would not deſert him, when he ſaw himſelf actually on his march, ordered his ſtandards to be taken up, and moved ſlowly after him. Pauſanias kept the high ground; the Athenians, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the reſt of the confederates withdrew to the temple of Juno, where they were out of reach of the Perſian cavalry.

At the temple of Ceres, which was on the brow of the hill, Pauſanias halted, with all his forces, to give Amompharetus and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army, before the van-guard of the Perſian horſe attacked them with great vigour [k]. Mardonius looked upon this decampment of the Greek army as a plain flight, and therefore was not eager to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways: this eagerneſs, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of his misfortune; for his Perſians marching haſtily, and without order, the reſt of the corps, of which his numerous army was compoſed, followed their example; and their confuſion gave the Greeks great advantage. The troops under Pauſanias did not much exceed fifty thouſand men; and on this account it was, that he ſent to haſten the Athenians in their march. The Athenians, who, on this occaſion, acted with the utmoſt generoſity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily ſtopped ſhort by the Bœotians, and other Greeks, in the ſervice of the Perſians, who, on this occaſion, behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The Lacedæmonians and Tegetæans were forced to engage Mardonius's army without aſſiſtance. It is univerſally acknowleged, that the Perſians behaved very well on this occaſion; but, being neither ſo well armed, nor ſo well diſciplined, as the Greeks, their valour was of no

[k] Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 70. Plut. in Vit. Themiſt & Ariſt. Diod. Sic. lib. xi. Juſtin. lib. ii, cap. 14. Corn. Nepos, in Vit. Pauſan.

The Perſians defeated, and Mardonius killed.

uſe but to bring them to ſlaughter; for, as Herodotus rightly obſerves, it was the ſame whether one or ten Perſians broke into the Grecian ranks, ſince the next line was ready to receive them without confuſion or diſorder; ſo that they were preſently ſlain, without effecting any thing, becauſe they charged tumultuouſly, their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as Mardonius lived, who, mounted on a white horſe, and fighting at the head of a thouſand men, gave ſignal demonſtrations of a courage deſerving a better fate; but when he was ſlain, the Perſians began to give way, a circumſtance which diſpirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their ſwords. The Athenians alſo defeated the Greeks who ſided with and fought for the Perſians; ſo that Artabazus, who was next in command to Mardonius, and againſt whoſe advice theſe meaſures were taken, judging all to be loſt, retired with forty thouſand men, and marched with great expedition back to Thrace; the reſt of the Perſianar my withdrew into their camp, where they ſtrengthened the works formerly thrown up, and reſolved to defend, to the utmoſt of their power, theſe poſts, againſt the victorious Greeks. Pauſanias, coming up with his Lacedæmonians, attacked the camp without heſitation, but, at the ſame time, with little ſucceſs; for the Perſians fighting now not for victory or glory, but their lives, made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance: beſides, they had the ſame advantage over the Lacedæmonians here, which the Lacedæmonians had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore obſerved, the Spartans were unaccuſtomed to ſuch attacks, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of Lycurgus, all ſieges, as much as in them lay. Yet this ſtate of things laſted but for a ſmall time; for when the Athenians came up, who of all the Greeks beſt underſtood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly opened a paſſage to the Lacedæmonians; and then a mercileſs ſlaughter enſued; of three hundred thouſand men, whom Mardonius brought into the field, ſcarce three thouſand eſcaped[1]. Of the Greeks, however, it is uncertain how many there fell. Plutarch owns one thouſand three hundred and ſixty to have fallen; but Diodorus Siculus is poſitive, that

The Perſian camp forced.

[1] Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 68—70.

there

there were very few leſs than ten thouſand. When this bloody engagement was over, the reſt of the allies came up to be witneſſes, rather than partakers of the victory.

Lampon of Ægina propoſed to Pauſanias, that the body of Mardonius ſhould be carefully ſearched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle Leonidas, by the command of Xerxes, might be revenged. But the Lacedæmonian rejected the propoſal with diſdain, as a mean inſult in which the Barbarians were not to be imitated. When this great captain beheld the magnificent tent, and rich furniture, belonging to Mardonius, together with the prodigious magazines of luxury, which had been provided for the deceaſed, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him ſuch a ſupper as they were wont to dreſs for that general: at the ſame time he ordered ſome of his own ſervants to dreſs a Spartan meal: theſe orders being executed, he ſent for the principal officers among the Greeks; then pointing to both the ſuppers, he ſaid, with a ſmile, "See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the Medes, who, living in this ſumptuous manner at home, would needs come ſo far to ſpoil us who fare ſo hardy." Part of the immenſe ſpoils that were taken in the Perſian camp, the Helotes, who were intruſted to collect them, purloined; part were dedicated to the gods, a tenth of all ſorts was given to Pauſanias, and the reſt diſtributed among the Greeks. Having thus put an end to the war, Pauſanias thought next of puniſhing ſuch as had betrayed the common cauſe of Greece: with this view he marched immediately to Thebes, the citizens of which, at firſt, attempted to make a defence; but, on mature deliberation, they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the Median faction who were in their hands. Theſe vainly fancied they might redeem themſelves with money; but in this hope they were greatly miſtaken; for Pauſanias, diſdaining their propoſal, hurried them away to Corinth, and cauſed them there to be put to death[m].

Pauſanias puniſhes the Thebans of the Perſian faction.

On the ſame day in which the battle of Platæa was fought, Leotychides, king of Sparta, with Xanthippus, the Athenian, gained a glorious victory at Mycale, where the laſt remains of the Perſian fleet, and of the Perſian armies, which had been drawn together for the deſtruction of Greece, were utterly defeated. The commanders of the Perſian fleet greatly diſcouraged their men, by the

The Greeks victorious at Mycale.

[m] Herodot. ubi ſupra, cap. 77, 78, & 81. Plut. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

puſillanimity of their conduct; for, although they had a great number of ſhips, they ran them all on ſhore, and ſought to ſhelter themſelves under the protection of an army of ſixty thouſand men, which, under the command of Tigranes, had been left to defend Ionia. The Greeks perceiving their aim, determined to attack them on ſhore; and Leotychides, ſtanding in towards the coaſt, ordered an herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the Greek tongue, in theſe words: "Men of Ionia, ſuch among you as my voice reaches, hearken with attention to what I ſay, the rather becauſe the Perſians cannot underſtand me: when the battle begins, every one of you ought, in the firſt place, to remember liberty; and, in the next, that the word in our army is Hebe. Let ſuch as hear me, inform thoſe who hear me not." This proclamation had a double effect; for it inclined many of the Ionians to favour the Greeks; and it ſo frighted the Perſians, that they knew not whom to truſt. The Perſians, before the battle began, diſarmed the Samians, having ſome intelligence, that they had been intriguing with the Greeks; but confiding greatly in the Mileſians, they intruſted them with the cuſtody of the paſſes through the mountains behind them: theſe diſpoſitions being made, they prepared to defend their fortifications; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much; for the Greeks landing, the Athenians marched ſtrait forward along the ſhore, the Lacedæmonians took a compaſs by the hills. The former, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, forced the Perſian camp about the ſame time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the Samians, in the midſt of the battle, catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the Perſians in their very camp; and the Mileſians, who were to have guarded the paſſes, as ſoon as the Perſians fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them priſoners[n]. A very odd circumſtance, which, according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, paſſed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this: about the time the battle began, a rumour was ſpread throughout the army, that the Barbarians were defeated at Platæa; though, as we have obſerved, that engagement happened in the morning of the ſame day that was more fatal to the enemy at Mycale. But this was no other than a ſtratagem of the Spartan king, who employed his emiſſaries to propagate this report,

[n] Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 97, & ſeq.

port, with the double view of encouraging the Greeks, and diſpiriting the enemy.

Yr. of Fl. 1871. Ante Chr. 477.

Pauſanias was afterwards ſent to take the command of the fleet, with ſtrict orders to free the Grecian cities from the Perſian garriſons. On this deſign, he ſailed to Cyprus, thence to Byzantium, which, according to his inſtructions, he ſet at liberty; and this ſeems to have been the laſt of his exploits; for he ſoon after engaged in a ſcandalous treaty with the Perſians, affecting, by the aſſiſtance of the great king, to make himſelf ſovereign of Greece. That at this time he firſt entered into theſe practices, appears from hence: he ſent ſuch perſons of great quality, as he took in Byzantium, to Gongylus, of Eretria, telling the Grecian chiefs, that he reſerved them for puniſhment; whereas he had privately given directions, that they ſhould be ſent back in ſafety to Xerxes [o]. As ſoon as he had conceived theſe ſtrange notions, he degenerated into the manners of the Perſians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain cuſtoms of his country, of which he had formerly been ſo fond. Another accident happened at Byzantium, extremely prejudicial to his character, and which, ſome ſay, diſturbed him to his death: he fell violently in love with a lady, named Cleonice, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but ſhe, in great modeſty, deſiring that the lights might be put out when ſhe came into his chamber, unfortunately ſtumbled on an extinguiſhed lamp; whereupon he awakening, and fearing that ſome aſſaſſin had broken into his room, caught up his ſword, and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almoſt beſide himſelf [p]. The allies, in the mean time, took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately ſent to accuſe him at Sparta. In the interim, they deprived him of his command, and even beſieged him in Byzantium. Eſcaping, however, from thence, he fled to Heraclea, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in uſe, to pacify the ghoſt of Cleonice. In this place he met with certain perſons, who had, or pretended to have, the power of raiſing the ſpirits of perſons deceaſed, and who, at his entreaty, brought up that of his miſtreſs; who, to all his queſtions, gave him this ſhort anſwer, "When you come to Sparta, you will find an end to all your misfortunes." Accordingly, when he re-

Pauſanias intrigues with Artabazus.

The allies take umbrage at his conduct.

[o] Diod Sic. lib. xi. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Pauſan. [p] Plut. in Vit. Cimonis.

turned, the ephori cauſed him to be ſeized; but, having no ſufficient evidence, and not caring, in all probability, to proceed with rigour againſt ſo eminent a perſon on bare ſuſpicions, he was for a time enlarged.

Theſe warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed: Artabazus was the perſon he negotiated with; and, between them, they fixed this rule, that whoever brought any of Pauſanias's epiſtles ſhould immediately be put to death, that there might be no poſſibility of producing witneſſes againſt him [q]. But growing impatient, and finding that Themiſtocles, notwithſtanding the injuries done him by the Athenians, would not enter into his meaſures, Pauſanias wrote in peremptory terms to Artabazus, and confided his letters to Argilius, his particular favourite, and, as ſome ſaid, his catamite. This man, having obſerved that none of Pauſanias's meſſengers were come back again, determined to open his letters; and finding, by their contents, that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predeceſſors, he carried them directly to the ephori, who diſcovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict Pauſanias: but Argilius found means to furniſh ſufficithe evidence. Retiring to Tenarus, and pretending there to pay his devotions to Neptune, he ſet up a double tent, in one part of which he concealed certain Spartans, and, in the other, he entertained Pauſanias, who came to expoſtulate with him for not carrying his letters. By theſe expoſtulations, thoſe who overheard them became direct witneſſes againſt him; ſo that, at his return to Sparta, the ephori determined to impriſon him. Of this deſign having ſome intelligence, he retired to the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, and there took ſanctuary; a circumſtance which gave occaſion to one of the moſt extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in hiſtory: the Lacedæmonians, not caring to invade the aſylum, were at a loſs what to do, till the mother of Pauſanias, taking a tile in her hand, came to the temple, and laid it down at the door; after which, without ſpeaking a word, ſhe retired to her own houſe. The Spartans, having conſidered her conduct, and following her example, blocked up the gate; and thus, preventing his going out, reduced him to the neceſſity of ſtarving in the temple. When they were ſure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and,

His intrigues diſcovered.

His unhappy end.

[q] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. ii. cap. 15.

taking

taking out his body, delivered it to his relations[r]. About this time, Leotychides being ſent with a great army, to chaſtiſe the Theſſalians, who had ſhewn themſelves no friends to Greece in general, and expreſſed a particular enmity towards Sparta, inſtead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory, and reduced the enemy to very uneaſy circumſtances, began to receive bribes; and, informations being thereupon given in againſt him, he was ſurpriſed in his tent, with money in both hands. Returning to Sparta, and finding that the citizens were in no humour to diſpenſe with his infidelity, he, to avoid their fury, fled to Tegea, and died there in exile, having ſurvived his ſon Zeuxidamus, in whom he placed all his hopes[s].

The reigns of Pliſtarchus, Pliſtoanax, and of Archidamus.

Pliſtarchus, the ſon of Leonidas, to whom Pauſanias was tutor, did not live long. He was ſucceeded by Pliſtoanax, the ſon of Pauſanias, the next legal heir of the royal family, as Leotychides was by his grandſon Archidamus. As for Pliſtoanax, he was prince of a very mild and peaceable diſpoſition, who gave no umbrage to his fellow-citizens, and who, in their quarrels with the Athenians, acted according to their directions, without embroiling their affairs, to favour his own intereſt or ambition. Archidamus was of a ſimilar diſpoſition; and, it may be truly ſaid, that, under the reign of theſe princes, the Spartans felt no miſchiefs, but what they brought upon themſelves, and had no proſperity, but what was derived to them from their kings, and their family; for, in the nonage of Pliſtoanax, Nicomedes, the ſon of Cleombrotus, acted as his tutor. At the end of the 77th Olympiad, a moſt dreadful earthquake happened at Sparta. Diodorus ſays, that twenty thouſand perſons loſt their lives; and Plutarch affirms, that only five houſes in the city eſcaped ruin. In the midſt of this general confuſion, Archidamus gave ſuch an inſtance of his wiſdom and firmneſs, as muſt render him everlaſtingly admired: conſidering with himſelf, that his citizens were of far greater value than even their moſt valuable effects, and yet ſeeing, that, to ſave theſe, they were ready to riſque themſelves, he cauſed an alarm to be ſounded, as if an enemy had been juſt at hand. They forthwith armed themſelves, and repaired into the field: a ſtratagem to which they were doubly in-

A dreadful earthquake at Sparta.

[r] Plut. in Parallel. x. in Vit. Themiſt. in Apophth. Mulier. Lacon. Thucyd. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in Vit. Pauſan. [s] Herod. lib. vi. Pauſan. Lacon.

The Helotes revolt.

debted for their ſafety: for the Helotes, now conceiving that they had a proper opportunity of taking revenge on their cruel maſters, unanimouſly took arms, and marched boldly to Sparta, expecting to find no reſiſtance. But they were greatly miſtaken; for Archidamus, with his citizens completely armed, made ſuch a ſtand, that they were conſtrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had ſo ill treated in the time of their diſtreſs, they determined to perſiſt in their revolt, and to truſt for a pacification to their ſwords, rather than to their entreaties[t]. Many reaſons contributed to ſtrengthen the Helotes in this determination: the Spartans were already embroiled with the Athenians, who were inclined to diſpute with them the ſovereignty of Greece; the Meſſenians began to ſhew evident marks of their reſentment for the indignities and oppreſſions which they had long groaned under; the reſt of the Peloponneſian ſtates were not a little diſſatisfied: ſo that never were the Lacedæmonians leſs able to act vigorouſly againſt their rebellious ſubjects, than at preſent.

The firſt ſtep the Helotes took, after throwing off the yoke, was ſeizing a port in Meſſenia, from whence they made continual inroads into Laconia, burning and pillaging all the villages. The Spartans, in this diſtreſs, applied to Athens for aſſiſtance; which, after ſome oppoſition, was granted, and ſent under the command of Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades. They likewiſe ſolicited their other allies; who, induced by the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, and conſidering the great ſervices which all Greece had received from Sparta, likewiſe ſent their quotas; which enabled Archidamus to take the field, though the Meſ-

Are joined by the Meſſenians;

ſenians had joined the Helotes, and fortified Ithome[u]. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle, or not; but, however it was, the Helotes, and Meſſenians thought it better to retire to Ithome, than to face the Spartan army in the field; ſo that the latter, much againſt their will, were conſtrained to form the ſiege of this city: for, as we have more than once obſerved, this was a part of the military ſcience, in which the La-

but reduced by the aſſiſtance of the Athenians.

cedæmonians were but indifferently ſkilled. It was chiefly on this account that they ſolicited the aid of the Athenians; and yet, when their troops came before the city,

[t] Diodor. Sic. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Cimon. [u] Diod. Sic. lib. i.

and

and behaved themſelves more actively than the Spartans, they grew jealous of their ſkill and proweſs; being fearful leſt the ſtrangers in the army might be corrupted, and go over to the enemy, they diſmiſſed the Athenians, telling them, they had no farther occaſion for their ſervice; an affront which exceedingly incenſed the people of Athens, and diſpoſed them more than ever to think of methods to humble the Spartan greatneſs [x]. While things were in this ſituation, the Phocians made war upon the Dorians, who inhabited Mount Parnaſſus, and took from them ſeveral cities, and amongſt the reſt their capital. Theſe Dorians being originally Lacedæmonians, the Spartans diſpatched an army under the command of Nicomedes, to their aſſiſtance. He quickly reduced the Phocians to reaſon, and adjuſted all differences; but, on his return with his army, the Athenians, joining the Argives and Theſſalians, ſhut up the paſſes into Peloponneſus. Nicomedes, thus excluded, retired towards Tanagra, in Bœotia, whither the Athenians followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein the Theſſalians deſerting them, they loſt the battle [y]. Next year, the Lacedæmonians aſſiſted the Thebans againſt the Athenians; but were ſo unfortunate, as to be totally routed at Tanagra, with great loſs. The Meſſenian war was ſtill carried on, without any proſpect of termination, even in the tenth year, Ithome being naturally a ſtrong place, and the oracle at Delphi having threatened the Spartans, if they injured the ſuppliants of Jupiter Ithome; thus they were forced to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and at laſt hearken to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the Meſſenians ſhould depart from Peloponneſus, never to return, on pain of becoming ſlaves [z]. Theſe poor people were received, with their wives and children, by the Athenians, rather out of hatred to Sparta, than any great deſire to render ſervice to the diſtreſſed. They granted them Naupactus for their reſidence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of their own country, of which, in the courſe of the Peloponneſian war, they diſpoſſeſſed the Lacedæmonians.

The Meſſenians obliged to leave Peloponneſus.

The next war the Lacedæmonians undertook, was that ſtyled the Sacred, by ſome the Phocian war. The intent of it was, to put the temple at Delphi into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the Phocians; a deſign which the Spartans ef-

The Phocian, or Sacred war.

[x] Plut. in Vit. Cimon. Thucyd. lib. i. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. [y] Diod. ubi ſupra. [z] Pauſan. Meſſen.

fected,

fected, and for which the Delphians, by a decree, conferred on the Lacedæmonians a right of firſt conſulting the oracle; which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf, conſecrated in the temple. The Athenians, ſoon after, reſtored the temple to the Phocians, and from them obtained the ſame privilege, which the Delphians had granted to the Spartans; and this decree they cauſed to be engraven on the right ſide of the wolf. The Lacedæmonians [a], having induced the Bœotians to revolt from the Athenians, Tolmides, who attempted to reduce them, being ſlain, and Eubœa, at the ſame time, ſhaking off the yoke, the Spartans held this a convenient opportunity giving a mortal blow to Athens; for which purpoſe Pliſtoanax was ordered to invade their territories at the head of a great army. He being but young, Cleondrides was ſent to direct him: but he proved an unlucky guardian; for, being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from Pericles, and perſuaded the king to return home, without effecting any thing; for which corruption the Spartans puniſhed him with death, and drove their king into baniſhment. Not long after, a peace was made between the Spartans and the Athenians; which, though it laſted for ſome time, was far from extinguiſhing that hatred, which tainted the boſoms of both nations [b]. At firſt, the Athenians had the ſtronger party among the Greeks, becauſe the Lacedæmonians had behaved with haughtineſs while they held the ſovereignty; but the Athenians gaining power, and making as bad uſe of it, or worſe, almoſt all Greece, except the ſtates immediately under their juriſdiction, hated them, and attached themſelves to the Spartans. In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have laſted thirty, a great aſſembly of deputies from the ſtates of Peloponneſus, and other parts of Greece, was held at Lacedæmon, where they unanimouſly accuſed the Athenians of tyranny, oppreſſion, injuſtice, peculation, and, in fine, of a multitude of other crimes, beſeeching the Lacedæmonians to act for the common cauſe of Greece, and not ſuffer the Athenians to effect what the Perſian king, with all his power, was not able to accompliſh. Some ambaſſadors of Athens, who were by chance in the city, defended the cauſe of their country with all their might. The Spartans, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined to declare war immediately againſt the Athenians [c]. But Archidamus, like a wiſe and good

Pliſtoanax baniſhed.

The Athenians accuſed of tyranny in an aſſembly of the ſtates of Greece.

[a] Plut. in Vit. Periclis. [b] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. lib. i. [c] Juſtin. lib. iii. cap. 7.

prince,

prince, interpoſed, and adviſed them to weigh well the ſtep they were about to take. He ſhewed them, that, comparing their own ſtate with that of Athens, not only the aid of the Greeks, but of the Barbarians alſo, was neceſſary: he demonſtrated, that the invaſion of Attica would ſignify little; that, if they proceeded cautiouſly and prudently, the Athenians might probably return to a proper temper, and make ſatisfaction to their allies; that, at leaſt, they would preſerve their own reputation, and enable themſelves to carry on the war with effect. But Sthenelaides, one of the ephori, declared himſelf of a different ſentiment: he alleged, that it was a great happineſs for Sparta, that other ſtates had taken umbrage at her rival; that, if ſhe was not quickly humbled, their united ſtrength would be too weak; and that, if they did not embrace this opportunity, they might never have it in their power again. At his motion, therefore, war was immediately decreed; after which ceremony, deputies were ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi, whence they received a reſponſe, ſuited to their wiſhes. Ambaſſadors were likewiſe ſent to all the allies, to deſire them to prepare their quotas, and alſo to Athens, to offer peace upon certain conditions; which, at the motion of Pericles, were rejected.

The firſt action of the Peloponneſian war, was the attempt made upon Platæa by the Thebans; immediately after this, both parties took the field. All the Peloponneſians, except the Argives, and the Achæans, ſided with Sparta; without Peloponneſus, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambracots, Leucadians, and Anaſtorians: the Corinthians, Megarians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambroſiots, and Leucadians, furniſhed ſhips; the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians, ſent cavalry; the reſt of the ſtates furniſhed their reſpective quotas in foot. Archidamus, at the head of a numerous army, marched to the frontiers of Attica, from whence he diſpatched a meſſenger to Athens, being very deſirous, even to the laſt, of avoiding, if poſſible, this war; but the meſſenger was ſent back unheard. The enemies of Archidamus beginning to inſinuate, that, out of friendſhip to the Athenians, he betrayed the common cauſe, he marched into Attica, and penetrated within a few miles of Athens itſelf, deſtroying the country, and waſting all things in a terrible manner; after which exploit he returned through Bœotia into Peloponneſus. In the mean time, the Athenian fleet infeſted the coaſt of Laconia; and the troops on board it landing, beſieged Methone; to

Yr. of Fl. 1917. Ante Chr. 431.

The commencement of the Peloponneſian war.

to the relief of which Braſidas, the Spartan, haſtened with an hundred men, and, breaking with difficulty through the enemy, got ſafe into the town, where he made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that the Athenians were forced to retire. The ſame year, the inhabitants of Ægina, being expelled by the Athenians, fled into Peloponneſus, and had the diſtrict of Thyrea aſſigned them by the Spartans. In the ſpring of the ſecond year, Archidamus entered Attica again; but after remaining there forty days, hearing that Pericles, with a great army, waſted Peloponneſus, he returned to aſſiſt his countrymen, the rather becauſe the plague raged violently in Attica. In the third year, Archidamus beſieged Platæa; which making an obſtinate defence, he was conſtrained to turn the ſiege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered Attica the third time, and waſted all the ripe corn, whereby the Athenians were greatly diſtreſſed. The ſame year the Mitylenians revolted from the Athenians; and, in the winter of that year, Platæa was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that part of its garriſon forced their way through the Peloponneſian guards, and eſcaped to Athens. The reſt were, in the beginning of the next year, forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being razed to the ground, notwithſtanding the general zeal the inhabitants had expreſſed, in the cauſe of Greece, in the memorable battle fought on her territories [d]. This year alſo Archidamus died in a good old age, and after a very long reign. He was one of the beſt kings that Sparta ever had. Being aſked, "Who were governors at Sparta?" he anſwered, "The laws; and the magiſtrates, according to theſe laws." He left behind him two ſons, Agis, and Ageſilaus, the eldeſt of whom ſucceeded him [e].

Platæa taken and razed.

Archidamus dies.

Yr. of Fl. 1922. Ante Chr. 426.

In the ſpring after his father's death, Agis invaded Attica; and, while he was employed there, the Athenians ſeized Pylus, whither he was obliged to haſten; but to little purpoſe, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of Sparta being taken, and ſent priſoners to Athens. Not long after the Athenians ſeized the iſland of Cythera, and filled it with a colony of Meſſenians, who proved the bittereſt enemies, as indeed they well might, to the Lacedæmonians. Thyrea was alſo taken, and the poor inhabitants of Ægina, who had ſettled there, were maſſacred. To remove the war to a greater diſtance, the Lacedæmonians ſent Braſidas, their famous general, into Thrace;

The reign of Agis.

The Athenians take ſeveral towns.

[d] Thucyd. lib. iii. Plut. ubi ſupra. [e] Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

where

where he effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the Athenians. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made, by the command of the ephori, that such of the Helotes as were willing to inlist themselves as volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty: but their liberty consisted only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they, having pointed out to their jealous masters those among them who was most warlike, these were immediately dispatched privately, and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining Helotes were, together with a thousand mercenary Peloponnesians, sent with Brasidas[c]. Thucydides, the historian, commanded the Athenian forces, at that time, in Thrace, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wise man and experienced commander; but the fortune of Brasidas, the valour of his forces, and the zeal of the people of the country to join with him against the Athenians, gave such advantages to the Lacedæmonians and their allies, that Amphipolis, and several other cities, were taken. Nevertheless new negociations were set on foot at Sparta, partly because the war was very burdensome, and partly because Brasidas was greatly envied. With much trouble a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which Brasidas attacked Cleon, who commanded the Athenian forces in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis, and gained a great victory, Cleon himself, with six hundred Athenians, being slain, with the loss only of seven Spartans; yet this victory was too dear, Brasidas being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest and most modest men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while, at the same time, he behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at Sparta. He exactly made good the letter he sent the ephori, when he first arrived in Thrace, conceived in these words; "What is for the honour of the state I will perform, or die[d]." Plutarch has recorded a saying of his, which deserves to be transmitted to posterity: looking one day among some dried figs, he caught a mouse, which immediately turned and bit his fingers; whereupon he let it go: "You see," said he to some who stood near him, "that creatures that have but little strength can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have."

Some of the Helotes inhumanly murdered, and others admitted into the service.

The Athenians routed with great slaughter.

Brasidas mortally wounded.

His character.

[c] Diod. Sic. lib. xii. [d] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. Apophth. Lacon

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The great miſchiefs which this captain had brought upon the Athenians, and the irreparable loſs which the Spartans conceived they had ſuſtained by his death, determined both ſtates to put an end to the war. Pliſtoanax earneſtly laboured to promote this diſpoſition, perſuading himſelf that, in time of peace, he ſhould be better able to deal with his mutinous ſubjects than during a war, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach againſt him. We have ſeen on what account he was baniſhed, and we are aſſured that he lived in exile nineteen years. His return was occaſioned by a reſponſe from Delphi, concerning which the Spartans affected afterwards to have many doubts, whether it came really from the god or from ſome of Pliſtoanax's agents. The king, however, with difficulty prevailing upon the ephori to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded, after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly concluded before new intrigues were ſet on foot in Peloponneſus: the Corinthians, and, in general, the allies of Sparta, were greatly offended with the peace, becauſe it did not exactly anſwer their private purpoſes. Beſides, they were apprehenſive leſt Sparta and Athens ſhould enter into a cloſe union, whereby the dominion of Peloponneſus might be left to the former, and the ſovereignty of the iſlands, with the Grecian colonies in Aſia, transferred to the latter. To defeat this ſcheme, if any ſuch there was, or ſhould be, ſeveral of the Peloponneſian ſtates leagued themſelves with Argos, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendſhip for Sparta, and which, at this time, ſeemed to threaten her with hoſtilities. This league made the Lacedæmonians very uneaſy, and the more ſo when they found that the Argives, and thoſe who were allied with them, were negociating at Athens. Thither, therefore, the Lacedæmonians ſent their ambaſſadors, who, in all probability, would have carried their point, if they had depended upon Nicias, their old and conſtant friend; but, ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by the artifices of Alcibiades, who, acting on his uncle Pericles' maxims, ſought to revive the war, they acted in ſuch a manner as rouzed the ſuſpicion of the Athenians[c]. Next year the new ephori grew likewiſe fond of war; and though Nicias ſtrongly laboured to compoſe all differences, yet all he could obtain was no more than the ſwearing to the peace anew, which he well enough

Yr. of Fl. 1927. Ante Chr. 421.

A peace concluded.

[c] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vita Alcibiad.

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underſtood would not content his fellow-citizens. In the ſummer, when the ninetieth Olympiad was celebrated, the Lacedæmonians received a very flagrant affront: the Eleans refuſed to let them ſacrifice, or in any manner partake of the ſacred rites, placing a ſtrong guard on the temple in order to prevent their admiſſion. The reaſon aſſigned for this excluſion was, that the Lacedæmonians, while former Olympics were held, had ſeized the caſtle of Phoricus, for which inſult they were fined two hundred drachmæ; but as the fine was not paid, they were now juſtly excluded from the temple. The Lacedæmonians would have excuſed themſelves by their ambaſſadors; but their excuſes were not accepted; and they were forced to ſacrifice at home, to their very great mortification[f] (B). A quarrel happened in the winter between

The Lacedæmonians excluded from the ſacred rites at the Olympics.

[f] Pauſan. in Eleis.

(B) The Olympiads were celebrated in the ſecond month of every fifth year (1). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and laſted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full. An Ætolian colony, together with ſome of Hercules' poſterity, after having ſubdued many of the Piſæan towns, and, amongſt them Olympia, there inſtituted theſe ſolemnities. The care and management of theſe games belonged originally to the Piſæans, but afterwards to the Eleans, by whom the Piſæans were deſtroyed, and their very name extinguiſhed. For the moſt part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquility; the Greeks, out of a religious reſpect to their ſuperintendency of theſe games, not ſuffering the ſound of war to be heard amongſt them. During the celebration of theſe games there was a general truce, that all the inhabitants of Greece might be at liberty to aſſiſt at them; and, in conſequence of a breach of this truce, the Eleans proceeded, in the manner above deſcribed, againſt the Spartans (2). At firſt they appointed one judge only: at the fifteenth Olympiad they aſſigned two; and, by degrees, theſe ſwelled to no leſs than twelve, one being choſen out of each of the Elean tribes (3). All the perſons who ſought to contend in theſe games were obliged to appear ten months before at Elis, where, from that time till the games were over, they were obliged to reſide, and to prepare themſelves, after a ſettled method, for their exerciſe. At the ſolemnity, the Hellanodicæ, that is, the Elean judges, ſat naked, having the honorary crown before them, which, when the games were over, they preſented to him whoſe due they conceived it to be (4).

(1) Johan. Tzetz. Chiliad. i. Hiſt. 21. (2) Diodor. Sic. lib. xi. (3) Pauſan. in Eliac. (4) Cælius Rhodiginus, Antiq. Lect. lib. xxii. cap. 17.

the

New diſturbances.

the Heracleans of Trachinia and the Theſſalians, wherein Penares, a Lacedæmonian general, was ſlain. Next year the Argives attempted to ſurpriſe Epidaurus, in hopes of ſecuring themſelves on that ſide againſt the Corinthians, and opening an eaſy paſſage to their allies the Athenians: but this attempt miſcarried; and the Lacedæmonians afterwards put a garriſon of three hundred men into Epidaurus.

The Spartans reſolve on a war with the Argives, and their allies.

In the enſuing ſummer, Sparta reſolved to exert herſelf, and to cruſh at once the Argives and their allies. With this view, the ephori and ſenate ſent to exhort all their confederates to be in readineſs to take the field early, as they themſelves would be. They accordingly appeared; and king Agis, at the head of the Spartans, Arcadians, Bœotians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Phliaſians, and Megarians, entered the territory of Argos, with ſuch an army as had not been ſeen ſince the beginning of the Peloponneſian war. The Argives were very ill prepared, the ſuccours they expected from Athens not being arrived: however, they reſolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but, at the very inſtant the engagement ſhould have begun, two of the Argive captains cried out to king Agis, that their citizens were willing to do whatever was juſt, and to make peace with the Lacedæmonians: a declaration which made ſuch an impreſſion on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent diſpoſition, that he immediately conſented to a truce of four months; which exceedingly provoked the allies of Sparta, who could not bear, after all their preparations, to ſee nothing effected. On the return, therefore, of Agis to Sparta, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have razed his houſe, if he had not promiſed to redeem his honour, by ſome great exploit, when he ſhould be next employed. But what ſeems more extraordinary is, that the Argives were ſo unreaſonable as to puniſh their captains for having preſerved them from ruin; nay, they carried their rage ſo far, that they would have certainly ſtoned them to death, if they had not retired into a ſanctuary. The true reaſon of this tumult was, that the Athenians had ſent them a ſupply of one thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, under the command of Alcibiades; at whoſe inſtigation they ſolemnly renounced the truce made with Agis. When the Spartans were informed of this infraction, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intruſt their king with the command of the army, without aſſigning him ten coun-

counſellors, or field-deputies, without whoſe approbation he was to attempt nothing. At Mantinæa the armies fronted each other, being the greateſt that the Greeks had ever brought into the field againſt their countrymen; but the Argives and their allies were more numerous than the Spartans: ſome, therefore, adviſed king Agis not to fight; to which advice he anſwered coolly, "If we would rule many, we muſt fight many." He diſpoſed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions ſuitable to the occaſion; but the generals under him did not behave ſo well; ſo that while the right wing, which was under his command, carried all before it, the left was routed: he nevertheleſs continued the purſuit, until the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre; then he turned ſhort, and charged their right in flank and rear, and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, gained a complete victory. King Pliſtoanax, with a body of reſerve, which had been left at Sparta, hearing of the great aſſiſtance the Argives had received, marched to the reinforcement of Agis and his countrymen, but did not arrive till the victory was gained; ſo that his preſence being no longer neceſſary, he returned with his troops to Lacedæmon. The Argives and their allies loſt eleven hundred men in this battle, in which three hundred Spartans fell [s]. After this event, things continued in Greece in great confuſion; the faction in Argos, who were for oligarchy, ſiding with Sparta, and thoſe who affected democracy, with the Athenians, great tumults enſued. The Athenians, at laſt, ventured to break the league, by attacking the Iſle of Melos; of which hoſtilities, however, the Spartans would take no other notice, but by cauſing proclamation to be made, that ſince the Athenians preyed upon their ſubjects, without regard to laws, their ſubjects might, if they pleaſed, make repriſals upon the Athenians. The miſeries which ambition had brought upon her, were ſo evident in this ſtate, that ſhe began now to act with more wiſdom and mildneſs than hitherto ſhe had diſplayed. The Helotes were treated with lenity; a thouſand of them were actually ſet at liberty, for the ſervice they had performed under Braſidas; her allies were uſed with complacency and reſpect. The conſequences of theſe meaſures were, that matters began to aſſume another aſpect; the Athenians, graſping too many things, and acting haughtily, were deſpiſed, while Sparta gained the com-

Yr. of Fl. 1931. Ante Chr. 417.

The battle of Mantinæa.

[s] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diod. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Alcibiad.

Pliſtoanax dies.

mand and the hearts of moſt of the Peloponneſians [h]. In the fourth year of the ninety-ſecond Olympiad, Pliſtoanax died: the laſt memorable act of his life, was reſettling the affairs of the Parrhaſians, who were torn with inteſtine wars. During his exile, his ſon Pauſanias enjoyed the title of king, his uncle Cleomenes acting as his tutor; but when Pliſtoanax was recalled, he again aſſumed the regal dignity, in which the ſame Pauſanias ſucceeded him at his death.

Yr. of Fl. 1934. Ante Chr. 414.

Agis enters the territories of Elis.

Agis, king of Sparta, was ſent with an army againſt the Eleans, to revenge the diſhonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be preſent at the Olympian games. This war was of ſome continuance: the firſt year the king penetrated as far almoſt as the mount Olympus; but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces inſiſted on returning home. Next year he invaded Elis again, and did a great deal of miſchief; whereupon Xenias, an Elean, put himſelf at the head of a party, and declared for the Lacedæmonians, endeavouring to eſtabliſh an oligarchy; but Thraſydrus, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and drove him out of the city. In the third year, Agis made another irruption into Elis; and, after remaining there ſome time, left a part of his army, under the command of Lyſiſtratus, a Spartan, with orders to ſupport Xenias and his friends. Thraſydrus, perceiving that his country would be ruined, came to a compoſition with Xenias, and, by his means, treated with the Spartans; ſo that a peace enſued [i]. The Peloponneſian war now broke out again. The Athenians had ſent a great army into Sicily: the conſequence of this inroad being conſidered, the Lacedæmonians ſent Gylippus to aſſiſt the Syracuſans, with a ſmall force, but with promiſe of farther ſupply, which was likewiſe performed [k]. About the ſame time, Alcibiades repaired to Sparta, being expelled his country by a prevailing faction. He fell immediately into the Spartan manner of living, and thus endeared him to the men and to the women: to the former he promiſed, that he would put them in a ſhort train of ending the war; and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to thoſe of Sparta. Agis was ſo charmed with Alcibiades, that he took him home to his houſe; but he made him a very ill return for that favour, by debauching his

The Peloponneſian war breaks out again.

[h] Pauſan. Lacon. [i] Pauſan. in Eleis. [k] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. Juſtin. lib. iv.

wife.

wife. As to the promiſes he made the ſenate, he performed them tolerably well; for when he went with Agis to invade Attica, he adviſed him to fortify the caſtle of Decelia, which had never been thought of before, and proved ſuch a thorn to the Athenians, as diſtreſſed them more than all that had happened to them beſides; for now the Spartans did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually; ſo that either the Athenians could not plow or ſow, or if they did, their enemies bore away the crop [l]. The Spartans were ſo well pleaſed with this counſel of Alcibiades, that they extolled him as a captain far ſuperior to any of their own chiefs: this applauſe expoſed him to the envy of the nobility, which, with the jealouſy of Agis, made him glad to quit Laconia, to ſeek among the Barbarians a place of ſafety.

Timæa, the wife of Agis, brought forth, about this time, a ſon, who was called Leotychides, concerning whom Agis ſaid publicly, that Alcibiades was his father: Timæa increaſed the ſuſpicion as to her ſon's birth, by her imprudent behaviour; for ſhe was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be Alcibiades inſtead of Leotychides. And thus, while the child's birth was canvaſſed at home, Alcibiades confirmed all the ſuſpicions abroad, by ſaying openly, that he did not debauch Timæa out of luſt, but from the ambition he had of leaving ſome of his poſterity to reign over the Spartans [m]: but his folly defeated his wickedneſs, and deprived the unhappy Leotychides of his ſucceſſion. Gylippus all this while managed their affairs in Sicily with great reputation: at firſt, he was little eſteemed even among the Syracuſans, whom he came to aſſiſt, becauſe of the plainneſs of his garb, and of his ſpeech; but when, by degrees, they came to know him better, when they ſaw, that the ſoldiers confided in him, and that he received ſuccours from Peloponneſus, they treated him with more reſpect; and, at laſt, ran into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands. But Gylippus was far from making an ill uſe of his power; he knew he was ſent to relieve the Sicilians, and not to oppreſs them: he was, however, covetous; and that vice not only tarniſhed all his good qualities, but deſtroyed his fortune, and ruined

Gylippus, the Lacedæmonian, gains great reputation in Sicily.

[l] Plut. in Vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Alcibiad. [m] Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. Plut. in Vit. Alcibiad. & Ageſil. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Alcibiad. Juſtin. lib. v. cap. 2.

his reputation[n]. The defeat of the Athenians in Sicily filled the Spartans with great hopes: they neglected not therefore any means that could be thought of, either to diſtreſs their rivals, or raiſe their own power and importance. Aſtyochus was ſent to command the foreign troops which were raiſed with Perſian money; king Agis managed the war in the heart of Attica, where he had all the ſummer a good army, beſides the garriſon in Decelia[o].

Lyſander's character.

Lyſander was now employed in maritime affairs, who, as he proved the great hero of Sparta, and the finiſher of the Peloponneſian war, it is proper that we ſhould, in this place, give the reader his character. Plutarch ſays, that though it is not certain he was of either of the royal families, yet it is generally agreed, that he was of the Herculean race. He paſſed his younger years under all the reſtrictions of the Lycurgic inſtitutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and reſolute; he had an extenſive genius, was affable, modeſt, vigilant, and indefatigable; but, with theſe great qualities, he cheriſhed the moſt dangerous ambition, to ſerve the purpoſes of which, he ſtooped to every ſpecies of flattery and diſſimulation, unprincipled, perfidious, and avowedly diſhoneſt; for it was a common ſaying of his, "That children were cheated with playthings, and men with oaths;" for which reaſon he never refuſed to ſwear when it made for his intereſt; or ſtuck at breaking his oath, when to keep it would ſerve his purpoſes no longer. He found the Athenians greatly ſuperior at ſea, when he entered upon command; and yet, in a very few years, he left them without any power at all[p]: but, above all things, he ſought to raiſe his own credit and authority.

Aſtyochus having managed imprudently, and given Alcibiades an opportunity of inſtilling into Tiſſaphernes notions prejudicial to the Lacedæmonians, Lyſander, who ſaw clearly, that without the Barbarian gold Sparta could not carry on the war, determined to counterplot both Tiſſaphernes and Alcibiades, by applying himſelf to Cyrus, who then reſided at Sardis: thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant: Cyrus readily heard him; and, by degrees, the Spartan won ſo much upon him, that he made him a promiſe, in few words, to grant him whatever he

[n] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Nic. Juſtin. iv. 4.
[o] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii.
[p] Plut. in Vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Juſtin. lib. v. cap. 6. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Lyſand. Thucyd. lib. vi.

ſhould

ſhould requeſt: Lyſander modeſtly required, that a ſmall addition might be made to the ſoldiers pay; his diſintereſtedneſs ſo much charmed Cyrus, that he gave him ten thouſand pieces of ſilver, which he made uſe of to ſupport his ſoldiers, and refit his fleet. Agis, in the mean time, being informed of great commotions in Athens, attempted to ſurpriſe it, but without effect; for the citizens, on his approach, united, and ſallied with ſuch unexpected fury, that they killed a conſiderable number of his men [q]. They afterwards offered to make peace; but the Spartan, conſidering the unſettled ſtate of their government, refuſed ſo much as to hear their propoſitions. Some time after, Hegeſandrides, a Spartan, reduced Eubœa; and, if he had proſecuted his ſucceſs with ardour, might have reduced Athens; but this opportunity being neglected, Alcibiades, in a very ſhort ſpace, ſo reſtored their affairs, by defeating and killing Mindarus, who had ſucceeded Aſtyochus, that the Spartans, in their turn, were forced to ſue to the Athenians, who, with great haughtineſs, rejected the propoſitions they offered, though highly reaſonable in themſelves. When Alcibiades ſailed again into the Helleſpont, after he had been at Athens, Lyſander, finding himſelf too weak to engage ſo numerous a fleet, under ſo fortunate a general, lay quiet in the port of Epheſus, where he carefully refitted his ſhips, and kept his ſoldiers and mariners to their exerciſe. At length, Alcibiades having occaſion to go from Samos to Phocea, committed the care of his fleet to Antiochus, a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the inſtructions which had been given him; and, ſailing out of port with two gallies only, inſulted Lyſander at the mouth of the haven of Epheſus. This inconſiderate action produced, in the end, a general engagement, wherein the Athenians were defeated, though with no very conſiderable loſs; and yet this accident deſtroyed all their affairs; for, upon the firſt news of it, they diſmiſſed Alcibiades, and with him their good fortune. *The Athenians defeated at ſea.*

Lyſander, while he lay at Epheſus, projected a ſcheme for making himſelf, in a manner, ſovereign of Greece: he collected enterpriſing men from various cities; thoſe he engaged to ſettle at Epheſus, and adviſed them to live in ſtrict friendſhip, and to ſtudy political affairs; for that they would ſoon be employed [r]. All this, and indeed the whole tenor of his behaviour, made him extremely agree-

[q] Diod. lib. xiii. Thucyd. lib. vi. [r] Plut. in Vit. Lyſand.

able to the Epheſians, and the reſt of the cities in that part of Greece; ſo that, when Callicratidas was ſent for his ſucceſſor, all the Aſiatic Greeks were extremely uneaſy. This uneaſineſs increaſed at the preſence of the new admiral, who was the reverſe of Lyſander; a man of great parts, great courage, alſo of conſummate virtue, and unbiaſſed integrity. Lyſander dealt with him very baſely; he ſent back what money remained in his hands to Cyrus; and ſaid to his ſucceſſor at parting, with a ſneer, "Let us ſee now, Callicratidas, how you can ſupport the charges of this army." The noble Spartan found it indeed a very difficult taſk; the people were quite drained; treaſure there was none; and he therefore repaired to the court of Cyrus, where being two or three times refuſed admittance, on frivolous pretences, he at laſt ſaid, "I muſt not be ſo eager for money as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta;" and immediately ſet ſail for Epheſus. Cyrus, however, on mature deliberation, ſent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and ſome preſents for himſelf; the firſt he took, but the latter he ſent back again, with this memorable meſſage, "That there needed no private friendſhip between Cyrus and him, becauſe, if the king kept up with the terms of his league with the Lacedæmonians, he ſhould think himſelf included[s]." He defeated Conon the Athenſan admiral, and beſieged him in Mitylene; he likewiſe worſted a ſmall fleet that was ſent to his aſſiſtance. Hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at Arginuſæ, over againſt Leſbos, where he was ſtationed, he reſolved to engage. When he ſacrificed in the morning, the prieſt who conſulted the entrails told him, "That the fleet ſhould in the end proſper, but that the admiral would certainly be ſlain. To which prediction he anſwered, without any concern, "Very well then; let us fight; Sparta will not loſe much in loſing me; but ſhe would loſe her honour, if I retired in the fight of the enemy: when I fall, let Cleander be your admiral." He was accordingly ſlain; and, by his death, the Spartan affairs were put into diſorder[t]. After this misfortune, both Cyrus and the allies of Lacedæmon demanded, that Lyſander ſhould be admiral again; a requeſt directly oppoſite to the laws of Sparta. However, to gratify their requeſt, they gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, but lodged the power with Lyſander, who immediately ſailed

Callicratidas ſlain.

[s] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. in Vit. Lyſand. [t] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

to

to the Helleſpont, where, after receiving great ſupplies from Cyrus, he drew together his fleet; but finding the Athenians much ſuperior to him in number, he wiſely avoided an engagement; and afterwards appeared ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of Greece, where he made deſcents on the iſlands of Ægina and Salamis. He ſailed to the coaſt of Attica, to ſhew Agis, who was come thither with a land-army, that he commanded a powerful navy [u]: yet, having intelligence that the Athenian fleet was approaching, he ſtood away for the Helleſpont, where he beſieged and took Lampſacus [w]. Conon, with the grand fleet of Athens, bearing down upon him, he retired to the river Ægos, where the Athenians inſulted him for many days together. Lyſander bore theſe inſults with wonderful patience, keeping his ſoldiers and mariners continually on duty, till on a ſudden, when the Athenians had debarked their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and ſea. Conon the admiral, ſeeing that all was loſt, with eight gallies, and a very conſiderable body of men, fled away to Cyprus; the reſt fell entirely into the hands of Lyſander, who, in a ſingle hour, put an end to the Peloponneſian war, and to the maritime power of Athens [x].

The Athenians defeated by Lyſander.

This victory having put all things into the power of Lyſander, he acted rather as an univerſal monarch than as a general from Sparta: he immediately viſited all the neighbouring cities, and changed their government, placing in each of them a Spartan as chief magiſtrate, and with him ten of his friends from Epheſus, where he erected a kind of political univerſity. Theſe men, as they were introduced by force, ſo they kept no meaſures with thoſe over whom they ruled; they treated them with the utmoſt haughtineſs and ſeverity: ſo that, from the beginning, the Lacedæmonian government was rendered ungrateful, and the people univerſally diſpoſed to ſhake it off as ſoon as they could. Lyſander collected all the maſs of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and deſtined it to be ſent to Sparta, whither he had before diſpatched a meſſenger, with news of his victory; with an aſſurance, that he would be ſoon with a fleet of two hundred ſail, before the city of Athens: in conſequence of this intimation, the Spartans ſent both their kings, Agis

Yr. of Fl. 1942. Ante Chr. 406.

Athens reduced by the Spartans.

[u] Diodorus Siculus, lib. xiii. [w] Plutarch. in Vit. Lyſand. Xenoph. Hell. lib. ii. [x] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diod. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Vit. Lyſand. Corn. Nep. in Vit. ejuſd. Juſtin. lib. v. cap. 6.

and Pauſanias, with a very great army, into Attica; on the coaſts of which, in due time, Lyſander arrived. What happened remarkable, in the ſiege of Athens, we have already related at length, in its proper place. Here it ſhall ſuffice to inſert the Spartan decree, contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous city; which decree is preſerved by Plutarch, and runs thus: "Know, this is the decree of the Lacedæmonians. Pull down the Piræum, and the long walls; quit all the towns you are poſſeſſed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon theſe conditions, provided you yield alſo to what ſhall be farther thought reaſonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ſhips you may keep, obſerve the orders we ſhall hereafter give." Lyſander deprived them of all their veſſels, except twelve; and, their fortifications being delivered into his hands, he entered Athens in triumph, on the anniverſary of the great victory at Salamis. He cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed, to the ſound of muſic, which likewiſe played while the Athenian ſhips were burning, himſelf and his commanders having garlands on their heads: he alſo altered the government, eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants, and left a Spartan garriſon in the citadel, commanded by one of his own creatures[y]. The next ſtep he took was to ſend the immenſe treaſure he had collected, to Sparta, under the care of Gylippus, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Sicily, and who found a way to diſtinguiſh himſelf no leſs eminently, on this occaſion, though leſs honourably; for he, little regarding the ſeals upon the money-bags, ripped them open at the bottom, and, having taken out what he thought proper, ſewed them up again. When he arrived at Lacedæmon, he delivered the money as had been directed, and deſired particular notice might be taken that the ſeals were entire; but, unluckily for him, Lyſander had put in each bag a ticket, expreſſing the ſum of money it contained: upon comparing theſe notes with the ſums, a deficiency was diſcovered, but ſtill the ephori and ſenate were at a loſs where to fix it: at laſt, the ſervant of Gylippus impeached him; and his crime, with all its circumſtances, being proved, he was forced to leave his country, and go into exile, with the ſcandalous imputation of being a detected cheat. The importation of this

A glaring inſtance of Gylippus's avarice and diſhoneſty.

[y] Plutarch. in Vit. Lyſand. Xenoph. Hellan. lib. ii. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Lyſand.

maſs

maſs of wealth created great diſputes at Sparta; many celebrated Lyſander's praiſes, and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of their conſtitution, were of another opinion: they looked upon the receipt of this treaſure as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus; and they expreſſed their apprehenſions loudly, that, in proceſs of time, they might, by a change in their manners, pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth. At laſt, a compromiſe was propoſed, and agreed to; whereby it was enacted, that the ſtate might make uſe of gold and ſilver, but that private men ſhould poſſeſs neither, on pain of capital puniſhments: which reſolution, as Plutarch obſerves, was ſhallow, ſuperficial, and ineffectual, becauſe declaring money to be uſeful to the ſtate, evidently juſtified the inclination of private men to be poſſeſſed of it, while, at the ſame time, the law made the gratification of that inclination penal [z].

Lyſander, in the mean time, returning to the Helleſpont, revived his old practices, changing governments, new-modelling cities, liberally and even profuſely rewarding his friends; and, at the ſame time, purſuing to utter deſtruction, ſuch as he ſuſpected to be his enemies. While he remained in Greece, his behaviour ſufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious diſpoſition; he ſet up his own ſtatue, and the ſtatues of ſuch of his commanders as were in his good graces; he dedicated two ſtars, in honour of the deities Caſtor and Pollux, to keep up an opinion which his ſycophants had taken care to propagate, that theſe ſtars were ſeen in the rigging of his ſhip, at the battle of Ægos [a]. But, if he acted thus in Greece, he ſet leſs bounds to his ambition in Aſia, where he made not only the Greek cities dependent on him, but ſtruck terror into the Perſian governors, and particularly mal-treated Pharnabazus. This Perſian grandee was a man of profound capacity, and a maſter in Lyſander's ſcience of diſſimulation: he ſaw, that little was to be expected from any repreſentations he could make to this haughty general, ſurrounded by a number of powerful perſons, made ſo merely by his favour; he endeavoured therefore, to find out more powerful protectors, though at a greater diſtance; and, with this view, diſpatched ſome of his emiſſaries to Sparta. There they began to explain, without apprehenſion of danger, the iniquity of

Lyſander gives proof of an imperious diſpoſition.

[z] Plut. ubi ſupra. Diodor ubi ſupra. [a] Plut. ubi ſupra.

Lyſander's

Lyſander's conduct; they placed his ambitious deſigns in their proper light; they charged him with an intention to render himſelf a general for life, independent of his conſtituents: and they ſupported their allegations with ſuch reaſons, that the ephori and ſenate immediately diſpatch-

Is recalled. ed a ſcytale, to recall this terror of Aſia. They began likewiſe to inſpect narrowly the conduct of his friends in Greece, put ſome of them to death, and, among the reſt, Thorax, one of his principal commanders, in whoſe houſe, in contravention of the late law, they found a large quantity of ſilver. The ſurprize of Lyſander was inexpreſſible, when the meſſenger of the ſtate preſented the ſcytale which recalled him (C): he had no previous intelligence of it, nor

(C) When the magiſtrates gave their commiſſion to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickneſs; one they kept themſelves, the other was delivered to their officer; ſo that when they had any thing of moment, which they would ſecretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow ſcroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own ſtaff, one fold cloſe upon another, they wrote their buſineſs on it: when they wrote what they had to ſay, they took off the parchment, and ſent it to the general; he applied it to his own ſtaff, which being juſt like that of the magiſtrates, the folds fell in with each other, exactly as they did at the writing; and the characters which, before it was wrapped up, were confuſedly disjoined, and altogether unintelligible, appeared then very plainly (1). There are many things omitted in this account, which we ſhall ſupply from other authors. Tzetzes calls them wands, which the ephori delivered to the general or admiral, when he ſet out to take upon him the command: he ſays, they were very ſhort, and very ſlender, the parchment being alſo narrow, which they made uſe of to fold round them (2). It is very probable, that our author conjectured this from the uſual ſhortneſs of the Spartan epiſtles; for Demetrius Triclinius tells us expreſly, that the ſcytale was between three and four cubits long: he does indeed ſuggeſt, that there was but one of them, which was ſplit in two; and one half being given to the general, the other half remained at home (3); but Aulus Gellius (4), and the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes, ſay expreſly there were two (5). Thucydides ſays, the ſcytale was round, ſmooth, and long (6);

(1) Plut. in Vit. Lyſand.
(2) Joan. Tzetzes, Var. Hiſt. Chil. ix. cap. 258.
(3) Ad Pindar. Olymp. Od. vi.
(4) Noct. Attic. lib. xvii. cap. 9.
(5) Ad Aves Ariſtoph.
(6) Bell. Pelop. lib. i.

the

nor could he immediately gueſs by whom it was obtained; but, on recollection, he concluded, that it muſt have been by the procurement of Pharnabazus. This diſcovery made him more ſolicitous, eſpecially when he heard what had happened at home: he therefore reſolved, according to his ſtated maxim, "To eke out the lion's with the fox's ſkin [b]:" in conſequence of this, he demanded a conference; to which Pharnabazus readily conſented. At this meeting, Lyſander made uſe of all his art to ſoften the Perſian, and to engage him, by a letter under his hand, to deny what might have been ſuggeſted, in his name, to the ephori and ſenate: to which, with ſome difficulty, Pharnabazus agreed. He wrote this letter in Lyſander's preſence, and in terms ſuitable to his wiſh; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, and ſubſtituted it, while he pretended to fold the other; ſo that here the deceiver was deceived, and Lyſander, with all his ſkill, outwitted [c]. Receiving this letter, he ſet out immediately for Sparta; but, when he was informed of its contents, he was much diſturbed; and, fearing leſt he ſhould be called to an account, pretended that he had ſeen a viſion, wherein Jupiter Ammon had commanded him to come immediately, and conſult his oracle. The ephori and ſenate ſhewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his requeſt; but, as ſoon as he was gone, the kings of Sparta began to contrive the deſtruction of his friends, that he might no longer have ſuch an intereſt in Aſia as he had hitherto poſſeſſed. The Athenians at this time taking arms againſt their tyrants, Lyſander returned ſuddenly to Sparta, where he vehemently preſſed the government to ſupport thoſe he had eſtabliſhed at Athens; and make uſe of him as commander in chief, in that expedition. This propoſal greatly alarmed the kings; who therefore determined to make uſe of all their intereſt to defeat his purpoſe: Pauſanias, therefore, procured the command of the army to be veſted in him; and marched, as it was generally underſtood, to ſupport the

Outwitted by Pharnabazus.

[b] Plutarch. in Apophthegm. [c] Plutarch. in Vit. Lyſand. Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Polyæn. Strat. lib. vii.

the ſcholiaſt on Pindar, that it was made of a black wood (7). It ſhould ſeem, that, beſide this ſtate ſcytale, private men made uſe of a contrivance of the like nature, to prevent deceits in contracts; but then theſe were exactly like our tallies.

(7) Olymp. vi.

tyrants

tyrants againſt the people of Athens; but, in truth, his deſign was to reconcile the Athenians, and to compromiſe their differences with Sparta, that Lyſander might not have the honour of conquering this city twice; an aim which he accompliſhed to the unſpeakable mortification of Lyſander. Not long after, he had an opportunity of venting his ſpleen, and of reconciling himſelf to the people; for the Athenians, giving new proofs of their reſtleſs diſpoſition, the Spartans were highly incenſed againſt Pauſanias, and extolled Lyſander for a man of integrity, and true public ſpirit. While things were in this ſituation, king Agis died: he was taken ill at Heræa, in Arcadia; and being conveyed to Sparta, expired in his own houſe. In his laſt moments he owned Leotychides, in conſequence of his tears and earneſt intreaties; at the ſame time he beſought the Lacedæmonians, who were preſent, to bear witneſs to the ſincerity of his declaration; declaring that he, from his heart, retracted what at any time he might have raſhly ſaid of his ſuſpecting the legitimacy of Leotychides. But this late recognition of his ſon was altogether ineffectual, Leotychides loſing not only his pretenſions to the crown, but to his paternal eſtate [d].

The people reconciled to him.

King Agis dies.

Ageſilaus ſucceeds Agis, and ſets aſide Leotychides.

His character.

Agis left behind him a younger brother, whoſe name was Ageſilaus, and who became not only an honour to Sparta, but to Greece itſelf. This Ageſilaus contended for the crown againſt Leotychides. Being a man of exemplary virtues, and of great capacity, he, on his firſt declaration, had many friends; and, on Lyſander's eſpouſing his intereſt, acquired many more. Ageſilaus was born a younger brother; and, though the laws of Lacedæmon, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the ſtrict diſcipline of the Lycurgic education, yet the younger children of kings were no leſs ſeverely bred than the meaneſt Lacedæmonian; a practice which proved a great happineſs to the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign, was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education. He was brave, active, and of a high ſpirit; but, at the ſame time, exceedingly good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country even to enthuſiaſm; for he preferred her intereſt not only to his own, to his peace, and to his ſafety, but even to his honour, and his reputation. He thought all things proper which ſhe commanded, and placed his ut-

[d] Plutarch. in Vit. Ageſil. Pauſan. Lacon.

moſt

moſt happineſs in his capacity of ſerving her, not only on ſuch occaſions as were attended with luſtre, but in thoſe which had neither honour nor profit to recommend them [e]. Such were the means whereby Ageſilaus gained to himſelf friends. The regard which Lyſander had for him, ſprung from this ſource: when Ageſilaus was a youth, Lyſander had an affection for him; and this friendſhip continued when Ageſilaus was grown grown up, and facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one circumſtance which gave this prince and his friends any trouble; and it was this: Diopithes, a man reputed to have great ſkill in oracles, produced a prediction to the following effect:

Though great thy empire, Sparta, yet refrain
From a lame reign; which come, thou ſhalt ſuſtain
Ills unendur'd before, and feel the rage
Of war, no force can quell, or ſkill aſſuage.

This was thought to point at Ageſilaus, who had one leg ſhorter than the other; but Lyſander ſurpaſſed the interpreter even in his own ſcience: "The oracle, ſaid he, cannot poſſibly point at a lameneſs in the king's leg; that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, becauſe they have cauſed it. The lameneſs muſt be in the title: beware, therefore, O Lacedæmonians, of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay, even one whoſe birth is ſuſpected; for that is moſt likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle." Lyſander's explanation, ſupported by his authority, had the deſired effect: the ſenate and people excluded Leotychides alike from the kingdom, and from the private eſtate of his father. Ageſilaus beſtowed half of Agis's eſtate on his relations by the mother's ſide, who, though perſons of great merit, were, till this time, in very low circumſtances; an inſtance of generoſity which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Inſtead of oppoſing either the ephori or the ſenate, he treated them with the utmoſt civility, and with the greateſt confidence and affection. He was ever ſtudious to oblige thoſe who were of the oppoſite party at the time of his election; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reaſonable pretence to promotion; he relieved them when under misfortunes: in fine, he acted ſo prudently and humanely

Is greatly beloved by the people.

[e] Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. & in Apophth. Lacon. Xenophon. Hellan. lib. iii. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Ageſil. [f] Xenophon. Hellan. lib. iii. Plutarch. in Vit. Ageſil. & Lyſand. Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. 4. Cornel. Nep. in Vit. Ageſil. & Lyſand.

that,

that, at laſt the ephori, ſeeing no vices to be offended with, took umbrage at his good qualities, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. monopolizing the affections of the people; which, however, was conſonant enough to the conſtitution of Sparta.

The king of Perſia declares againſt the Spartans.

Before Ageſilaus was well ſettled on the throne, his country found itſelf exceedingly diſtreſſed. The Perſian king, to whom, in the courſe of the war, they owed ſuch obligations, declared himſelf at once their open enemy, and began to make great preparations to diſpoſſeſs them of their maritime empire. To have a juſt notion of this buſineſs, we muſt remember, that Lyſander, while he commanded in Aſia, had paid all his court to Cyrus, the younger brother of Artaxerxes, who, on his father's death, aſcended the Perſian throne. In conſequence of this friendſhip between Lyſander and Cyrus, Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, received orders from the ephori and ſenate, to aſſiſt that prince to the utmoſt of his power, in the rebellion he had raiſed againſt his brother. It was in theſe troops that Xenophon had a command, and, it was at the head of them, after Clearchus and the other captains were taken, that he made that retreat, called "the retreat of the ten thouſand." This behaviour of the Lacedæmonians drew upon them the hatred of the king, who, ever after, ſpoke of them in terms of diſreſpect, and ſought as much as in him lay to deſtroy their power [z]. It is very probable, that ſome of the wiſeſt of the Perſian ſtateſmen managed this diſpoſition of the king for effecting what they rightly conceived to be the intereſt of his empire. This conjecture is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, viz. of ſending relief to Athens, and money into Bœotia. At the ſame time he determined to reduce all the Greek cities abſolutely to his obedience; a plan that wounded Sparta in the tendereſt part, ſhe having frequently declared herſelf the protectreſs of the Grecian liberties. On this account it was that they ſent Thymbro with an army of a thouſand Laconian, and four thouſand Peloponneſian infantry, with three hundred horſe from Athens. This general managed the war but indifferently, ſuffering his troops, ſince he could make no impreſſion on the enemy, to plunder the allies of Lacedæmon. The ephori, therefore, ſent him a ſucceſſor in the perſon of Dercyllidas, a ſkilful engineer,

Reſolves to reduce the Greek cities in Aſia.

z Xenoph. Hellan. lib. i. ii. iii. Diod. lib. xii. xiii. Plut. in Vita Ageſil. Artaxerx. Juſtin. lib. v. cap. 11.

and

and likewiſe a great politician. Finding his force too ſmall to prevail againſt Pharnabazus and Tiſſaphernes, the king's lieutenants, he reſolved to remedy this evil, by making them deſtroy each other; in which ſcheme he ſucceeded ſo well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive, while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When, at the command of their maſters, theſe governors of provinces became friends, the Spartan was left to contend with them both; and he ſtill kept his ground, though his army did not exceed ſeven thouſand men, and the Perſians had twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe in the field, beſides great garriſons. Pharnabazus was, indeed, for fighting, but Tiſſaphernes, being the better officer, and knowing well what theſe Greek troops were capable of, was of a different opinion; wherefore, having entered into negociations with Dercyllidas, he concluded with him an accommodation on theſe terms: that the Greek cities ſhould remain free; that Dercyllidas ſhould retire out of his province; that the Lacedæmonian governors ſhould quit the cities; and that this treaty ſhould ſubſiſt, till it was either ratified or diſavowed by the king of Perſia and the ſtate of Sparta.

Accommodation between Dercyllidas and Tiſſaphernes.

The Perſian king, however, in a little time, began to equip three hundred ſail of ſhips of war, which greatly alarmed the Greek cities, and occaſioned an application to Sparta, where Ageſilaus offered himſelf, by the advice of Lyſander, and was declared general of Greece [h]. But, before any reſolution was taken, the king, ſacrificing for his country, according to cuſtom, the augur, from the bowels of three ſeveral victims, declared there was ſome very great conſpiracy on foot againſt him, and all the magiſtrates of Sparta. Soon after this conſpiracy was diſcovered by the information of one of the perſons concerned; when the ſenate took ſuch effectual meaſures, though with ſome little injury to the laws, that all the conſpirators were ſuddenly removed out the way [i]. Things were in this ſituation, when Lyſander procured ſuch an army to be decreed Ageſilaus, as would, if no untoward accidents had intervened, have left, in all probability, little room for Alexander's conqueſts, as Plutarch hath very rightly remarked. Beſides the forces already in Aſia, under the command of Dercyllidas, the Spartans voted two thouſand manumitted Helotes, and ſix thouſand Peloponneſian

Yr. of Fl. 1949. Ante Chr. 399.

Lacedæmonians reinforced.

[h] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. 1. Plut. in Vita Lyſand. Polyæn. Stratag. lib. vi. [i] Plut. in Vit. Ageſil.

loponnesian foot; but the king would not accept the command, till he had a council of thirty assigned him, of whom Lysander was the chief. While the army was assembling about Geraſtus, Agesilaus went, with some friends, to Aulis, where the thoughts of his expedition, in all probability, suggested to his mind a dream, wherein he was admonished to imitate Agamemnon in sacrificing, inasmuch as he was become his successor, and was on the point of going general in chief of the Greek forces against the Barbarians, an office which had never been borne but by Agamemnon and himself. Agesilaus, in compliance with this vision, resolved to sacrifice; but, reflecting on the barbarity which which Agamemnon had been guilty of, he substituted a hind instead of a virgin; and, having caused it to be crowned with garlands, directed his own augur to solemnize the sacrifice. The Bœotians being extremely provoked that, in their territories, he should employ one of his attendants, instead of the sacrificer appointed by them, sent deputies to forbid him to sacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws: the deputies, having delivered their message in the temple of Aulis, and perceiving that he did not give much attention to it, went directly to the altar, and threw the sacrifice on the ground. At this time Agesilaus was so much discomposed, that he hoisted sail, and bore away for Asia, without staying for any other rites, or offering any other sacrifice [1]. On his arrival he found things in a situation he neither expected nor could foresee. At Sparta he was a king; but here Lysander was treated as if he had been somewhat more; all respect, all application, was paid to him; and he received it rather with the haughtiness of a deity than with that complacency which became his station. The rest of the commanders grew uneasy at finding themselves degraded, from being counsellors to Agesilaus, into officers, or rather ministers, of one of their colleagues: they, therefore, complained to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy, which was this: he denied every suit Lysander made to him, and countenanced all who did not court that officer's good graces. As soon as the Greeks, settled in Asia, perceived it, they no longer moved their suits by Lysander, but continued to pay him as much respect as before. This mark of deference nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious;

Agesilaus admonished in a dream to imitate Agamemnon in sacrificing.

The subversion of the Spartan empire owing to a trivial circumstance.

Agesilaus jealous of Lysander's power.

[1] Xenoph. lib. iii. Diod. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vitâ Agesilai. Corn. Nep. in Vitâ ejusdem. Justin, lib. vi. cap. 2.

where-

whereupon he appointed Lyſander overſeer of his proviſions; and, to inſult the Ionians, ſaid openly, "Let them now go, and pay court to my butcher." Lyſander took an opportunity of coming to an explanation. The firſt time they were alone he addreſſed the king thus: "In truth, Ageſilaus, you know very well how to leſſen your friends." "Yes," anſwered the king, "when they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjuſt, that thoſe ſhould have power with me, who moſt concern themſelves in promoting my power." "Sir," replied Lyſander, very modeſtly, "you pleaſed to exerciſe a greater liberty in ſpeaking than I ever did in acting; but, I beſeech you, for the ſake of thoſe ſtrangers who have their eyes upon us, to aſſign me that poſt wherein I may be leaſt ſuſpected by you, and have it moſt in my power to render you ſervice [k]." The king, accordingly, appointed him ambaſſador to the allies of Sparta, near the Helleſpont, which office he executed with great diligence and integrity: he perſuaded Mithridates, a Perſian, who was at variance with Pharnabazus, to revolt, with a great body of troops, and join Ageſilaus. However, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined to return to Greece, highly diſſatisfied with his own ſituation, and with the government of his country, which he reſolved to overturn. In order to effect theſe purpoſes, he formed ſuch ſchemes, as are ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory. But, as they were never carried into execution, through the cowardice of one of his aſſociates, it is needleſs to enter into a circumſtantial detail of them (D). After his departure, Ageſilaus carried on the war with great ſucceſs and reputation. Tiſſaphernes, the implacable enemy of the Greeks, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into diſgrace with his maſter, and ſoon after beheaded.

Miſunderſtanding Ageſilaus and Lyſander.

The latter reſolves to overturn the government of his country.

[k] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Vita Lyſand. & Ageſil. Corn. Nep. in Vita Lyſand.

(D) His ſcheme was to alter the order of the ſucceſſion, on pretence of opening an avenue to the throne, in favour of extraordinary merit, without reſpect of family. This being once effected, he knew he himſelf ſhould eaſily attain to the regal dignity. He founded his hopes of ſucceſs on the ſuperſtition of the people. He contrived prodigies, prepared oracles, and corrupted prieſts; but died before he could put his ſcheme in execution. Thoſe who want to know the particulars may conſult Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos, in their lives of Lyſander; and Diodorus Siculus, lib. xxiv.

Tithrauſtes, who ſucceeded him, as ſoon as he entered on his office, ſent deputies to treat with Ageſilaus, to whom he propoſed, that the Greek cities in Aſia ſhould pay a certain tribute, and, in all other reſpects, enjoy their liberty; offering him large ſums of money, if he would condeſcend to a pacification, which Ageſilaus refuſed, alleging that he had not power to conclude a treaty. However, he removed out of its province, and carried the war into that of Pharnabazus. Tithrauſtes, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of Sparta could not be corrupted in Aſia, diſpatched Timocrates, the Rhodian, with fifty talents, into Greece, to try if any of the captains or ſtateſmen there were leſs honeſt than Ageſilaus. This agent found ſuch ſort of people as he wanted in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos. To them he gave ſuch ſums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the centre of Greece, which no longer left the Spartans at liberty to extend their empire beyond it[1]. The Thebans, who came moſt heartily into this buſineſs, were convinced that the Lacedæmonians would not willingly break with any of the ſtates of Greece; they did not care to act offenſively themſelves, becauſe the chiefs of the Perſian faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the ſucceſs of the war; they perſuaded, therefore, the Locrians to make an incurſion into a ſmall diſtrict which lay in diſpute between the Phocians and themſelves. Upon this inſult, as they rightly judged, the Phocians invaded Locris. The Locrians applied to the Thebans for aſſiſtance; which was readily granted them: and the Phocians addreſſed themſelves to Sparta, declaring that they were the aggreſſors; but that they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories. The Spartans were, on their ſide, glad of an opportunity of breaking with the Thebans, with whom they were diſpleaſed. And thus the Perſian talents diſturbed the tranquillity of Greece, and put her in a new ferment. Lyſander, though a very old man, grew extremely uneaſy at being inactive; he had, beſides, a private hatred to the Thebans, on account of the aſſiſtance they had given to Athens, when ſhe ſhook off the yoke of the thirty tyrants: he therefore perſuaded the ephori and ſenate, once more, to intruſt him with an army. As ſoon as he prevailed in his requeſt, he began to diſpoſe all things for the

New diſturbances in Greece.

Lyſander appointed to command in Bœotia.

1 Xenoph. Hellan. lib. iv. Diod. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vita Ageſilai, & in Apophthegm. Lacon.

war

war; an army was ſoon raiſed, at the head of which he put himſelf; and levies were made for another, to be commanded by king Pauſanias. Lyſander marched, with the forces under his command, directly into Phocis, deſiring Pauſanias to lead his army round by Cythæron, in order to invade Bœotia on that ſide. The eagerneſs of Lyſander prompted him to quick marches, and vigorous meaſures; but finding Pauſanias loiter, he ſent an expreſs, informing that prince of the time when he expected to arrive at Haliartus, conjuring him to haſten his march. Theſe letters, Plutarch ſays, were intercepted by the enemy, and ſent to Thebes, where the Thebans reſolved to truſt their city with the Athenians, who were come to their aſſiſtance, and to march directly to Haliartus. Lyſander arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night; but, when day began to dawn, and he had ſtill no news of Pauſanias, he reſolved at all events to attempt the ſurpriſal of the place. When he drew near the walls, and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but, of a ſudden, the gates being thrown open, the Thebans and Haliartans iſſued out in exact order, and charged the Lacedæmonians ſo briſkly, that Lyſander was killed on the ſpot, with a prieſt who ſtood by him. Before the forces commanded by him could recover themſelves, another body of Thebans charged them in the rear; ſo that they were totally broken, with the loſs of a thouſand men: the Thebans, on their ſide, loſt three hundred [m]. The news of this defeat being brought to Pauſanias, he immediately marched with all poſſible diligence to Haliartus, where he fought, by all means, to recover the dead body of Lyſander. Some of the ancient Spartan commanders were for attacking the enemy, and reſcuing it by force; but he, conſidering that they were already flüſhed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than his, and that Thraſybulus, the Athenian, had now joined them, rejected the propoſal; on the contrary, he concluded a treaty, whereby the body of Lyſander was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of Bœotia. This article he accordingly performed, and, in his retreat, buried the corpſe of the deceaſed general in the territory of the Panopæans. On his return to Sparta, ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment appeared againſt him, that he

The Spartans defeated, and Lyſander killed.

[m] Xenoph. Diod. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Lyſan. Cornel. Nep. in Vit. ejuſdem.

was afraid to undergo his trial; for which reaſon he retired to Tegæa, where he led a private life.

His generous contempt of money.

Lyſander's memory was greatly revered in Sparta, on account of the many ſervices he had rendered his country; and becauſe, after all the opportunities he had of enriching himſelf, he died poor, having always preſerved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. After his death, ſome Spartans of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refuſed to eſpouſe them, finding they had no fortune; for which refuſal the ephori fined them very ſeverely, aſſigning this reaſon, that thoſe men muſt be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy, than a virtuous family [n]. Ageſilaus, having ſubjected the greateſt part of the coaſt, determined to march into Perſia, and revenge the cruelties perpetrated by Xerxes, when he invaded Greece. In the midſt of his projects, and when he was on the point of carrying them into execution, a meſſenger from Sparta brought him a ſcytale, whereby he was commanded to return, in order to fight his country's battles at home. Ageſilaus heſitated not a moment; he relinquiſhed all his victories, and all his hopes, preferring his duty towards the conſtitution of his country, to the proſpect of ſubduing the whole Perſian empire [o]. The year before, the Spartans had declared him admiral as well as generaliſſimo of their forces; which charge he now beſtowed on his wife's brother Piſander, leaving four thouſand men to ſecure his conqueſts, and, with the reſt of his army, taking the ſame route which Xerxes had followed, when he entered Greece. In his paſſage, he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only ſent to enquire of them, whether they would have him paſs as an enemy, or as a friend. When he met with oppoſition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march [p].

Yr. of Fl. 1954. Ante Chr. 394.

Ageſilaus recalled.

Ageſipolis ſucceeds his father Pauſanias.

After the flight of Pauſanias, who left behind him his two ſons, Ageſipolis, and Cleombrotus, the former was declared king; but, being too young to govern by himſelf, his uncle, Ariſtodemus, to whom the Spartans gave the command of a great army, which they raiſed, as well to revenge the death of Lyſander, as to quell, in its infancy, this dangerous league which was formed againſt

[n] Xenoph. Diod. Plut. Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra. [o] Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nep. in Vit. ejuſd. [p] Xenoph. Hellan. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. & in Apophth. Lac. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Ageſil.

them,

them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men; the confederates immediately oppoſed it with another of twenty thouſand, of which thirteen thouſand were heavy armed troops: near Corinth a battle enſued, wherein the Spartans were victorious, with the loſs only of eight men, if we may believe Xenophon; that is, eight of the Spartans; for of their confederates, he acknowleges, that a great number fell. News were immediately diſpatched of this victory to Ageſilaus, who, far from being pleaſed with the ſucceſs, exclaimed with regret, "O Greece, what a number of brave men are ſlain in thy private quarrels, when, with a leſs waſte of blood, thou mighteſt have reduced all Perſia!" Though theſe were his private ſentiments, yet, on his return, he obeyed the directions ſent him by the ephori; and immediately invaded Bœotia, contrary to his own judgment. On the day he executed this order, the ſun was eclipſed, and he received the news of the defeat of the Perſian fleet, and the death of his wife's brother Piſander: being afraid theſe tidings might diſcourage his ſoldiers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother; on account of which he ſacrificed to the gods, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head, and giving other teſtimonies of joy, though he acknowleged, that Piſander had fallen in the encounter. Not long after, an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of Cheronæa, the ſevereſt which had been ſeen in his time, as Xenophon relates; and of this matter he muſt have been a very good judge, becauſe he was preſent. Ageſilaus was victor, where he fought; and the Thebans, on the other hand, prevailed againſt that wing which they charged; ſo that the Spartan was conſtrained to return, to try his fortune anew againſt theſe: it is generally agreed, that, on this occaſion, he was guilty of a great overſight, in attacking the Thebans in front, when, if he had waited a little, he might have charged them in flank and rear. The miſtake had like to have been fatal; the Thebans behaved with great reſolution, killing many, and wounding more, and among the latter, Ageſilaus himſelf. At length, they marched ſlowly from the field, leaving to the Lacedæmonians the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could reap no fruits [q].

Advantage gained by the Spartans.

Ageſilaus wounded.

[q] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nep. in Vit. ejuſd.

Ageſilaus went to Delphi, where he conſecrated the tenth of his ſpoils; in the mean time, Gylus, his lieutenant, led the army into Locris, where they were ſo buſy in plundering, that the people roſe upon them, and killed Gylus, with many others. Corinth was the head-quarters of the confederates, and Sicyon of the Lacedæmonians, and their allies. At Corinth there were great ſeditions: many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which tended to bring them under the dominion of the Argives, reſolved, if poſſible, to free themſelves, by bringing in a Lacedæmonian garriſon; which deſign, in ſome meaſure, they effected. The other party in Corinth ſent for aid from Athens, which was readily agreed to; and, between both parties, the city was in the utmoſt danger of being totally ruined. The Spartans had poſſeſſion only of a fort, their enemies occupied the city; Ageſilaus, to end the diſpute, invaded the territory of Argos with a great army; and, having paſſed it, beſieged Corinth by land, while his brother Teleutias blocked it up by ſea: yet did not their enterprize ſucceed. Iphicrates, the Athenian captain, preſerved Corinth, and its territories, from feeling the effects of his reſentment.

Great factions in Corinth.

Ageſilaus obliges the Acarnanians to ſue for peace.

After his return from this expedition, the Achæans demanded aid of Sparta againſt the Acarnanians; and, according to their requeſt, Ageſilaus was ſent to reinforce them with a great army: he ſo effectually quelled their enemies, that next year they were glad to make peace. This war being ended, Ageſipolis, at the head of another army, entered the country of the Argives, much againſt his inclination; for as this people had deſired a truce, he conceived this ſeverity to be a kind of injuſtice; and therefore would not put himſelf at the head of the troops, till he had conſulted the Olympian Jupiter, and the Delphian Apollo, on this ſcruple of conſcience. Satisfied with the anſwers returned by theſe oracles, he undertook the war; but meeting, or fancying he met, in the courſe of it, with many prodigies, he returned, without having atchieved any thing of conſequence. In the mean time, Conon, the Athenian, threatened the Spartans with the loſs of their ſovereignty by ſea; wherefore it was reſolved at Sparta, to ſend Antalcidas into Perſia, to appeaſe the great king; and, if poſſible, detach him from the intereſts of their rivals, though, in the mean time, preparations were made for carrying on the war in Aſia, in caſe the propoſals he was enabled to offer ſhould be refuſed.

Yr. of Fl. 1955. Ante Chr. 393.

Antalcidas ſent to Perſia.

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This was a new method of proceeding, unknown in former times to Sparta; and this ambaſſador was a perſon who differed much from his fellow-citizens, being affable in his manner, eloquent, inſinuating, and, in ſhort, every way well accompliſhed to execute a commiſſion at the Perſian court[r] (E). The Athenians, however, took ſuch meaſures as hindered his ſucceeding immediately. Thymbro, who commanded the Lacedæmonian troops in Aſia, for a time did good ſervice; but, at laſt, he was defeated and ſlain: Talutias, however, gained ſome advantages at ſea; and, having alarmed Athens by an attempt on the Piræum, diſpoſed that city to a peace; to which few of the Grecian ſtates were averſe. Sparta, notwithſtanding her late victories, found the expence of the war ſo heavy, that it induced her to wiſh and to ſeek for an accommodation: the Athenians, terrified with their late loſſes, recollected the fatal iſſue of the Peloponneſian war, and deſired to end this, leſt its conſequences ſhould prove no better: the Argives, finding that their artifices would avail no longer, but that the war would, at laſt, find a place in their country, wiſhed a general pacification might take place.

All the ſtates of Greece inclined to a peace.

The Perſian king had alſo his own profit in view; he wanted Greek mercenaries, for carrying on his wars: he

Terms propoſed by the king of Perſia.

[r] Xenoph. Diod. ubi ſupra.

(E) Antalcidas, the ſon of Leon, was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the Perſians, he not only fell into their cuſtoms, but derided thoſe of his own country. His behaviour won ſo much on Artaxerxes, who otherwiſe had a violent antipathy to the Spartans, that he ſent him from his own table, where he was ſitting, a garland perfumed with an unguent, which, for the extraordinary richneſs of its compoſition, was uſed only by the king. But though he diverted himſelf at the expence of his country's cuſtoms, he could anſwer others very tartly, who reflected on them. Being aſked in a contemptuous manner about the extent of Sparta, and its dominions, he anſwered, "The walls of Sparta are her youth, and the points of their ſpears the limits of her territories." An Athenian once bragging in his preſence, that his countrymen had often repulſed the Spartans from Cephiſus; "Very true," replied Antalcidas; "but we had never any occaſion to drive you from Eurotas." Being deſirous to gain admiſſion to the Samothracian myſteries, the prieſt aſked him, "Whether he had ever committed any great crime?" "If I have," ſaid he, "the gods know that already."

therefore ſignified to Tiribazus, who communicated the diſpatches to the Greeks, the terms whereon the king deſired the peace ſhould be concluded. They were theſe: "That the cities in Aſia, with the iſlands of Clazomenæ, and Cyprus, ſhould remain to him; that all the other ſtates, ſmall and great, ſhould be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been from time immemorial ſubject to the Athenians, ſhould remain ſo; that ſuch as refuſed to embrace this peace, ſhould be compelled to accept it by force of arms." At firſt, the Thebans refuſed to comply, becauſe the government of Bœotia was taken from them; but Ageſilaus making preparations to invade them, they were forced to accede; the Argives quitted Corinth, to which the exiles returned; and every thing was done which the Spartans deſired. Such was the peace which, from its author, was ſtyled the peace of Antalcidas, whereby the ſovereignty of Greece was, in a manner, guarantied to Sparta, but upon very diſhonourable terms, the Greek cities in Aſia being entirely abandoned to the Perſians, notwithſtanding all the promiſes which had been made them, and although Ageſilaus himſelf had fought in their quarrel[s]. This flow of ſucceſs intoxicated the Lacedæmonians to ſuch a degree, that, on the concluſion of the peace, they reſolved to puniſh ſuch as had injured them, or were ſuſpected during the war, as if the dominion of Greece had been a ſmall advantage, if their new ſubjects did not feel the preſſure of their government[t]. The firſt who experienced the weight of their reſentment, were the Mantinæans, though they had been their confederates, and had done them great ſervices. The Spartans, to have a pretence for making war, very modeſtly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had ſerved their forefathers, where they might enjoy peace themſelves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours. This propoſal being refuſed, Ageſipolis was ſent with an army againſt them; for Ageſilaus refuſed to command againſt his old friends and acquaintance: Ageſipolis beſieged the city all the ſummer; but when winter approached, the Lacedæmonians dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon roſe to ſuch a height in the city, as either to overflow, or throw down their houſes. This expedient compelled the Mantinæans to ſubmit to the con-

Yr. of Fl. 1961. Ante Chr. 387.

Peace of Antalcidas.

Haughty behaviour of the Lacedæmonians.

[s] Xenoph. lib. v. Diod. lib. xiv. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. & Artax. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Ageſil. [t] Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. 6.

ditions

ditions preſcribed to them by Sparta, and to retire to their old villages, from that noble city which they had ſo long enjoyed. The Phliaſians were the next who felt the arbitrary power of Sparta: it was objected to them, that they had exiled ſome of their own citizens, who were in the intereſt of Sparta; theſe, therefore, they were conſtrained to receive again, and to do whatever elſe the Lacedæmonians required [u].

The Olynthians were, in the third place, to be chaſtiſed, becauſe they were become powerful: to ſay the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated Sparta ſo nearly as this of Olynthus; for, under pretence of freeing the Macedonian cities from the tyranny of Amyntas, they conquered, and kept moſt of them. The Acanthians, and Apollonians, ſignified to the government of Sparta, that, in a very ſhort ſpace, they muſt be conſtrained either to take arms againſt Olynthus, or ſubmit, and fight under her banners: Eudamidas was ſent to aſſiſt them with two thouſand men; he marched into Thrace, where he did great ſervice, expecting to be joined by his brother Phœbidas, who was employed in raiſing a great army, and had orders to follow him; but he, paſſing through Thebes, in his march, had it betrayed to him by Archias and Leontidas; whereupon he ſeized the citadel called Cadmæa, and put a ſtrong garriſon into it. This was an open violation of the peace, and moſt flagrantly unjuſt: yet Ageſilaus protected its author, either from an overweaning paſſion for his own country, or out of an implacable averſion to the Thebans. On his motion, therefore, Sparta abetted Phœbidas, and transferred the government of Thebes to Archias, and Leontidas, who had put it into his hands; a meaſure diſpleaſing to the Greeks, and which made them apprehenſive of the power of Sparta [x]. Teleutias was ſent to command in Thrace, with ſtrict orders to reduce the Olynthians; this ſervice he undertook ſo eagerly, that going in perſon to the aſſiſtance of ſome of his troops, who were repulſed by the Olynthians, he expoſed his whole army to a great loſs, and was himſelf ſlain upon the ſpot. Ageſipolis, as ſoon as the news reached Lacedæmon, was diſpatched to ſupply his place. He fought with great ſucceſs, ſeized Torone, a ſtrong city in thoſe parts, and reduced the Olynthians

The inſolent behaviour of the Olynthians.

Teleutias ſlain.

[u] Pauſan. in Lacon. [x] Diod. ubi ſupra. Xenoph. ub. ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. & in Vit. Pelop. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Pelop.

to

Ageſipolis dies.

to great ſtraits; but, in the midſt of his conqueſts, a fever carried him off in a few days. He was a prince of great worth, of a very mild temper; which gave Ageſilaus an opportunity to make him ſubſervient to his purpoſes; ſo that he made no great figure in the ſtate [y].

Cleombrotus ſucceeds Ageſipolis.

Ageſipolis, having no children, was ſucceeded by his brother Cleombrotus; but not in the command of the army, which was intruſted with Polybiades; who ſoon reduced the Olynthians to ſuch diſtreſs, that they made a treaty with the Spartans, whereby they undertook to have the ſame friends and enemies with them, and to follow them, as aſſociates, whitherſoever they ſhould lead them in their wars [z]. The Phliaſians having given ſome new offence, by not treating the exiles, whom the Spartans had reſtored, with the reſpect which it was thought they deſerved, Ageſilaus marched againſt them with a great army; at the approach of which, however, they were not ſo much terrified, but that they made a vigorous reſiſtance, and defended their city for a long time. At laſt, war and famine brought them ſo low, that they were conſtrained to yield at diſcretion; and commiſſioners were named, on both ſides, to determine which of the citizens ſhould have mercy, and which ſhould be put to death. Thus did Sparta govern with pride and cruelty thoſe whom ſhe had moſt unjuſtly brought under her dominion; for, by the peace of Antalcidas, ſhe had engaged, that all the cities ſhould be left to their freedom. Such Thebans, as could not endure to ſee their country in ſlavery, had privately fled to Athens; but entertaining a correſpondence in their native country, they were admitted ſecretly, and, having ſtabbed the chief men of the oppoſite party, aſſumed the adminiſtration. The Spartans, upon this revolution, ſent Cleombrotus, their new king, at the head of a great army, to reſtore things to their former condition; in which effort, however, he had no great ſucceſs [a]. At his return he left a garriſon, under the command of Sphodrias, at Theſpe, to encourage the Thebans in the Spartan intereſt, and to awe the adjacent country, and lay it under contribution. This Sphodrias attempted to ſeize the Piræum; an outrage which drew the Athenians into the quarrel. Sparta might eaſily have freed herſelf of this new enemy, if ſhe had acted juſtly, and puniſhed Sphodrias as he deſerved: but Age-

The Olynthians reduced by the Spartans. And the Phliaſians.

Cleombrotus ſent againſt the Thebans.

[y] Pauſan. in Lacon. [z] Diod. & Xenoph. ubi ſupra.
[a] Plut. Pelopid. Corn. Nep. in Vit. ejuſd.

ſilaus,

ſilaus, prevailed upon by his ſon, interpoſed, and protected the criminal. This incident effectually induced the Athenians to engage in the league formed againſt Sparta: and Ageſilaus was forced to undertake the command again, though he was at that age when the law excuſed him from ſervice. He invaded Bœotia; but with little ſucceſs, Chabrias, the Athenian, having taught the Thebans to fight in much better order than they had hitherto obſerved. Towards the end of the campaign, Phœbidas, who had been the author of this war, was killed, with three hundred horſe. Next year, Cleombrotus marched againſt the Bœotians; but the Athenians and Thebans diſputing his paſſage, he was obliged to return.

A new war between the Lacedæmonians, and Athenians.

At ſea, the Spartans were worſted by Timotheus, the ſon of Conon; and all things began to decline, notwithſtanding the utmoſt care of Ageſilaus, on whom Antalcidas revenged himſelf for ſome ſmart things he had ſaid of him, when he negociated the peace in Perſia; for the king returning home, wounded by the Thebans, the ſtateſman exclaimed, "You are properly rewarded, Ageſilaus, for teaching theſe Thebans to fight, whether they would or not[b]." In the beginning of the hundred and firſt Olympiad, Artaxerxes, king of Perſia, laboured exceedingly to eſtabliſh peace among the Greeks, becauſe, having reſolved on the reduction of Egypt, he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. In little more than a year he accompliſhed his aim, if that can be ſaid to be accompliſhed, which was of ſo ſhort continuance. The Thebans would never accept the peace, and the reſt of the cities had very little regard to it, ſuch ſeeds of diſcord being now ſown, as could not be rooted out. The Lacedæmonians had every where eſtabliſhed, while they were in power, an oligarchical government; which, in conſequence of this peace, being in many places overthrown, the people began to tyrannize over their late maſters, and to treat them with as little juſtice, now they were degraded, as thoſe tyrants had uſed towards the people when in power. The Perſian king ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of bringing about a ſettled tranquillity, which, in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond Olympiad, ſeemed to be nearly effected, the Athenians concurring heartily with the Lacedæmonians, and ſhewing no countenance to the Thebans, who refuſed to hear of peace, becauſe the Spartans inſiſt-

The Spartans defeated at ſea.

Artaxerxes ſtrives to reconcile the Greeks.

The Thebans bent upon war.

[b] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon.

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ed they ſhould ſet the cities of Bœotia at liberty. In this oppoſition they were encouraged by Epaminondas, who demanded, that, before the Lacedæmonians gave laws to others, they ſhould ſhew a proper regard to theſe maxims of equity themſelves, by giving up Meſſenia to its ancient proprietors, and ſetting Laconia free [c]. This obſtinacy violently incenſed Sparta, and at the ſame time did not a little offend Athens, who could not bear to ſee the Thebans act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or thoſe of Sparta. Cleombrotus, with an army of twelve thouſand men, was ſent into Bœotia. Epaminondas ſeized the paſſages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to take another and more tedious route. At length, however, he penetrated into Bœotia, from the ſide next Phocis, advancing towards Leuctra, and encamping his army in that neighbourhood. The Thebans were greatly diſpirited at the ſight of his numerous army, becauſe many evil omens had happened at their marching from home; yet Epaminondas prevailed in a council of war, and carried the queſtion to fight the enemy. In the interim, Jaſon, a powerful prince of Theſſaly, arrived, with a thouſand horſe, and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to aſſiſt the Thebans, though, on his arrival, he ſtrove to make peace, and, by his endeavours, procured a truce to be actually concluded. As Cleombrotus was about to retire out of Bœotia, he met Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus, coming with a great reinforcement from Sparta. Theſe princes, without any regard to the truce, reſolved to march back to Leuctra, in order to fall on the Bœotians, where they found Epaminondas ready to receive them. That great general, though inferior to the enemy, reſolved to have none ſerve under him in the day of battle, who were not determined to conquer. He made proclamation, that all who deſired to depart might do ſo; which permiſſion the Theſpians, and ſome others, embraced. This previous ſtep being taken, he diſpoſed his army in battalia, placing all his choſen troops in one wing, and thoſe he leaſt depended on in the other. The former he commanded in perſon; to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they ſhould retire leiſurely, ſo as to expoſe to them a ſloping front. Cleombrotus, and Archidamus, advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they preſſed on the

Yr. of Fl. 1978. Ante Chr. 370.

Battle of Leuctra.

[c] Corn. Nep. in Vit. Epamin.

Theban

Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them in flank and front. This ſervice he performed with ſuch bravery, that they gave way, eſpecially after Cleombrotus was ſlain, whoſe dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the ſkill and conduct of the Theban general, who did great execution upon them; four thouſand being killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not loſe above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans loſt the empire of Greece, which they had now held near five hundred years [c].

The Spartans defeated, with great ſlaughter.

When the ephori received the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were ſuperintending the gymnic ſolemnities; and, though they evidently ſaw what the conſequences would be of this alarming loſs, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the feſtival, contenting themſelves with ſending advice to their relations of the names of thoſe who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the Spartan virtue ſhone with greateſt luſtre. The fathers, mothers, and neareſt of kin to ſuch as were killed, aſſembled the next morning, ſhook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle hid themſelves among the women, or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. The common people cried out, that now the oracle was accompliſhed, which forbad them to admit of a lame king, ſince, under the ſovereignty of Ageſilaus, this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities, and the little hopes they had of Ageſipolis, the ſon of Cleombrotus, who was a perſon of mean parts, they appointed Ageſilaus dictator, or rather legiſlator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reaſon; ſuch as fled from the battle were degraded from their honours, conſtrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half-ſhaved, and to ſuffer any perſon to beat them who pleaſed, without reſiſtance: to execute this law at preſent, was by no means expedient; power was therefore given to Ageſilaus, to new-mould the conſtitution. But that great prince gave, on this occaſion, ſuch a proof of his wiſdom, as ſhewed he was worthy of the truſt repoſed in him; ſuch a proof, as

Yr. of Fl. 1978. Ante Chr. 370.

Ageſipolis ſucceeds Cleombrotus.

Ageſilaus' wiſe conduct.

[c] Plut. in Vit. Pelopid. & in Vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Epaminond. Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. 6. Pauſan. Lacon.

Plutarch

Plutarch confeſſes hath ſet him above compariſon; and which, indeed, can never be ſufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public aſſembly; and, by one ſhort ſentence, reſtored the public peace, preſerved ſuch as were under apprehenſions, and, at the ſame time, ſaved the Lycurgic inſtitutes: this ſentence runs thus; "Let the laws ſleep this day; but tomorrow let them reſume their full vigour[d]." Then, old and lame as he was, he aſſembled an army, which he led into the territories of the Arcadians; and, purpoſely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country, and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to ſhew his countrymen, that the fortune of Sparta was not entirely loſt. Some time after this incident a peace was concluded: the Mantinæans took this opportunity of rebuilding their city; a ſtep which exceedingly vexed the Lacedæmonians, who, at length, invaded them; but the Mantinæans, ſhutting themſelves up in their new city, refuſed to hazard their ſafety by a pitched battle. The Arcadians, about the ſame time, built the great city of Megalopolis, to which, from all their villages, they repaired; this undertaking too offended the Lacedæmonians, who thereupon invaded Arcadia, and ſlew Lycomedes, the Mantinæan general of Arcadia, with two hundred men. This misfortune broke the ſpirit of the Arcadians, who thereupon ſent to Athens for relief; but, meeting with a refuſal, they made their application to Thebes, from whence Epaminondas and Pelopidas were ſent, with a great army, to their aſſiſtance. When they arrived in Arcadia, and found themſelves at the head of fifty thouſand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at laſt, it was reſolved to invade Laconia, a deſign hitherto unattempted, which, however, they put in execution; and, under Epaminondas, appeared before Sparta itſelf, which till then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood. In this deſperate ſituation of things, Ageſilaus took the command, diſpoſing the citizens with ſuch ſkill, and oppoſing the enemy wherever they attempted to enter, with ſuch numbers, that Epaminondas, notwithſtanding all his efforts, found it impoſſible to attack the place; but was obliged to retire, waſting the country in his retreat[e].

Epaminondas enters Laconia, but is obliged to retire.

[d] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diod. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nep. in Vit. ejuſd. [e] Xenoph. in Orat. de Laud. Ageſil. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos. in Vit. Ageſil. & Epaminond.

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In the midſt of theſe misfortunes, a very dangerous conſpiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels ſeizing the temple of Diana, at Iſſorion. The Spartans would have immediately attacked, and put them to the ſword; but Ageſilaus, not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and, having only one ſervant near him, went in perſon to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, "Sirs, you miſtook my orders; I did not direct you to go all to one place, but that ſome of you ſhould come hither, and ſome go thither." The conſpirators hearing this addreſs, believed they were not diſcovered; and therefore, ſeparating immediately, went to the poſts which he aſſigned them: thus ſeparated, they were eaſily ſeized; and, being conducted to examination, were afterwards put to death, without any reſpect to the ordinary forms of law. Epaminondas, when he quitted the territories of Sparta, left behind him ſuch a mark of his virtue and magnanimity as is ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory: he rebuilt the city of Meſſene; and, recalling the ancient inhabitants of Meſſenia from the ſeveral countries where they had taken refuge, reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their ancient patrimony, after they had loſt it three hundred years. It is remarkable, that theſe Meſſenians, notwithſtanding their diſperſion, preſerved the old Doric dialect, which continued to be ſpoken amongſt them to the times of Pauſanias, the geographer and hiſtorian. When Epaminondas had accompliſhed this aim, he offered the Lacedæmonians peace, on condition that they quitted all pretenſions to Meſſenia, and left Laconia free; which terms were rejected with diſdain[f]. The preſent diſtreſs of Sparta obliged her to ſue for aſſiſtance to her rival Athens; which, whether from a principle of generoſity or vain-glory, is uncertain, was readily ſent them, under the command of Iphicrates, who, in this expedition, was ſo unlucky as to loſe a great part of his reputation, the military prudence of Epaminondas putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the Thebans. Next year Epaminondas being ſent with a powerful army to join the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, who were in arms in Peloponneſus, the Lacedæmonians applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to all the methods that could be deviſed for reſtoring their affairs; they ſolicited their allies; they manumitted ſuch of the Helotes

Dangerous conſpiracy at Sparta

Epaminondas' virtue and magnanimity.

[f] Xenoph. Hellan. lib. vi. Diod. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in Vit. Ageſ. & in Vit. Pelop. Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. 7. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Epamin. Pauſan in Meſſen. & Lacon.

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as were willing to take arms; they ſought the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, and even of Dionyſius the Sicilian, who ordered two thouſand Gauls and Spaniards to hold themſelves in readineſs to be tranſported into Greece, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. In the interim, the Lacedæmonian army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, fortified the paſſes at the Iſthmus; and, having ſtrongly intrenched themſelves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder Epaminondas, and his Thebans, from entering Peloponneſus: but this hope was in vain; for though the Theban army was far inferior in number, yet Epaminondas, having conſidered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakeſt where the Spartans were poſted, determined, at all events, to attack them there. This deſign was executed with ſuch vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into Peloponneſus, where he waſted the country, reduced Sicyon, and ſome other cities; and afterwards marched to Corinth, which he would have alſo taken, if it had not been for Chabrias the Athenian, who, being cordially in the intereſt of Sparta, defended the place ſo well, that Epaminondas was forced to retire. Here the Gauls and Spaniards, who were by this time come from Sicily, did great ſervice; and, in the end of the ſummer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home.

Epaminondas breaks into Peloponneſus.

Yr. of Fl. 1981. Ante Chr. 367.

The Lacedæmonians, though ſtill deſirous of peace, continued to make great preparations for ſupporting the war. Ageſilaus aſſiſted them with his counſels; Cleomenes, who ſucceeded his brother Ageſipolis, after a year's reign, diſcharged the functions of firſt magiſtrate; Archidamus, the ſon of Ageſilaus, having the chief command of their armies. In the firſt year of the hundred and third Olympiad, this prince having drawn together a conſiderable body of Spartans, and their allies, and being aſſiſted by Ciſſidas, general in chief of Dionyſius's forces, marched into Arcadia, in order to revenge his country for the many inroads which they had lately ſuffered from that people. Having taken Caryæ, and put his priſoners to the ſword, he projected greater conqueſts, till, on a ſudden, all his attempts were checked by a declaration of Ciſſidas, that, his commiſſion being expired, he could act offenſively no longer. In conſequence of this declaration, he immediately withdrew; but, in his retreat, finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by the Meſſenians, he ſent to Archidamus, to beſeech his aſſiſtance: the Spartan immediately marched, with all his forces, to the relief of his ally; and, on his arrival, fell with ſuch vi-

The Arcadians routed.

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gour on the Arcadians, and their confederates, that he utterly defeated them, with the ſlaughter of no leſs than ten thouſand men, without one Spartan's being ſlain: thus, the prediction of the prieſts at Dodona is ſaid to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when Archidamus marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the Lacedæmonians[s]. Some time after this event, Epaminondas made another irruption into Peloponneſus, without doing any great miſchief, the endeavours of the Perſian king having diſpoſed almoſt all Greece to think of peace. This was effected, after the Laconian or Bœotic war had laſted about five years; in which, if Ageſilaus was to blame, for having, through his hatred of the Thebans, been the principal author, yet the great ſervices he did his country, and his preſerving the city of Sparta from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were ſuch reparations, that we may juſtly commend the Spartans for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making uſe of thoſe qualities which were alone capable of preſerving them.

A general peace concluded.

In the ſecond year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad, new commotions aroſe in Peloponneſus: the Tegeæans and Mantinæans making war on each other, the former requeſting the aid of the Thebans, the latter of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, gave occaſion to a new and fatal controverſy; for Epaminondas, at the head of a great army, marching to the aſſiſtance of his allies, received notice that Ageſilaus, with the whole power of Sparta, was in full march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving that Sparta muſt be in danger, he directed his march thither, with the utmoſt diligence. Xenophon himſelf acknowleges, that this meaſure was ſo well taken, and ſo briſkly purſued, that nothing could have prevented him from ſurpriſing the place, if, by accident, a perſon had not given notice of his march to Ageſilaus, who diſpatched a courier to Sparta, to deſire the citizens to be on their guard. Archidamus no ſooner received his father's diſpatch, than he made all proper diſpoſitions for the defence of the place: the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houſes, that they might incommode the Thebans, by throwing tiles and ſtones; ſuch as were capable of bearing arms, he poſted in all the avenues of the city; ſo that, when Epaminondas came,

Yr. of Fl. 1986. Ante Chr. 362.

New commotions in Peloponneſus.

[s] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Lacon. Athen. Deipnoſoph. lib. xii. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil.

he had the mortification to ſee that his deſign was diſcovered, and that it was impoſſible for him to think of entering, without great effuſion of blood. He nevertheleſs attacked the place, but was obliged to retire; yet Archidamus following him, gave an opportunity to the Thebans to revenge the death of their countrymen, by cutting off a great number of Spartans, who had thus needleſsly expoſed themſelves by an unwary purſuit. Epaminondas marched directly to ſurpriſe Mantinæa, which, he rightly conjectured, would be left naked by Ageſilaus's march to the relief of Sparta: yet here again an accident defeated his plan; ſix thouſand Athenian ſuccours were juſt landed in Peloponneſus, and entered Mantinæa the very day that he attacked it. Theſe, being freſh, and full of ſpirits, gained an advantage over his horſe, and forced him to abandon his deſign [h]. Theſe miſcarriages ſank deep into the boſom of this great general, who, reflecting that his commiſſion was about to expire; and that, if he retired out of Peloponneſus without effecting any thing, he ſhould not only loſe his own glory, but that authority alſo to which he had raiſed his country; he determined, for the preſervation of both theſe, to riſque a battle at all events. When, therefore, he underſtood that Ageſilaus, at the head of the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians, with the reſt of the allies, amounting to twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, were arrived in the neighbourhood of Mantinæa, he led forth his army; and, having drawn it up in battalia, marched off towards the hills of Tegæa, as if he intended to encamp there; but, on a ſudden, altering the diſpoſition of his line, to give it the form of a wedge, he ſpeedily marched back, and fell upon the allies, when they expected no ſuch attack. The confuſion was ſo great, that the Thebans would have acquired a very eaſy victory, if Epaminondas, charging the Lacedæmonians, had not expoſed his perſon too much; for they, knowing that the whole power of Thebes was centred in this ſingle man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his fleſh, and returned upon thoſe who diſcharged them. At laſt, one Anticiates, a Spartan, ſtruck him into the breaſt with a javelin, with ſuch force, that it broke, and left the iron ſticking in the wound. Then he fell, and his death occaſioned a new conteſt for his body, in which his countrymen were victorious,

Epaminondas attempts the ſurprize of Sparta.

Epaminondas killed.

[h] Xenoph: ubi ſupra. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Pauſan. Lacon. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Epaminond.

torious, though with the loſs of their beſt officers. All Greece looked with concern on the iſſue of this diſpute: the contending parties, fearing the continuance of ſo bloody a war, unanimouſly agreed to a general peace, excepting only the Lacedæmonians, who, at the inſtance of Ageſilaus, refuſed to become parties, becauſe the Meſſenians were comprehended therein [i]. This prince, finding that the Perſian was no longer inclined to Sparta, conſented, for the ſake of a large ſubſidy given to his country by the king of Egypt, to go in perſon to command the Greek mercenaries that monarch had in his ſervice. There, for a time, he was of great uſe to the prince, at whoſe requeſt he went into Egypt; but at length, either to gratify his own reſentment, or becauſe he thought it more advantageous to his country, he deſerted him, and ſided with his competitor; from whom having received a large ſum of money for his good ſervices, he embarked, in order to return into Peloponneſus; but being, by contrary winds, forced on the African ſhore, he died, after a ſhort illneſs, rather of age and fatigue than of any other diſtemper, when he had attained the eighty-fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty-one years; leaving behind him the character of a wiſe prince, a great captain, and a paſſionate lover of his country [k] (F).

Ageſilaus dies.

Archidamus ſucceeded his father Ageſilaus. He was become the darling of the people, for the glorious victory he had obtained over the Arcadians, and which, becauſe no Spartan fell in that engagement, they tranſmitted to poſterity by the name of the "tearleſs battle." In his reign broke out the Phocian or Sacred war, wherein he ſided with the Phocians, at the perſuaſion, as ſome writers ſay, of his wife Dinicha. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himſelf were induced by the bribes of

Archidamus ſucceeds Ageſilaus.

Yr. of Fl. 1987. Ante Chr. 361.

[i] Xenoph. Hellan. lib. viii. Diod. Sic. lib. xv. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil. Juſtin. lib. vi. cap. 7. Corn. Nep. in Vit. Epaminon.
[k] Xenoph. ubi ſupra, & in Orat. de Laud. Ageſil. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Ageſil.

(F) Notwithſtanding all that his friend Xenophon has written in juſtification of this prince's conduct, his deſerting from Tachos, the king of Egypt, was undoubtedly an act of treachery and meanneſs, not even to be palliated by the Spartan maxim, "that every thing is juſt, that produces advantage to one's country." The particulars of the conduct of Ageſilaus in Egypt, may be ſeen in Plutarch's account of his life.

the Phocians, but even the ephori, the ſenate, and the whole republic of Sparta: he was far, however, from countenancing their cruelty, which, on the contrary, he openly condemned and oppoſed. When Philip king of Macedon began to intereſt himſelf in the affairs of Greece, and to aſſume great importance on the many victories he had gained, Archidamus is ſaid to have ſent him this meſſage: "Sir, if you will be pleaſed to meaſure your ſhadow, you will not find it a whit longer than it was before." He was not pleaſed with the cuſtoms of his country, but, on the contrary, thought them burdenſome and rigorous; chuſing to live freely, and without reſtraint, ſuppoſing that it did not affect a man's honeſty, if he eat a good dinner. For this reaſon, he was glad of an opportunity to leave Sparta, and reſide in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws, or giving ſcandal to his ſubjects. The Tarentines, therefore, requeſting aid of the Lacedæmonians, for their ſupport againſt their neighbours, Archidamus readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them; and paſſing, on this occaſion, over into Italy, was there ſlain, near the city of Mandonium, after having reigned fifteen years. His ſtatue was erected at the temple of Jupiter Olympius; an honour which none of the Spartan kings had enjoyed, except himſelf, and which Pauſanias ſuppoſes was granted to him, becauſe he died fighting againſt the Barbarians, and did not receive thoſe ſepulchral honours which had been given to all his predeceſſors.

He is ſlain in Italy.

Yr. of Fl. 2004. Ante Chr. 346.

Agis, the ſon of Archidamus, ſucceeded his father: he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity. In his youth he had been ſent ambaſſador to Philip of Macedon, who, ſeeing him alone, whereas all other cities ſent many deputies, ſaid, with an air of contempt, "What! from Sparta but one?" "Why Sir, ſaid Agis, I was ſent but to one." When, afterwards, one of the creatures of that prince told him, "Philip will not allow you to ſet your foot in any other part of Greece;" "It is lucky, ſaid he, that we have a good deal of room at home." During the reign of Alexander, though he hated the Macedonians, yet he did not think fit to expoſe his country to ruin, by oppoſing them; but when, after the battle of Iſſus, many mercenaries fled out of Perſia, he enliſted them, to the number of eight thouſand, and openly declared for Darius; from whom, receiving money to pay his troops and a fleet, he ſailed over into Crete, part of which

Agis ſucceeds Archidamus.

which he ſubdued. After the battle of Arbela, he incited all Greece to revolt, by ſhewing them, that, when Alexander had ſubdued Perſia, they muſt become a province of his empire, a yoke which would be no leſs grievous to them, than if they had been ſubdued by any of the former kings of Perſia. The Greeks, rouſed by theſe remonſtrances, raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; of which, when Antipater had notice, he compoſed, on any terms, the diſturbances in Thrace, and marched ſtraight into Greece with forty thouſand men. Agis, however, did not retire, or avoid an engagement; ſo that a deciſive battle was quickly fought; in which, after a glorious reſiſtance, the Spartans and their confederates were routed, with the loſs of five thouſand three hundred men, Antipater loſing three thouſand five hundred alſo. Agis himſelf fell, but in a manner greatly to his honour; for, being covered with wounds, he was borne by his ſoldiers out of the battle, till, ſeeing them on the point of being ſurrounded, he commanded them to ſet him down, and preſerve themſelves for the future ſervice of their country: remaining then alone with his ſword in his hand, he fought upon his knees, killing ſeveral of the Macedonians, till, at laſt, he was thruſt through the body with a dart [1]. Such was the glorious death of this moſt virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country, after a reign of nine years. Yet, when Alexander heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to ſay, "While we are fighting Darius in Aſia, there has been, it ſeems, a battle of mice in Arcadia."

He ſtirs up the Greeks againſt Alexander.

Is wounded in a battle.

His glorious death.

Agis was ſucceeded by his ſon Eudamidas, a prince of wiſdom, moderation, and gentleneſs. He governed in peace; and we have, of conſequence, nothing of him on record except inſtances of his good ſenſe and capacity for governing in thoſe troubleſome times wherein he lived. The death of Agis had ſo much provoked the Lacedæmonians, that they were for carrying on a war againſt Macedon at all events, which Eudamidas oppoſed; and, when a certain Spartan addreſſed him thus, "Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone adviſe them to continue in peace?" "Becauſe, anſwered the king, I would convince them of their miſtake." Another, magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their anceſtors againſt the Perſians, and encouraging them, from

Yr. of Fl. 2011. Ante Chr. 337.

Eudamidas ſucceeds Agis.

[1] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. Curt. lib. vi. Juſtin. lib. xii. Strab. lib. viii. Pauſan. Attic.

thence, to undertake a war againſt Macedon: "You think, Sir, ſaid Eudamidas, that it is the ſame thing to make war againſt a thouſand ſheep, as againſt fifty wolves." Coming into the ſchool of Xenocrates, the philoſopher, and obſerving that he was very old, he aſked what was his profeſſion: and ſome of them anſwering that he was a wiſe man, who ſought after virtue, "Alas, ſaid he, is he ſeeking it at theſe years? When then will he make uſe of it?" When Alexander cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout Greece, that all the exiles ſhould return in ſafety to their own cities, excepting thoſe of Thebes; "This is a hard caſe, O ye Thebans, ſaid Eudamidas, but at the ſame time very honourable; for, it is evident, that Alexander fears you only of all the Greeks [m]." All theſe kings had for their colleague Cleomenes, the ſon of Cleombrotus, who reigned very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

Archidamus and Areus kings of Sparta.

Archidamus reigned after his father Eudamidas, as Areus, the ſon of Acrotatus, ſucceeded his grandfather Cleomenes; but not without ſome diſpute, his uncle Cleonymus ſetting up a title to the throne, though the people preferred the ſon of the elder brother to the younger. Cleonymus, however, retired to Pyrrhus, whom he brought, with an army, into his country, to abet his cauſe, although the ephori and ſenate would have granted him any reaſonable terms he could have aſked. The Spartans ſent Dercyllidas to meet him on the frontiers, and to expoſtulate with him on the injuſtice of his invaſion; but Pyrrhus, by one of his courtiers, bid him carry this meſſage to Sparta, "that they ſhould receive their king Cleonymus, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men." "Sir, anſwered Dercyllidas, if your maſter is a god we do not fear him, becauſe we have done no wrong; and, if he is a man, we do not fear him, becauſe we are as good as he [n]." This expedition had nearly accompliſhed the ruin of Sparta, which ſuffered more from it than from either of the attempts of Epaminondas. Pyrrhus had with him twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants. Areus was abſent in Crete, and the city chiefly entruſted to the care of his ſon Acrotatus, whoſe amours had, in a great meaſure, occaſioned this war; for he had debauched Chelidonis, the wife of Cleonymus his uncle; which was

Pyrrhus eſpouſes the cauſe of Cleonymus claiming the crown.

[m] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pauſan. Lacon.

[n] Plut. in Apophthegm.

one

one great reaſon of his flying to Pyrrhus, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Sparta, the citizens, flattering themſelves that their ambaſſadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought the king, that the city was ſo meanly provided, and the people ſo much amazed, that, without queſtion, it would fall, almoſt without trouble, into his hands. This intelligence was received in the evening; yet Cleonymus preſſed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkneſs would afford an opportunity to the ſoldiers of poſſeſſing themſelves of all the riches of Sparta, refuſed to attack it till day-light; a delay, ſo little expected even by the Spartans themſelves, that, in Cleonymus's houſe, the Helotes were buſy in providing a ſupper, not doubting but Pyrrhus would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known that his ſoldiers had pitched their camp near the walls, the ſenate aſſembled to conſider if any thing could be done for their preſervation; and their firſt reſolution was, to ſend the women immediately over into Crete; which reſolution tranſpiring, the Spartan women aſſembled together, and, having deputed Archidamia to carry their ſentiments to the ſenate, ſhe entered the room with a ſword in her hand, addreſſing the aſſembly in theſe words: "Do not, my lords, entertain ſo mean an opinion of the Spartan women, as to believe that they will ever outlive Sparta. Inſtead of conſidering whither we are to fly, conſider what we are to do, and be aſſured we will undertake any thing for the ſervice of our country[o]." Upon this declaration it was reſolved to ſink a trench directly oppoſite to the enemy's camp, and to defend its extremities by burying waggons to their axle-trees, croſſing each other, in order to prevent the paſſage of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women appeared, many of them in their ſhifts, to aſſiſt the men in years, who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themſelves, leſt they ſhould be unable to ſuſtain the enemy's charge in the morning. They undertook a third part of the work, and finiſhed it accordingly. The trench thus executed was ſix cubits broad, four deep, and extended eight hundred feet in length[p]. When the day began to break, and the troops of Pyrrhus were in motion, the Lacedæmonian women armed their men for the fight, repreſenting to them, as

The gallant behaviour of the Spartan women.

[o] Plut. in Vita Pyrrh. [p] Juſtin. lib. xxv. cap. 4.

they were buckling on their armour, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country, in the sight of their mothers, wives, and daughters, or of falling in its cause. Chelidonis retired to her own house, with a halter about her neck, to shew that, if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life than cohabit again with her husband. Pyrrhus saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo. However, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the Spartans; who, considering for what they contended, made a desperate resistance. In the mean time Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, drew off two thousand Gauls, and other choice men, from the attack; and marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the waggons; a work which at last they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. Atrotatus was the first who perceived this effort, which he immediately sought to counteract; for, rushing through the city with three hundred men, he passed round by the sides of the hills, and charged Ptolemy's troops in the rear. These, thinking of nothing less, and putting themselves in no posture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the rest, to the great joy of the Spartans. Where Pyrrhus charged in person, the attack was sustained with the greatest vigour; and one Phyllius, a Spartan, gave such a demonstration of invincible courage, as is scarce to be matched in history: he fought in the front of his countrymen, till he found himself so exhausted, through the many wounds he had received, that he was no longer able to stand; when he called to the commanding officer, and, having resigned to him his post, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell.

Pyrrhus attacks the city in vain.

As the battle began, so it ended with the day. Pyrrhus, being extremely fatigued, retired to his tent, where he slept soundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream: he thought he was employed in flashing lightning on Sparta, which set it all on fire; and awoke in a transport of joy. He immediately assembled his council of officers, and communicated his vision. But Lysimachus his favourite did not interpret it to his advantage. "Thou knowest, Pyrrhus, said he, that, with us, places struck with lightning are accounted sacred: I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby signified to thee, that Sparta is as sacred and inviolable as any place struck with

His dream.

with lightning. "Well," replied Pyrrhus, "I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning theſe things; yet this remains certain ſtill, that we ought to do our duty; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack[q]." The aſſault was no leſs vigorous than the day before; nor did the Lacedæmonians defend themſelves with leſs bravery, the women remaining all day at the trench, ſupplying the ſoldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever elſe they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying off thoſe who were diſabled. At laſt, however, Pyrrhus prevailed in the attempt his ſon had miſcarried in the day before, and of a ſudden appeared within the waggons, charging at the head of a great number of horſe with great reſolution. In vain the Lacedæmonians crowded from all ſides to obſtruct his paſſage; they were trodden down by his horſe; and Pyrrhus was on the point of entering the city, when an arrow ſtruck his ſteed to the heart. The beaſt, flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off; and his ſoldiers, in the confuſion, not knowing whether he, as well as his horſe, was ſlain, gave way. The Spartans preſſed on them ſo eagerly, and diſcharged their darts with ſuch ſucceſs, that, when Pyrrhus had remounted, he thought it prudent to retire, ſuppoſing that the third day would put an end to this conteſt, when, after the heat of the action, the Spartans had leiſure to feel their wounds; nor would he, in all probability, have been miſtaken, if he had contended the next day with none but thoſe whom he engaged before. The good fortune of Sparta interpoſed. One of Antigonus's captains, having intelligence of their diſtreſs, and of the ſtand they had made, adventured, with a body of troops under his command, to throw himſelf into the place, where he was ſcarce arrived, before king Areus entered with two thouſand freſh men. Pyrrhus, notwithſtanding, aſſaulted the place the third time; but with little ſucceſs: thus diſappointed, he embraced an invitation given him to march to Argos, and endeavoured to extricate himſelf from this unlucky buſineſs as well as he could: yet here again he found himſelf diſtreſſed; for king Areus ſent a body of horſe to harraſs his rear. Pyrrhus, vexed at this inſult, ordered his ſon Ptolemy, with ſome ſquadrons under his command, to march to the aſſiſtance of the troops attacked; where the

The attack renewed.

Pyrrhus repulſed.

Freſh ſupplies enter the place.

Pyrrhus repulſed the third time.

[q] Plutarch. in Vit. Pyrrh.

young

young prince, more ambitious of glory than careful of life, expoſing himſelf too much, was ſlain. Pyrrhus, when he heard the news, immediately mounted on horſeback; and, charging the Lacedæmonians with uncommon fury, ſlew many of them, particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand. He afterwards quitted his horſe, and fought on foot; and, when he had ſatiated himſelf with deſtroying numbers of the Spartans, continued his march to Argos [r].

Areus is very much blamed for his conduct on this occaſion. It is ſaid, that, when Pyrrhus had retired, purſuing him ſerved only to endanger the lives of many brave men; but the Spartan king was of opinion, that no ſafety could be hoped for, till Pyrrhus was out of Greece. For this reaſon, he poſted to Argos, with a thouſand ſelect foot; and yet he ſcarce arrived time enough to ſave the city, a gate of which having been perfidiouſly opened to Pyrrhus in the night, he entered before the citizens were aware. However, they ſtood to their arms; and, while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, Areus came to their aid. Pyrrhus, perceiving that he fought under great diſadvantages, would have retreated; but his orders being miſtaken, and his forces and elephants ſtill continuing to enter the city, he was at laſt ſtruck from his horſe by a woman, who, ſtanding on the top of her houſe, and perceiving him about to trample upon her ſon, diſcharged a thick tile at his head, which, ſtriking him on the temples, deprived him of his ſenſes; and, before he could recover them, an officer of Antigonus's army ſtruck off his head [s]. Concerning Areus we know nothing farther, than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of Greece, as far as the broken and diſtreſſed ſtate of his country would give him leave; for, when he underſtood, that Athens was in danger of being oppreſſed by Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, he generouſly armed in its defence, and was ſlain valiantly fighting at the battle of Corinth [t]. To this prince the beſt critics have referred that letter to Onias the high-prieſt, which we find recorded in the book of Maccabees [u] (G).

Pyrrhus killed in the attack of Argos.

King Areus killed in the battle of Corinth.

He

[r] Juſtin. ibid. [s] Juſtin. Hiſt. lib. xxv. cap. 5. Pauſan. in Argol. Plut. in Vit. Pyrr. [t] Plut. in Vit. Demetr. [u] 1 Maccab. xii. 20. Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xii. cap. 5.

(G) The letter above referred to runs thus:

"Areus king of the Lacedæmonians to Onias the high-prieſt, greeting;

"It is found in writing, that the

He was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon Acrotatus, who had ſo valiantly defended Sparta, when attacked by Pyrrhus.

Of the other houſe, Archidamus, the fourth of that name, the ſon of Eudamidas, governed with great repu- *The acts of Archidamus IV. king of Sparta.*

the Lacedæmonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the ſtock of Abraham: now therefore, ſince this is come to our knowlege, you ſhall do well to write to us of your peace (1)." This letter is exactly in the Laconic ſtyle, and deſerves to be preferred to that which we find in Joſephus, wherein Demoteles is named as ambaſſador from Sparta: the form of the letter is ſaid to be ſquare, and the common ſeal of Lacedæmon is deſcribed as repreſenting an eagle holding a dragon. The learned primate of Ireland hath been led into a great miſtake, by paying too much regard to this Jewiſh writer; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been ſent to Onias the third of that name, high-prieſt of the Jews, who flouriſhed when there were no kings at Sparta: this Uſher was ſo well aware of, that he ſuppoſes one Areus, a nobleman of Sparta, to have taken the title of king in this epiſtle (2): but here is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former: Jonathan, in his letter to the Lacedæmonians, ſays it was written a long time ago; which no way agrees with the time in which Joſephus and archbiſhop Uſher place it: the truth is, this letter was not written to Onias the ſon of Simon, but to Onias the firſt, who was undeniably contemporary with this king Areus, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr. Prideaux (3). There is the more reaſon to ſuſpect ſome alteration in this letter by Joſephus, becauſe, when he comes to give us Jonathan's letter, he has taken the liberty to alter its addreſs alſo, and not at all for the better; thus it runs according to Joſephus: "Jonathan high-prieſt of the Jews, and the ſenate and commonalty of the Jews, to the ephori, ſenate, and people of the Lacedæmonians, greeting (4)." Whereas, in the book of Maccabees the addreſs is thus: "Jonathan the high-prieſt, and the elders of the nation, and the prieſts, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedæmonians, their brethren, ſend greeting (5)." Neither ephori or ſenate are mentioned here; they were probably put in by Joſephus. The name of Demoteles is alſo inſerted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of the Maccabees.

(1) 1 Maccab. xii. 20. (2) Uſſer. Annal. A. M. 3821. (3) Connect. of the Old and New Teſtament, part ii. book ii. p. 147, 148, 8vo. (4) Antiq. Judaic. lib. xiii. cap. 5. (5) 1 Maccab. xii. 6.

tation.

tation. He was a prince of the true Spartan race, who was deſirous to maintain all Greece in freedom; and to repreſs, if it had been poſſible, the mighty power of the Macedonian kings, which, like a torrent, ſwept all before them; and though, for a time, they might be reſtrained from doing much miſchief, by being obliged to turn their arms elſewhere, yet, whenever they had leiſure, they were ſure to ſeek ſuch an authority in Greece, as ſuited not with her liberty. Archidamus had ſtruggled againſt the ſtream when it was moſt rapid, that is, when Demetrius Poliorcetes, after ſubduing Athens, ſought to make himſelf maſter of Sparta. Twice Archidamus oppoſed him in the field; but had the misfortune to be as often defeated: nor could any thing have ſaved the city of Sparta from the rage of the victor, if the deelenſion of Demetrius's affairs in Aſia had not obliged him for a time to abandon all thoughts of Greece [x].

Eudamidas ſucceeds his father Archidamus.

Eudamidas, the ſon of Archidamus, was the collegue of Acrotatus. He married Agiſtrata, by whom he had two ſons, Agis and Archidamus [y]. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in hiſtory. It is probable, that, being a man of mean parts, the government reſted chiefly in Acrotatus, who was highly beloved by the people, on account of his great valour, and ſhining virtues. Ariſtodemus, who had made himſelf maſter of Megalopolis, was the capital enemy of the Lacedæmonians, endeavouring by all means to abaſe a nation, always ready to take arms for liberty. Acrotatus, at the head of the Lacedæmonian army, endeavoured to oppoſe this prince, who was grown formidable to all Peloponneſus; but his fortune being unequal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himſelf ſlain. The kingdom devolved to his young ſon Areus, to whom Leonidas, the ſon of Cleonymus was tutor or protector; and he dying after a very ſhort reign, Leonidas ſucceeded in his own right.

Leonidas ſucceeds his pupil in the throne of Sparta.

Leonidas had long lived in the court of Seleucus, which made him extremely fond of pomp and grandeur. At Sparta he had opportunities of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being altered from what they were before, and the Lycurgic maxims grown not only into diſuſe, but contempt. One Opytadeus, being raiſed to a chair among the ephori, taking occaſion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice againſt his own ſon, procured a law, whereby all men were left at liberty to diſ-

[x] Plut. ubi ſupra. [y] Plut. in. Vit. Agid.

poſe

poſe of their lands by gift or ſale, or by teſtament at the time of their deceaſe. This ſubverted the very foundations of the ſtate; for, by degrees, the lands were moſt of them transferred from the ancient Spartan families: ſo, that, though they were reduced now to about ſeven hundred, not above one hundred of theſe had any lands, but lived in the city lazily, without employment, and without wealth, their ſpirits ſinking with their fortune, and, with both, the credit and glory of the Spartan ſtate [z].

Agis attempts to reſtore the conſtitution of Sparta.

The colleague of Leonidas, of the other houſe, was Agis, the ſon of Eudamidas, a young prince of great hopes. He ſhewed himſelf juſt and obliging to all men, and, in the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, and ſublimity of his virtues, not only exceeded Leonidas, who reigned with him, but all the kings of Sparta from king Ageſilaus. He was a handſome perſon, and of a graceful behaviour, yet, in order to reſiſt the temptations of vanity, he always appeared in the plaineſt apparel. In his diet, bathings, and in all his exerciſes, he choſe to imitate the old laconic frugality and temperance, and was often heard to ſay, "He would not deſire the kingdom if he did not hope, by means of that authority, to reſtore their ancient laws and diſcipline." Ageſilaus, his uncle, was one of his principal counſellors, a man of eloquence, but of little virtue; the part he took in this buſineſs being chiefly owing to his ſon's perſuaſions, whoſe name was Hypomedon, one of the worthieſt men of his age. Ageſilaus brought over his ſiſter, king Agis's mother, to the ſentiments of her ſon, notwithſtanding her averſeneſs to them at firſt; and ſhe prevailed on moſt of the ladies of Sparta; which was a point of prodigious conſequence, ſince their huſbands ſeldom took any ſtep without their advice. On this occaſion they ſhewed their great good ſenſe and virtue, for when they had thoroughly conſidered the matter, and perceived, that, though theſe new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet, at the ſame time, they would reſtore the credit of Sparta, and give her new luſtre in the world, they approved of them unanimouſly, and endeavoured to engage their huſbands to reliſh the project. It was reliſhed by the people in general, ever fond of novelty and revolution; but the few, in whoſe hands the wealth of Sparta was centered, grew very uneaſy: they applied themſelves to Leonidas, telling him, that as he was an older and wiſer man than his colleague, he

[z] Plut. in Vita Agid. & in Vita Cleomen.

ought

ought to interpoſe, and not ſuffer the conſtitution to be deſtroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. Leonidas was afraid to oppoſe the people, whom he ſaw evidently inclined to favour his colleague, and the ſcheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magiſtrates, whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that Agis intended to eſtabliſh an independent power in his own perſon, by inclining the people to his intereſts, firſt by a remiſſion of debts, and then by an equal diviſion of lands. The party he formed by theſe ſuggeſtions were very conſiderable; however, Agis perſiſted in his reſolution; and, when his friend Lyſander was choſen one of the ephori, actually preſented his decree to the ſenate, the chief articles of which were theſe: "That every one ſhould be free from his debts. That all the lands ſhould be divided into equal portions; thoſe that lay between the valley of Pellene and Tagetus, as far as the cities of Mallea and Sallaſia, into four thouſand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thouſand. That theſe laſt ſhould be ſhared by ſome choſen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms, the firſt among the natural Spartans; admitting alſo ſtrangers to ſupply their number, ſuch as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. Theſe were to be divided into fifteen companies, ſome of four hundred, ſome of two, and obſerve a diet and diſcipline agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus."

His decree preſented to the ſenate.

The matter being debated in the ſenate, Lyſander began to doubt the event; therefore, without putting the queſtion, convoked a general aſſembly of the people. In this aſſembly both the kings, the ephori, and other conſiderable perſons, were heard, and, by long orations, ſought to ſhew the conveniency or inconveniency of the ſcheme, according as they were inclined or averſe to it. At laſt, however, it was rejected in the ſenate, though but by one voice; and, from the time of that rejection, the people, in general, attended on, and paid their court to Agis, while the richer citizens, and thoſe eſpecially who had placed their money out at intereſt, attached themſelves to Leonidas. Lyſander, however, contrived a method for removing him: he cauſed an accuſation to be preferred againſt him for the breach of two old laws; the one forbidding the kings of Sparta to marry a ſtranger; the other prohibiting citizens to travel to foreign countries. By the help of theſe accuſations, and practiſing on the ſuperſtitious temper of the people, he ſo terrified Leonidas, that he

Rejected but by one voice.

he fled to the temple of Minerva for ſhelter. Upon this retreat Lyſander incited Cleombrotus, who was of the royal houſe, and had married the daughter of Leonidas, to lay claim to the kingdom; of which deſign, when Leonidas had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who choſe rather to fly with her father than reign with her huſband[a].

Cleombrotus ſucceeds Leonidas.

Cleombrotus, being raiſed to the regal dignity, concurred with Agis in all his deſigns; but the next year the ephori being choſen out of the oppoſite faction, they cited Lyſander and his friends to appear before them, and anſwer for what they had done during their adminiſtration. They, in this diſtreſs, had inſtantly recourſe to the kings, beſeeching them to protect thoſe who were threatened for having performed their commands. Lyſander, at the ſame time, ſuggeſted, that the ephori were created only to take care of the ſtate, in caſe any difference happened between the kings; but that, while they agreed, theſe magiſtrates had no right to call in queſtion any acts they thought fit to authorize. Agis and Cleombrotus, in conſequence of this prerogative, reſolved to make Lyſander and his friends eaſy: they, therefore, went directly to the place where the ephori were ſitting, removed them from their ſeats, and placed others in their room, the firſt of theſe being Ageſilaus. Such a tranſaction could not happen without a tumult; but, through the great care and integrity of Agis, no ill accident happened. Ageſilaus, indeed, had projected the murder of Leonidas, as he was on the road to Tegæa; but king Agis, having notice of the deſign, ſent a conſiderable number of his friends to eſcort him. The kings would have proceeded to the cancelling of debts, and to the equal diviſion of lands, had not Ageſilaus prevented the execution of the ſcheme, by pretending that it would not be ſafe to attempt both at one time; but that firſt the debts ſhould be cancelled, and then the monied men would more readily come into a diviſion of lands. This advice he gave becauſe he had a good eſtate, but was greatly in debt: wherefore he ſought to rid himſelf of the importunities of his creditors, without parting with his poſſeſſions. The kings, and even Lyſander, were deceived by his ſpecious pretences; ſo that they came into his ſchemes, cauſing all obligations to be brought in, and burnt immediately, but referring the diviſion of lands to a farther opportunity; a delay which greatly diſpleaſed the people.

All debts cancelled at Sparta.

[a] Plut. ubi ſupra.

Agis

Agis quickly perceived their dissatisfaction, and therefore he sought to repair his error, by immediately dividing the estates: but Agesilaus found means to put it off, under different pretences, till Agis was obliged to go with a body of Spartan troops to the assistance of the Achæans. In his absence his colleague seemed to lose all sense of moderation, and acted so tyrannically, that, by the time Agis returned, a conspiracy was formed for restoring Leonidas; and his restoration being accordingly effected, Agis fled to the temple of Minerva, and Cleombrotus to that of Neptune. Leonidas expressed more resentment against his son-in-law than towards Agis; he went to his sanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude, and want of duty, threatening him with death; but his daughter Chelonis interceding, and holding the two children she had in her arms, prevailed so far as to have his sentence changed into that of perpetual banishment; in which she accompanied him, notwithstanding all the intreaties of her father [b].

Leonidas restored.

Cleombrotus banished.

Leonidas began to contrive all the methods possible for drawing Agis out of his sanctuary; but his attempts failed: at last he corrupted some of the king's friends. The names of these persons were Amphares, Democharcs, and Archesilaus. The first had borrowed rich goods and plate from the mother of king Agis; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he should acquire the possession of them; the other two were bribed by Leonidas. They took an opportunity, when Agis was returning from the baths, to seize him; Amphares caught him by the arm; Democharcs, being a strong man, threw a cloak over his head, and muffled him up; then their associates coming to their assistance, they thus dragged their sovereign to the common prison, where the new ephori, constituted by Leonidas, sat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of justice to their proceedings, some senators were present; but care was taken that they should be such as were of their party. When the king came in, they asked him, how he durst attempt to alter the government? at which interrogation he smiled, without affording them an answer. His contemptuous silence provoked one of the ephori to tell him, "That he ought rather to weep; for they would now make him sensible of his presumption." Another asked him, "Whether he was not constrained to do what he did by Agesilaus and Lysander?" The

King Agis treacherously seized.

He is tried and condemned by the ephori.

[b] Plut. ubi supra.

king,

king, with a compoſed countenance, anſwered, "I was conſtrained by no man; the deſign was mine, and my intent was to have reſtored the laws of Lycurgus, and to have governed by them." "But do you not now, ſaid one of his judges, repent of your raſhneſs?" "No, replied the king; though I ſee my death is inevitable, I can never repent of ſo juſt and honourable an intention." The ephori then ordered him to be ſtrangled. The officers of juſtice refuſed to obey, and even the mercenary ſoldiers declined ſo execrable an action; whereupon Democharès, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. Agis, perceiving one of the officers bewailing his misfortune; "Weep not, friend, for me, ſaid he, who die innocently; but grieve for thoſe who are guilty of this wicked act: my condition is much better than their's." Then, ſtretching out his neck, he ſubmitted to death with a conſtancy worthy of his own great character. Immediately after Agis was dead, Amphares, going forth from the priſon, found Agiſtrata, who throwing herſelf at his feet, he gently raiſed her up, pretending ſtill the ſame friendſhip as formerly. He aſſured her ſhe need not fear any farther violence ſhould be offered againſt her ſon; and that, if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might go in and ſee him. She begged her mother might alſo have the favour of being admitted; and he replied, no body ſhould hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate ſhould again be locked, and the grandmother firſt introduced: ſhe was grown very old, and had lived with great reputation of wiſdom and virtue. As ſoon as Amphares thought ſhe was diſpatched, he told Agiſtrata ſhe might now go in, if ſhe pleaſed. She entered, where beholding her ſon's body ſtretched on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck, ſhe ſtood at firſt aſtoniſhed at ſo horrid a ſpectacle; but collecting her ſpirits, the firſt thing ſhe did was to aſſiſt the ſoldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, ſhe laid it by her ſon's; where embracing and kiſſing his cheeks, "O my ſon, ſaid ſhe, thy too great mercy and goodneſs have brought thee and us to this untimely end!" Amphares, who ſtood watching behind the door, hearing this exclamation, ruſhed in haſtily; and, with a furious tone and countenance, ſaid to her, "Since you approve of your ſon's actions, it is fit you ſhould partake in his reward." She, riſing up to meet her deſtiny, only uttered theſe few words: "I pray the gods, that all this may redound to

His gallant behaviour and death.

His mother likewiſe put to death.

the good of Sparta[c]." Archidamus, the brother of Agis, ſaved himſelf by flight; but was obliged to leave his wife, who had been juſt delivered of a child. Becauſe ſhe was the heireſs of a great eſtate, Leonidas compelled her to marry his ſon Cleomenes: to this match the young lady was very averſe; yet, in the end, ſhe was forced to comply. Cleomenes behaved towards her with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, that ſhe was ſoon reconciled to the marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law. Cleomenes was too young to conſummate the marriage; but, having an extreme tenderneſs for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the ſtory of Agis's murder, at which he wept, and, by degrees, began privately to follow his example; he even followed it according to his own diſpoſition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of Agis. He, however, concealed his ſentiments till after the death of his father, well knowing that the king and his nobles were too much diſſolved in luxury, ever to bear with the execution of his deſign.

Yr. of Fl. 2132. Ante Chr. 216.

Cleomenes ſucceeds Leonidas.

On the death of Leonidas, Cleomenes mounted the Spartan throne alone; and, in the very beginning of his reign, found himſelf obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. Aratus, at the head of the Achæans, had formed a project of uniting all the Peloponneſians in that league: the youth of Cleomenes ſeemed to furniſh him with an opportunity of trying the diſpoſition of the Spartans, which he did not neglect, but ſuddenly invaded the Arcadians, their neighbours, and their friends, who lived under their protection[d]. The ephori, upon this invaſion, ordered Cleomenes to ſeize on a paſs into Laconia, then in the hands of the allies of the Achæans; which ſervice he performed, and afterwards diſappointed Aratus, in a ſcheme he had formed for ſeizing Tegæa and Orchomanium. On this occaſion, the young king ſent a taunting meſſage to Aratus: the old ſtateſman, deriding his youth, aſked Democritus, a Spartan exile, who lived with him, "What ſort of a perſon this Cleomenes was?" "Why, my friend, replied the Spartan, I will anſwer you in few words: if you have any thing to do againſt the Lacedæmonians, let me adviſe you to begin before this young eagle's talons are grown." In the courſe of the war, Aratus, by his great ſkill, obtained ſome advantages over the Spartans; but Cleomenes exhibited ſuch

[c] Plut. in Vit. Agid. [d] Plut. in Vit. Arati.

ſhining

ſhining inſtances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himſelf apprehenſive of, and the people of Sparta ſeemed to derive new ſpirit from their ſovereign. The ephori, however, were for putting an end to the war, becauſe they did not care to run any hazard, and were not a little afraid of ſucceſs, which they knew would raiſe not only the power, but the credit of Cleomenes. The king ſaw clearly, that, without reducing the power of the ephori, he ſhould have nothing more left him than the title; with this farther mortification, that he ſhould ſee the power and importance of his country daily diminiſhed. In this perplexity, he took a bold reſolution of ridding himſelf of the ephori at once: this he communicated to ſome of his friends, who agreed to aſſiſt him in it, from the ſame generous deſire of reſtoring the glory of their country [e]. The firſt ſtep taken in this buſineſs, was the recalling of Archidamus, the brother of Agis; who, on his approach to Sparta, was murdered by his brother's enemies, not without ſome ſuſpicion, that Cleomenes conſented to the aſſaſſination: but this conduct ſeems not to agree with his character; and Plutarch, who reports this ſuggeſtion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced into the meaſure [f]. When it appeared, that, without an army, a revolution could not be effected, he by money prevailed on the ephori to engage in a war, and to give him the command. His mother Crateſiclea, a woman of great ſpirit, perceiving the difficulties her ſon had to ſtruggle with, married again, that ſhe might fix a nobleman of great intereſt to his party; and engaging to give up her fortune, perſuaded her huſband alſo to acquieſce in the ſame terms, whenever a diviſion of goods and of lands ſhould be made. Cleomenes, carrying ſuch as he ſuſpected moſt into the field with him, performed many actions worthy of a Spartan prince; but took care ſo to haraſs his army, with quick and almoſt continued marches, that many deſired to be left behind in Arcadia: with the reſt he advanced ſlowly towards Lacedæmon.

Reſolves to ſuppreſs the ephori.

When he drew near the place, he ſent a ſmall party, who ſurpriſed the ephori at ſupper, killed four of them upon the ſpot, and would have ſlain the fifth, if he had not counterfeited himſelf dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring to a temple, from whence he came forth next day, without being injured. On the morrow,

Kills four of them.

[e] Plut. in Vit. Cleomen. [f] Idem ibid. Polyb. lib. v.

Cleomenes came into the forum, ordering all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one, which he reſerved for himſelf; then he made a moſt artful apology to the people for what he had done (H): he ſhewed them the

(H) Cleomenes, in this harangue, obſerved, "That the government, framed by Lycurgus, was compoſed of the kings and the ſenate; and that this model of government had continued a long time, and needed no other ſort of magiſtrates to give it perfection. But afterwards, when the kings, who commanded the armies, had no time to attend civil cauſes, they choſe ſome of their friends to determine the ſuits of their citizens in their ſtead. Theſe were called ephori, and at firſt behaved themſelves as ſervants to kings; but afterwards they appropriated the power to themſelves, and erected a diſtinct ſort of magiſtracy. An evidence of this truth may be taken from the uſual behaviour of the kings, who, upon the firſt and ſecond meſſage of the ephori, refuſed to go, but, upon the third, readily attended them: and Aſteropus, the firſt who raiſed the ephori to that height of power, was not ephorus till long after their inſtitution. Therefore, whilſt they contained themſelves within their proper ſphere, it was better to bear with them than to make a diſturbance. But that an upſtart introduced power ſhould ſo far deſtroy the old model of government, as to baniſh ſome kings, murder others without hearing their defence, and threaten thoſe who deſired to ſee the beſt and moſt divine conſtitution reſtored in Sparta, was inſufferable. Therefore, if it had been poſſible for him, without bloodſhed, to have freed Lacedæmon from thoſe foreign plagues, luxury, vanity, debts, and uſury; and from thoſe more ancient evils, poverty, and riches; he ſhould have thought himſelf the happieſt king in the world. But now, in this neceſſity, Lycurgus's example favoured his proceedings; who, being neither king nor magiſtrate, but a private man, and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into the market-place, inſomuch that king Charilaus fled for fear to the altar: but he being a good man, and a lover of his country, readily conſented to Lycurgus's project, and admitted an alteration in the ſtate. Thus, by his own actions, Lycurgus ſhewed, that it was difficult to correct the government without force and fear; in uſing which, he ſaid he would be ſo moderate as never to deſire their aſſiſtance, but either to terrify or ruin the enemies of Sparta's happineſs and ſafety. He commanded, that all the land ſhould be left in common, and private claims laid aſide; that debtors ſhould be diſcharged of their debts; and a ſtrict ſearch be made who were foreigners, and who not; that the true Spartans, recovering their courage, might defend the city with

the neceſſity of reſtoring the Lycurgic inſtitutions; and aſſured them, that though the ſituation of things had obliged him to make uſe of violence in effecting this reſolution, yet, for the future, he would pay a ſtrict regard to the laws, though, for his own ſafety, he proſcribed, at this time, fourſcore citizens. He was the firſt who delivered up his whole ſubſtance to the public ſtock, and his example was followed by his father-in-law, and other friends. In aſſigning the lands, he gave ſhares to all whom he had baniſhed, promiſing to recall them as ſoon as was conſiſtent with the public ſafety: immediately after, he reſtored the old Laconic way of educating youth, of eating in public, and performing their exerciſes together: he alſo raiſed a conſiderable body of troops, and diſciplined and armed them in a new manner. To ſhew his diſlike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all theſe things by his own authority, he aſſociated his brother Euclidas in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there ſhould be always two kings at Sparta, as there were in times paſt; and that he would not erect a monarchy, in order to tranſmit it to his poſterity: which declaration was extremely grateful to the people. But that circumſtance, which of all others ſerved to eſtabliſh moſt the power and the character of Cleomenes, was the courſe of his own life, which was in nothing more expenſive than that of the meaneſt citizen: there was in his houſe no purple furniture, no canopies, or cloths of ſtate, no ſuperb chairs, nor couches for indulging eaſe; but a plain king, and every thing plain about him. When any individuals offered petitions, he ſtepped forward to receive them, talked graciouſly to every body, redreſſed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himſelf; yet had his virtue nothing in it of auſterity or affectation. Being informed that Aratus, and the Achæans, were preparing to give him ſome diſturbances, from an apprehenſion, that, after theſe alterations, he was afraid to leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home.

Reſtores the conſtitution of Sparta.

His plain way of living.

In the courſe of the war, he gained ſuch advantage over Aratus, as induced that great ſtateſman and captain to

with their arms; and that they might no longer ſee Laconia, for want of a ſufficient number to ſecure it, waſted by the Ætolians (1).

(1) Plut. in Vit. Cleom.

Gains great advantages over Aratus.

decline being chosen captain-general of the Achæans next year, as he was wont; yet did not Cleomenes make any ill use of his victories, or attempt to oppress the cities which fell into his power; but restored them to their liberty; and, where they had been expelled, recalled their ancient inhabitants. The Achæans were so much disheartened with this unexpected ill success, that they were ready to listen to any terms which Cleomenes should think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he fought nothing more than to be acknowleged general of the Greeks; and that he was ready to deliver up the prisoners without ransom, and to restore the cities he had taken. Lerna was appointed for the place of treaty, the Achæans being willing to accept of the king's terms; but Cleomenes, marching thither swiftly, heated himself very much by the way; and, drinking a draught of cold water, fell into a fever, which was attended with the loss of his speech: he ordered, however, the principal captives of the Achæans to be set at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and Greece; for Aratus, who had hitherto approved himself a most worthy Grecian commander, now suffered envy, jealousy, and self-conceit, to triumph over his virtue and love for his country; and he who in his youth had expelled the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus, merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that Cleomenes, the most worthy of the Spartan kings, should be raised to that dignity which he so highly deserved[s]. When Cleomenes recovered from his disorder, he advanced towards Argos, where the Achæans held their assembly; but, when he drew near, Aratus sent to inform him, that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place. To which intimation Cleomenes answered, "That he was unjustly dealt with; for they ought to have told him so at first; and not now, when he was come to their very doors, shew their jealousy, and deny him admission." Not long after, he declared war, and began to act offensively. By these hostilities, the whole league of the Achæans was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt, and break the union, because, on the one side, the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands, and of a discharge of their debts; and, on the other, the nobility grew weary of Aratus's power, and were most of them

[s] Plut. in Vit. Arat. Polyb. lib. ii.

provoked

provoked against him for having called the Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes invaded Achæa, where he first took Pellene by surprize, and expelled the Achæan garrison; afterwards he made himself master of Phœneon and Pentelon. Not long after, he surprised Argos, and soon raised himself to greater power than any of his predecessors had possessed; and his city to greater pre-eminence than she had ever held in Greece.

Invades Achæa, and takes several cities.

In the course of these transactions he would very gladly have treated with Aratus, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendship; but that politician was immoveable in his resolution of destroying the Spartan greatness: with this view he procured the castle of Corinth, the key of Peloponnesus, to be delivered up to Antigonus, who suddenly came to his assistance, with an army of twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. Cleomenes, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of Peloponnesus, till Argos was betrayed; even there he exerted himself; and, when overpowered by numbers, made a most glorious retreat. At this time he received from Sparta the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for though the Spartans were remarkable for being fond husbands, yet Cleomenes was distinguished for his conjugal affection even among them. He bore his grief, however, like a hero, and a king: he went to his house, indulged his sorrow with his mother, and other relations; and then returning to the camp, resumed the functions of a monarch and a general, without suffering his private concerns to interfere with the conduct of public affairs. Ptolemy, at this time, offered him his friendship, in case he would send him his mother and his son, as hostages. This demand troubled Cleomenes: he went often to intimate the proposal to his parent; but was unable to speak; at last, when he made an effort to explain himself, Cratesiclea burst out a-laughing: "Well," said she, "was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do you not put me on shipboard, and send this carcase where it may be serviceable to Sparta, before age wastes it unprofitably here?" Before she embarked, she retired with her son into the temple of Neptune; where, while he wept, embracing him tenderly, "Come, king of Sparta," said she, "let us dry our tears, that no signs of grief may appear when we go out, nor any token of weakness unworthy your dignity, or the honour of our country, since our actions

Enters into an alliance with Ptolemy, king of Egypt.

tions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to providence." She wrote afterwards to him from Egypt: "King of Sparta, do what is worthy of your country, and what may redound to its profit; nor, for the ſake of an old woman, and a little child, ſtand in fear of what Ptolemy may do." Cleomenes acted, in this unequal war, with all the conduct and valour that could be expected in the moſt excellent captain among the Greeks[h]. He had to contend with a numerous army of veterans, well armed, diſciplined, and paid: his own troops were moſt of them new-raiſed, many of them half-armed, and had nothing but what he could take from the enemy, for their ſubſiſtence: nevertheleſs, he kept the war out of Laconia, took the city of Megalopolis, which was larger than Sparta, in the midſt of king Antigonus's armies; and, when he had reduced it, generouſly offered to reſtore it untouched to its citizens; but they rejecting his offer, he abandoned it to the plunder of his ſoldiers[i]. After this exploit, he haraſſed the territory of Argos, raiſing great contributions, though Antigonus, and the Macedonian forces, were in that very city. This, even in his own time, was ſtyled raſhneſs, arrogance, and a vainglorious ſhew of ſhort-lived ſucceſs: and it is owing to Polybius, that poſterity conſiders it in a different light; for he tells us, that men of the beſt diſcernment and underſtanding agreed, that he behaved with great prudence and judgement. The true ſtate of the caſe is this: Cleomenes perceived, that though, at preſent, he could make head againſt his enemies, yet, in a ſhort time, he ſhould be deſtroyed without fighting; he therefore ſought to provoke Antigonus to engage, where his choice of ground might give him an advantage: and here again Antigonus exhibited a ſtrong proof of his conſummate ſkill in military affairs; for, notwithſtanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the Greeks, and the inſults of Cleomenes, he acted on the defenſive, and would not ſuffer either his own, or the paſſions of others, to puſh him upon a ſtep which might be injurious to his fortune.

Yr. of Fl. 2125. Ante Chr. 223. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and Cleomenes could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at Sellaſia, where, from the ſuperiority of the Macedonian troops, and the treachery of Demoteles, the Lacedæmonians were defeated, with a great ſlaughter of their

Cleomenes defeated by Antigonus.

[h] Plut. ubi ſupra, & in Vit. Arati. Polyb. ubi ſupra. [i] Plut. in Vit. Arat. & Philopœm.

mercenary

mercenary troops, and with almoſt the utter deſtruction of their own; for, of ſix thouſand Spartans, only two hundred eſcaped. In the beginning of the action, Cleomenes had the advantage, at leaſt in that part of the army which he commanded in perſon; but looking behind him, and ſeeing the other wing, under the command of his brother, ſurrounded, he exclaimed, "Thou art loſt, dear brother, thou art loſt; thou brave example to our Spartan youth, and theme of our matrons ſongs!" This misfortune of Cleomenes deſerves the more to be pitied, ſince, if he could have avoided fighting but two days, he muſt have ſeen Antigonus conſtrained to abandon the Achæans; for, within that ſpace after the battle, meſſengers arrived in his camp from Macedonia, which brought advice of ſuch diſorders there as forced him immediately to return [k].

When the battle was over, Cleomenes retired to Sparta, where, however, he knew it was impoſſible for him to ſtay, nor indeed did he reſt there above a few hours; for, after having given the neceſſary directions, he went to his own houſe, where, without taking any refreſhment, he leaned himſelf, in his armour, againſt a pillar; and, conſidering what he ſhould do, at length determined to retire to Egypt; which reſolution he and his friends immediately put into execution. Going directly to Gythium, he there embarked, and paſſed over to Ptolemy Euergetes, who entertained him honourably while he lived: but his ſon, growing ſuſpicious of him, deprived him of his liberty; an outrage which Cleomenes at length reſenting, he, with twelve friends, forced the place where he was confined; but, finding it afterwards impracticable to eſcape, they ſlew each other. Ptolemy Philopator, actuated by a ſpirit of brutal revenge, cauſed the body of Cleomenes to be expoſed on a croſs, and butchered his mother, with the reſt of his family, and all her attendants. In him ended the Herculean race of Spartan kings, if we except the ſhort reign of Ageſipolis.

He flies to Egypt, where he puts an end to his life.

After the fatal battle of Sellaſia, Sparta fell into the hands of king Antigonus, who treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs and indulgence: they, in return for this lenity, behaved, for a time, very quietly; and, ſubmitting to the preſent ſituation of things, acted in ſuch a manner as might give leaſt umbrage to Aratus, and the

State of Sparta.

[k] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in Vit. Cleomen. & Philop. Juſtin. lib. xxviii. cap. 4.

Achæans,

Achæans, who were the king's friends. While Cleomenes lived, though an exile, and at laſt a priſoner, in Egypt, the Spartans remained quiet under the government of the ephori and ſenate; but, as ſoon as the news came of his death, commotions aroſe, in which Adimas, one of the ephori, endeavoured to moderate the people. When his colleagues had ſummoned them to meet in arms, he repreſented to them how little their behaviour correſponded with their circumſtances, and how unreaſonable it was to involve themſelves, in their preſent unſettled condition, in a new war with the Macedonians, who not long ago had vanquiſhed them, and had ever ſince treated them well. The people of Sparta, like the people of moſt other cities, were inclined to liſten to reaſon, as ſoon as they began to underſtand it; a diſpoſition which the reſt of the ephori perceiving, they and their aſſociates ſurrounded Adimas, and ſtabbed him: his death left them at liberty to act as they pleaſed. Soon after this, Philip, the ſon of Antigonus, arrived with an army on their frontiers, when the Spartans ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion. When the king heard the purport of their embaſſy, he ſuffered them to withdraw, and cauſed the buſineſs to be debated in council. Moſt of thoſe who compoſed it, repreſenting the Lacedæmonians as a turbulent and factious people, declared that the king ought to treat them as Alexander had treated the Thebans, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the reſt by a very ſevere chaſtiſement: but Antigonus, though but ſeventeen years old, differed from them in opinion; he ſaid, the ſedition of the Spartans turned to their own hurt; that, on his appearance, they had offered to ſubmit, and become his ſubjects; and that, to put their principal men to death, and treat the reſt with ſeverity, would be unworthy of a prince. He contented himſelf with telling the deputies, that he ſhould have his eye upon the Spartans for the future; and adviſed them to be quiet; with this declaration they were diſmiſſed [1].

Lycurgus and Agiſ-polis elected kings.

The Ætolians, making new diſturbances in Greece, were deſirous to engage the Lacedæmonians in their intereſt: to this end they ſent Machates ambaſſador to Sparta; he endeavoured to perſuade the ephori to chooſe two kings, and to unite themſelves ſtrictly with the Ætolians: but thoſe magiſtrates, liking neither of his propoſitions, procured them to be rejected by the people, not-

[1] Polyb. lib. iv. Plut. in Vit. Arat.

withſtanding

withſtanding the efforts of a ſtrong party, which had declared for Machates. This faction, after his departure, found means to rouze the people ſo effectually againſt the ephori, that, at a ſolemn feſtival, they murdered them at the temple of Pallas, and choſe others, whom they obliged to elect kings. They accordingly choſe, firſt, Ageſipolis, a boy, the grandſon of Cleombrotus, whom Leonidas baniſhed; and appointed Cleomenes, the ſon of Cleombrotus, his tutor; for the other king they ſet up Lycurgus, a man not allied to the royal family, or never conceived to be allied to it, till, by giving a talent a-piece to the ephori, they declared him of the Herculean race, and lawful king of Sparta. He drove Ageſipolis into baniſhment, and involved his country in ſeveral wars, which he waged with various ſucceſs. At laſt Chilo conſpired againſt him: this man, who conceived he had ſome right to the Spartan throne, having engaged about two hundred perſons to abet his ſcheme, he fell upon the ephori ſuddenly, and murdered them: after which aſſaſſination, he ſurrounded the houſe of Lycurgus, who, by the fidelity of ſome of his ſervants, made his eſcape. Chilo, perceiving that the people diſliked him, fled from Laconia, and retired to the Macedonians, whom he endeavoured to irritate againſt his country. Mean while, the tumults being appeaſed, Lycurgus was recalled, and reigned in Sparta many years. When king Philip came into Peloponneſus for the ſecond time, and began to dictate there, not only without advice, but contrary to the opinion of Aratus, Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonians began to think once more of contending with the power of Macedon, notwithſtanding all the miſchiefs they had ſuſtained; neither were they deterred from that purpoſe, when they were informed, that the king was again become a friend to Aratus and his ſon. When the ſeaſon of the year permitted, they invaded Meſſenia, which immediately drew Philip that way. At his approach Lycurgus retired, that he might put his country in a condition to ſuſtain the invaſion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though Philip took every precaution to hinder his deſign from being penetrated [m]. This prince advanced with his army to Amyclæ, from whence he ſpoiled the neighbouring country round: in the mean time, the Meſſenians invaded Laconia on the other ſide, reſolving to march through it, and join the Macedonians; but while their commander,

The ephori murdered by the people.

Lycurgus invades Meſſenia;

[m] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. iv. Plut. in Vit. Arati.

who

who contemned the Spartans in their preſent condition, encamped careleſsly, and without throwing up any entrenchments, Lycurgus ſuddenly attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took the greateſt part of their horſes and baggage, and returned with much honour to Sparta.

and defeats the Meſſenians.

At his return, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of the city. He recovered the poſts which the Macedonians had ſeized on the mountains; and cauſing the Eurotas to be dammed up, he provided the means for laying all the country betwen the river and the mountains under water; ſo that the Macedonians, not being able to march that way, would be obliged to direct their route by the foot of the mountains, and thereby expoſe their rear to the inſults of Lycurgus, and his Lacedæmonians. Philip, perceiving his drift, reſolved to diſpoſſeſs Lycurgus of his poſts in the mountains; a ſervice which he, with much difficulty, performed. However, the Lacedæmonian retreated, with his forces, into the city, which he preſerved from any inſult: and thus this great king of Macedon, after having plundered and ravaged Laconia, was obliged to retire, his ſoldiers being more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Soon after this tranſaction, the ephori, having, or pretending to have information, that Lycurgus intended to make himſelf abſolute, attempted to ſurpriſe and murder him in his houſe; but he, having previous notice of their deſign, withdrew into Ætolia; and the iniquity of the ephori being clearly diſcovered by the people, he was recalled. What he did after this reſtoration, we know not; nor how long he held the kingdom.

The ephori attempt to murder him.

Yr. of Fl. 2141. Ante Chr. 207.

Machanidas was the ſucceſſor of Lycurgus; but, when he obtained the ſovereignty, is very uncertain. The year, in which we find him firſt mentioned, we have placed in the margin. By what colour he held his dignity, appears not; but that he was a perſon of great abilities, is certain. At home he ejected the ephori, being averſe to have any either equal or greater than himſelf in Sparta. Abroad, he made all Poloponneſus tremble, and, in all probability, would have ſubdued it, if Philopœmen, the chief of the Achæans, had not oppoſed his deſigns[z]. This leader engaged all the cities in that league to furniſh troops for reducing the power of Machanidas, which, as he plainly ſhewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a taſk beyond their abilities. When he had aſſembled this army, after

Machanidas aſſumes the tyranny.

[z] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Vit. Philop. Livii Hiſt. lib. xxxiv.

exerciſing

exerciſing them in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, he marched towards Mantinæa, in order of battle. Thither alſo advanced Machanidas, at the head of a powerful army, compoſed of Spartans and of mercenaries. An engagement followed, which was very obſtinate: at firſt Machanidas had the better; but, he purſuing this advantage too far, Philopœmen attacked him in the rear. However, the Lacedæmonians fought with reſolution, expecting that Machanidas would return to their relief; nor were they miſtaken. But Philopœmen, foreſeeing that he would take the ſhorteſt way, and knowing that there was a ditch there, of which Machanidas was ignorant, left Polybius, the Megalopolitan, to puſh the enemy, that were ſtill fighting; and, with a ſmall party of horſe, advanced to the ditch, to meet Machanidas, whom he preſently diſtinguiſhed by his purple robe. The tyrant, who, with two or three friends, had outrode the reſt of his troops, ſeeing that Philopœmen and his company were but few, reſolved to paſs this obſtruction. With that view, he puſhed his horſe directly againſt Philopœmen, who, turning ſideways from him, as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his ſpear to bear directly againſt his breaſt as his horſe leaped; ſo that, juſt as he paſſed the ditch, Machanidas fell down dead. His fall put an end to the battle: for, when his death was known, his army fled. The Achæans waſted all the provinces which had been ſubject to him; the Spartans, who loſt four thouſand men in this engagement, having neither ſpirits nor ſtrength to oppoſe their progreſs[o].

The Spartans defeated.

Not long after the death of Machanidas, we find Sparta in a new and yet ſeverer bondage, under one Nabis, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of *gracious* and *merciful* to Phalaris and Dionyſius, on a compariſon of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps many ways of plaguing and puniſhing their ſubjects; but Nabis, over and above theſe, invented and practiſed ſuch acts of cruelty, as were never heard of before, and never have been practiſed ſince. To all who were honeſt, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy; ſuch as he could lay his hands on, he murdered; ſuch as were not immediately in his power, he baniſhed: nor did he ſtop there; for he ſent ſome of the Cretan aſſaſſins after them wherever they retired, who watched them ſo narrowly, that, either in

Yr. of Fl. 2142. Ante Chr. 206.

Nabis ſucceeds Machanidas. A cruel tyrant.

[o] Plut. in Vit. Philopœm. Polyb. Fragment. lib. vii.

the

the field, at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to aſſaſſinate them. At home, he reigned with a diſſimulation, which ſome call wiſdom: he kept up the ſtate of a prince; wore purple; was attended by guards; performed the functions of a firſt magiſtrate; diſplayed always a ſerene countenance; made uſe of ſmooth ſpeeches; entertained numbers of ſpies and ſycophants, and ſtruck ſuch a terror into all who were not ſo, that they durſt not expreſs their thoughts or their fears. Polybius tells us, that he had a painted image, which reſembled his wife; and this, being clad in royal robes, he introduced, when he found it difficult to wheedle any Lacedæmonian out of his money. Such was the art with which this image was contrived, that, by touching certain ſecret ſprings, it caught any who were near it in its arms, and forced them to ſay whatever the tyrant pleaſed [p]. The diſtreſſed and dejected ſtate of all Greece, which was now divided, weak in its counſels, and over-awed by the power of the Macedonian kings and the Roman republic, gave opportunities to the tyrant to increaſe his dominions, and to exalt his power. He, in the midſt of theſe confuſions, ſeized, under pretence of aſſiſting ſome of the exiled citizens, on Argos, into which he put a garriſon, under the command of Pythagoras, his ſon-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the ſupport of his tyranny. The Achæans immediately applied to the Romans; for they began to be terrified themſelves at the apprehenſions of the tyrant's growing power. Titus Quintius, the Roman general, arriving in Greece, they made him ſenſible of the miſchiefs that would follow, if Nabis was permitted to proceed; for, not contented with holding the principal part of Peloponneſus under his ſway, he was ambitious of the empire of the ſea, and to project ſuch ſchemes as threatened diſturbance even to the Romans. Quintius marched immediately into the neighbourhood of Argos, and had reſolved to attack the city, where, on his approach, a riſing was attempted, which iſſued in the deſtruction of thoſe who were deſirous to be free. He then marched towards Lacedæmon itſelf; at which motion Nabis was exceedingly troubled. He ordered, however, a general aſſembly of the people to be held without the city, and ſurrounded them with his troops. Then he made a ſhort ſpeech, intimating the great danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to conſider them-

[p] Idem, Fragm. lib. xiii.

ſelves,

ſelves, and their private concerns, as the intereſt of their country: he then magnified the great pains he had taken in ſecuring all the poſts and avenues of Sparta, concluding, that, ſince he had done ſo much for their ſervice without ſpeaking, they ought not, now he did ſpeak, to to refuſe acting at his requeſt, becauſe what he deſired concerned their own ſafety: ſome there were amongſt them, he ſaid, who had given him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their conduct; theſe therefore he was determined to ſeize and impriſon, till, the preſent danger being over, he might reſtore them again to liberty, conſiſtent with his own, and the public ſafety. Having made this harrangue, he cauſed fourſcore perſons of worth and honour to be arreſted, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement; and, that ſame night, they were all murdered in priſon. Soon afterwards, growing jealous of the Helotes, he ſeized a great number of them, cauſed them to be ſcourged in the ſtreets, till the kennels were diſcoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy.

Inſtances of his cruelty.

After all, finding the Romans about to beſiege him, he reſolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king Antiochus was meditating new commotions; and from thence concluded, that Quintius would be glad to come to ſome agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded: that great man, having nothing ſo much in view as the intereſt of Rome, readily agreed to meet him, and hear his propoſals. Nabis, at this interview, made a long and well-compoſed oration; to which Quintius made him but an indifferent return; yet promiſed to ſend him certain articles in writing: and thus this conference ended. The allies endeavoured to engage Quintius not to treat any more: king Eumenes, who was in his camp, affirmed, that it was to no purpoſe; for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace, than while war was near him: Ageſipolis, king of Sparta, who, with many other illuſtrious exiles, waited on Quintius, inſiſted that it would be unworthy of the Roman name to enter into treaty with ſo execrable a perſon: the Achæans were of the ſame ſentiments. Yet Quintius remained firm to his own: he ſaw clearly, that they regarded their own intereſts; and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but thoſe of Rome. Acting therefore on this motive, he ſent Nabis, as he had promiſed, an account of the terms, whereon he would grant him peace; namely: that he ſhould withdraw all his garriſons from Argos, and its territories: that he ſhould

Has an interview with the Roman general.

Conditions offered him by the Romans.

ſhould deliver up all the ſhips of war he had taken, and, of all his fleet, retain no more than two galliots: that he ſhould deliver up ſuch as had fled to him from the Roman allies, and make reſtitution to the Meſſenians for plundering their territories: that he ſhould reſtore to the Lacedæmonian exiles their wives and children: that he ſhould build neither caſtle nor city in his own territories, nor in thoſe of his neighbours: that he ſhould give five ſuch hoſtages as the general would chuſe, and among them his own ſon: that he ſhould pay down a hundred talents; and that he ſhould continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years ſucceſſively. Nabis diſapproved theſe conditions, and found means to make all the Lacedæmonians diſlike them; ſo that they determined to make an obſtinate defence. Quintius, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thouſand men, reſolved to attack the place. He accordingly aſſaulted it ſeveral times, but was as often repulſed. At laſt he penetrated into the city; and, his ſoldiers beginning to take poſt in the firſt long ſtreet, Nabis thought of nothing but making his eſcape: yet Pythagoras delivered him from this danger, by ſetting the ſtreet on fire at each end, and engaging the Lacedæmonians, who were yet fighting in front, to ſupply the riſing flames with fuel. The Roman ſoldiers were forced to retreat; but Nabis was ſo alarmed, that, with much difficulty, he procured peace on the terms before ſpecified; which was hardly concluded, before advice came, that the Argives had delivered themſelves, by expelling his garriſons.

Rejected by Nabis;

who is forced in the end to accept them.

When Nabis was free from the neighbourhood of the Roman army, he conſidered how he might extricate himſelf from the miſchiefs he laboured under. He was much irritated at beholding himſelf without a ſea-port, and little valued among his neighbours. He therefore began to treat privately with Antiochus, and the Ætolians, for creating new diſturbances in Peloponneſus. Having received great promiſes, he began to act offenſively againſt the Achæans, and their allies: Gythium, the ſea-port of Sparta, he beſieged and recovered; but, after that ſiege, and a ſlight victory at ſea, obtained againſt Philopœmen, he was routed at land, rather for want of abilities as a general, in himſelf, than any fault in his ſoldiers. Philopœmen, though he could not hinder the reduction of Gythium, yet reſolved to terrify the tyrant, by marching directly towards Lacedæmon; a meaſure which had the conſequence he expected and deſired, ſince Nabis drew his forces

Attempts to raiſe new diſturbances in Peloponneſus.

forces together, and led them, with the utmoſt diligence, to the relief of his capital. By this forced march, he fronted the Achæan army, within ten miles of the city, Nabis ſeizing, on this occaſion, a very ſtrong ſituation, where Philopœmen intended to have encamped that night. This great general, perceiving that his firſt deſign was rendered abortive, immediately formed a ſecond; and, ſince he could not reduce Sparta, reſolved to content himſelf with deſtroying an army every way ſuperior to his own. There ran between the camps a little rivulet, from which both the Achæans and Lacedæmonians fetched water; but it was nearer to the former than to the latter. Philopœmen therefore ſent a great detachment to take poſt privately in a copſe, which bordered on the river. When the troops of Nabis came to water their horſes, and to fill their veſſels for the camp, this detachment ſuddenly attacked them, and cut many of the light-armed ſoldiers in pieces. About the ſame time, he ſent one of his auxiliaries, as a deſerter, to Nabis, with inſtructions to give him information, that the Achæans deſigned to move in the night, in order to get between him and Lacedæmon. The tyrant, alarmed at this intelligence, as ſoon as it was dark, quitted a camp which Philopœmen could never have forced; and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in his intrenchments, marched, with all the ſpeed he could, towards Sparta. Philopœmen, foreſeeing this ſtep, attacked his camp as ſoon as he left it; and ſo haraſſed his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that Nabis was obliged to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all next day. Philopœmen, in this interval, recalling his light-armed forces, left them in the camp which he had taken, and, with his troops that were ſtill freſh, marched with great ſecrecy, and ſeized the paſſes which led to Lacedæmon, not doubting but, at the approach of night, the tyrant would reſume his march. His conjecture was juſt; and, as he had ſeized the avenues, the forces of Nabis were, in a manner, at his mercy. He uſed his advantage ſo well, that the tyrant, with a very ſmall part of his army, entered the city, covered with diſgrace, and unable to hinder Philopœmen from deſolating the country, which he waſted for thirty days, and then retired, leaving Nabis much dejected, and little able to continue the war.

Philopœmen gains ſeveral advantages over him.

His recovering Gythium afforded him at preſent little relief; for, the enemy being maſter of all the country, he could ſcarce receive any intelligence: beſides, his navy was

very inconſiderable; and he had received advice, that the Romans intended to ſend a new army into Greece. The Lacedæmonians themſelves appeared diſſatisfied; a circumſtance which made him afraid to lead his ſoldiers without the city; and pent up within it, they were ſcarce of any uſe. In the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes and diſtractions, he placed all his hopes in the Ætolians, who had done a great deal of miſchief in Greece, and had been inſtrumental in drawing him into this war. To them he diſpatched courier after courier, not with the haughty commands of a tyrant, but with the humble ſupplications of a diſtreſſed ally: he reminded them, that for their ſakes only, he had ſo precipitately entered into this war, at a time when none elſe cared to own them for allies; he ſhewed them truly the nature of his diſtreſs, hoping that it would haſten their ſuccours, and make them more effectual; but it produced a contrary effect, the Ætolians being proper confederates for ſuch a tyrant. Having given audience to his meſſengers, they were diſpatched with large aſſurances of ready aſſiſtance, while in the mean time they conſulted what would be fitteſt to be done for their intereſt. The reſult of their conſultations was, that, in the days of his proſperity, and when he had a ſtrong army of mercenaries at his command, Nabis was their good ally, and deſerved all poſſible regard; but in the preſent ſituation of things, when his forces were, in a manner, cut off, and he ſcarce able to maintain himſelf in Sparta, it would better ſerve their purpoſes to remove him, and take the city to themſelves. This counſel was approved; a thouſand foot, and thirty horſe, were choſen to march to Lacedæmon, under the command of Alexamenus. When they were ready to depart, the horſemen were ſent for into the great council, where they received the following ſhort and pithy inſtructions; that they were not ſent to aſſiſt Nabis to make war upon the Achæans, or for any other purpoſe whatever than to obey Alexamenus, and to do what he directed, let it be what it would. Thus diſmiſſed, they marched, under the command of that general, to Sparta, where they found Nabis, very little ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a reinforcement. Alexamenus endeavoured to encourage him: he told Nabis, that the Ætolians, by ſending him, intended no more than to give him a ſpecimen of their good-will; and that, if his neceſſities required it, they would march with all the forces they could raiſe, to his relief. He likewiſe acquainted him, that Antiochus was reſolved to make war on the Romans, and intended

He recurs to the Ætolians.

Their reſolution.

to

to cover Greece with his armies, and the ſea with his ſhips; that many of the Greek ſtates were inclined to his party; and that the Ætolians were ſoon to muſter all their troops before the king's commiſſioners; which was the reaſon why they ſent ſo few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by theſe conſolatory ſpeeches, began, by the advice of Alexamenus, to exerciſe his forces without the city, that he might at once give them courage, and the Achæans apprehenſions. At theſe exerciſes the Ætolian general failed not to aſſiſt, his guard of horſe keeping at a diſtance; and he from time to time riding up to them, on pretence of giving orders. By this practice daily repeated, he avoided all ſuſpicion, and accuſtomed the Spartans to obey his directions. The Lacedæmonian guards, which he looked upon as the beſt corps in the tyrant's army, he adviſed to be poſted, phalanx-wiſe, behind the reſt, offering ſuch plauſible reaſons, that Nabis readily complied with his advice; and this was the only ſtep wanting to his ruin. When the day came, whereon Alexamenus reſolved to execute his great and deſperate deſign, he behaved towards Nabis with more than ordinary complaiſance; he commended the appearance and diſcipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, and promiſed him the ſupremacy in Peloponneſus. Perceiving that his flattery had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant teſtifying, by his looks and geſtures, the higheſt ſatisfaction, Alexamenus ſuddenly wheeled off; and, riding up to his troop of Ætolians, bid them remember the inſtructions they had received, when they were firſt choſen for this ſervice. Having given them this hint, he turned his horſe, and rode full againſt Nabis, whom he overthrew; and his Ætolians, immediately following him, one after another buried their ſpears in the boſom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of what paſſed till he was dead; and then, not knowing for whom to fight, they forbore fighting at all.

Nabis murdered by the Ætolian general.

The reſt of the Lacedæmonians looked on with a mixture of joy and terror; joy, that the tyrant was dead, who had ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed them; terror, at beholding ſo ſtrange an accident, the reaſons of which they knew not, and therefore were afraid of its conſequences. Alexamenus, and the Ætolians, taking advantage of their conſternation, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace, and rifling all his treaſures. The ſoldiers followed his example; ſo that, in a ſhort time, the Lacedæmonians looked on the murder of Nabis

Sparta ſurpriſed and plundered by the Ætolians.

Nabis as their misfortune. Conſidering, however, how little it became the inhabitants of Sparta to look on, and ſee their riches carried away by foreigners, they took a child, whoſe name was Laconicus, and who, on account of his being deſcended from the royal family, was bred up by Nabis, ſet him on horſeback, ſurrounded many of the Ætolians, and put them to the ſword. Then they broke into the palace, where they ſlew Alexamenus, and thoſe who were with him. They forced likewiſe a temple of Diana, to which many of the Ætolians were fled, all of whom were put to death without mercy. In the midſt of this confuſion, Philopœmen arrived, ſome friends of his having poſted to him with the account of the death of Nabis. The forces he had were few, nor did he, from them, conceive any hopes of ſeizing the city. On the contrary, he did what Alexamenus ought to have done, that is, he convinced the Lacedæmonians of the madneſs of their proceedings, and engaged them, ſince they had ſo happily recovered their freedom, to unite themſelves to the Achæans, reaping thus, by his virtue, all the fruits the Ætolians expected from their treachery [q].

The Ætolians cut in pieces by the Spartans;

who unite themſelves to the Achæans.

q Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv. Plut. in Vit. Philopœm. Juſtin. lib. xxx. cap. 4. lib. xxxi. cap. 1, 2.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.